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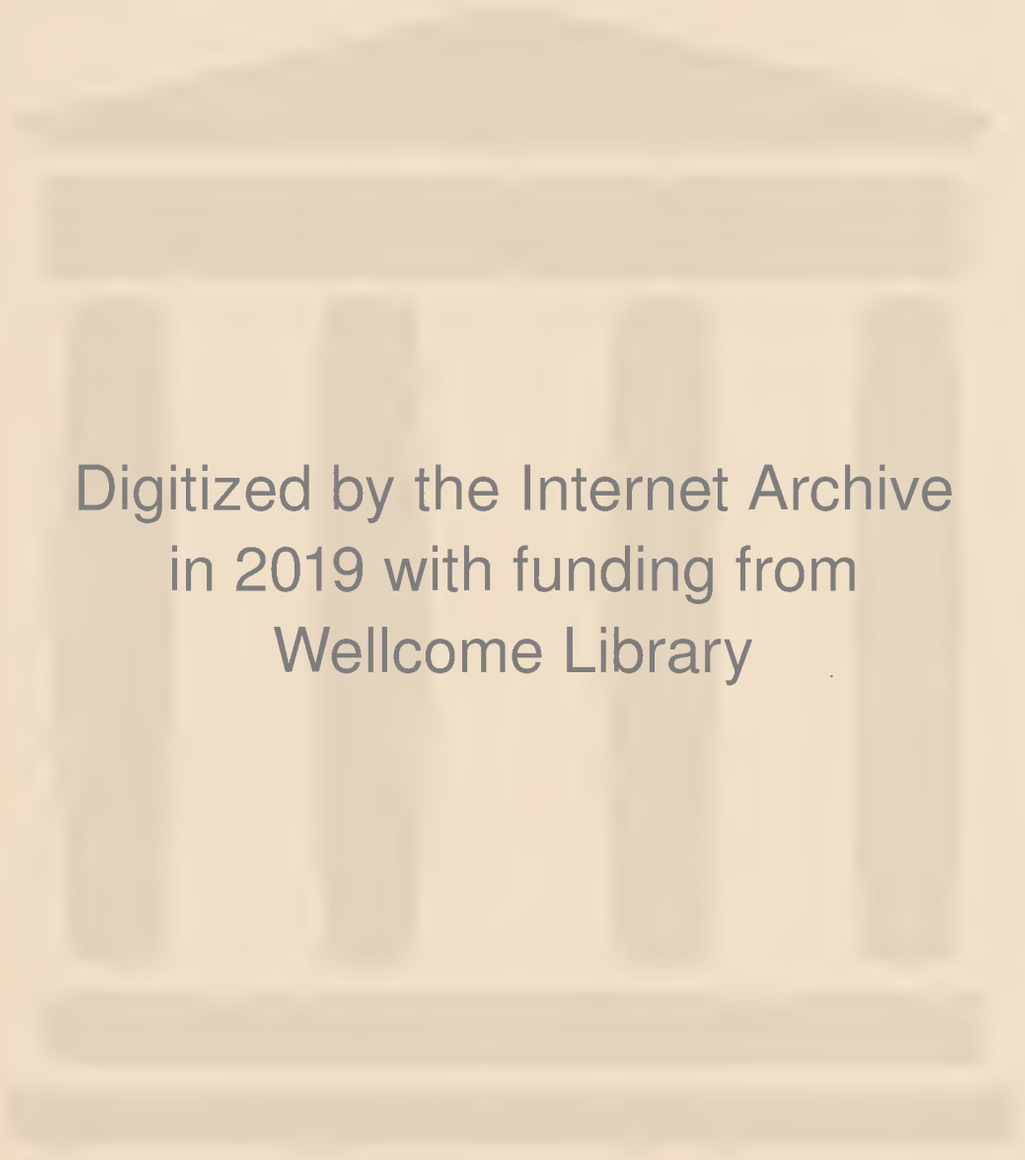
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NEW SERIES.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1809.

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PREFACE.

THE portion of European Annals included in this Volume, is, perhaps, beyond example, even in thoſe of the years immediately preceding, marked with events of the deepeſt intereſt to the preſent age and to poſterity. The War in the Peninſula continued to offer the ſpectacle of a gallant people perſevering in the defence of their independence, under every diſcouragement which enormous diſparity of force, and the imbecility, and not unfrequent treachery of their leaders, could oppoſe to their exertions. The reverſes ſuſtained by the patriots in the field, were, in many inſtances, conſiderable; but they ſcarcely affected the opinions of thoſe whoſe anticipations of the ultimate triumph of the cauſe, had been founded, not upon any calculation of the military means which the people might be able to oppoſe to their invaders, but in a reliance upon the moral reſources, afforded by the pride, the ardour, the inflexible obſtinacy of purpoſe, which was known to diſtinguiſh the Spaniſh character. A new era in the

War was marked by the advance of a Britiſh army, under Sir Arthur Welleſley, to co-operate with the Spaniards in Eſtremadura. The political reſults of the bloody victory achieved by our troops at Talavera, might at firſt appear inadequate; but the pledge which it gave of the poſitive ſuperiority of the Britiſh ſoldier in the day of battle, was, by many, conſidered as fully compenſating all the hazard and loſſes of the campaign.

The moſt diſtinguiſhing events of the year, however, took place in Germany: a fourth attempt was made by Auſtria to liberate herſelf and the Continent from the inſolent tyranny of France, but met with ill ſucceſs more rapid and deciſive even than that which had attended her former miſdirected efforts in 1806. The ſeparation and conſequent deſtruction or diſperſion of the ſeveral Auſtrian corps in Bavaria, was quickly followed by the fall of the capital. A conflict of almoſt unexampled obſtinacy and bloodſhed enſued in the neighbourhood of that city, and the hopes of Europe revived, when Napoleon was, for the firſt time, ſeen retiring from the field with immenſe loſs, and under circumſtances apparently of almoſt complete diſcomfiture. But the ſubſequent inaction, whether juſtifiable or not,

of the Archduke, repreſſed theſe expectations, which were finally deſtroyed by the battle of Wagram, and the negotiations which immediately followed. An animating contraſt to theſe ſcenes of Imperial weakneſs, was afforded by the inſurrection of the Tyroleſe peaſantry; and cruel and melancholy as was the reſult of their attempt, the philoſophical politician was, in ſome degree, conſoled by the new teſtimony it gave of the energies of action and endurance, of which unperverted man is capable, when at length arouſed to the aſſertion of his rights by the contumely of a tyrannous uſurpation. The intimations of the tone of feeling prevailing in Germany, elicited by the movements of Schill and the Duke of Brunſwick, afforded a preſage not leſs encouraging of the advantages, which, under more favourable circumſtances, might be taken of this diſpoſition to overthrow the domination by which that people was degraded and oppreſſed.

A great revolution in Sweden by which a foreign ſoldier of fortune was raiſed to the crown of that kingdom, ſeemed to complete the ſyſtem of French influence on the Continent. Of the events more appropriate to Engliſh hiſtory, the expedition to the Scheldt ſtands unhappily the moſt prominent. We have given the narrative of that ill-fated attempt with conſiderable detail, re-

ſerving

ſerving for the following year the more direct diſcuſſion of its merits.

The Parliamentary proceedings of 1809, are particularly intereſting. The inveſtigation of the charges brought againſt the Duke of York abſorbed the public attention in a manner almoſt unprecedented in our hiſtory, and the whole talent of the houſe was exerted to the utmoſt in the lengthened diſcuſſions which took place upon it. The agitation of this matter naturally ſuggeſted the revival of the queſtion of reform, the debates upon which are more eſpecially remarkable, as containing the laſt, and, perhaps, the moſt admirable productions of the wiſdom and eloquence of the late Mr. Windham.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1809.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Campaign in Spain. Appointment of Sir John Moore to the Command of the Troops. Plan of the Campaign. Reinforcement under Sir David Baird. General Order to the Troops. March of the Troops in two separate Diviſions. The General leaves Liſbon. Reaches Salamanca. His deſponding View of the State of Affairs. Arrival of Sir Davia Baird at Corunna. Delay of his Landing. Situation of the Engliſh Army as deſcribed in the General's Letter to Mr. Frere. Remiſſneſs of the Spaniſh Government. News of the Defeat of Caſtanos arrives, and Moore reſolves to retreat. Orders Baird to fall back. Diſcontent of the Army upon this Meaſure. Letter arrives from Mr. Frere ſtrongly diſſuading it. Deſpatches from the Spaniſh Miniſters. Caſtelfranco and Morla begging the Advance of the Army. Charmilly arrives the ſame Day from the Engliſh Ambaſſador inforcing the Neceſſity of the ſame Meaſure. Moore ſuſpends his Deſigns, recalls Baird, and prepares to make a forward Movement. Charmilly ordered to leave Head-quarters. He learns the Fall of Madrid. Deſpatch from Colonel Graham. Plan of the Advance. Detachments of the Enemy ſurpriſed by the Cavalry under Lord Paget. Deſpatch from Berthier to Soult intercepted, containing an Account of the Diſpoſition of the Enemy's Forces. Moore moves upon Toro, and orders Baird to proceed to Benevente. Lord Paget cuts off a Detachment of the Enemy's Cavalry at Sohagun, to which Place Head-quarters are transferred. Propoſed Attack upon Soult abandoned upon the Receipt of Intelligence of the Advance of Buonaparte from Madrid. Communications with Portugal threatened. Moore determines to retreat. Diſcontent of the Troops. Falls

back upon the Eslar. Cavalry rencontre at Mayorga. Misconduct of the Army. General Order issued animadverting upon it. A Detachment of the French Guard surprised by Lord Paget. The Army reaches Astorga: continues to retreat, pursued by Soult. Stores abandoned. Discontent and Distress of the Army. Buonaparte discontinues the Pursuit in Person at Astorga. March by Villa Franca to Lugo. Abandonment of Stores and Baggage. Moore offers Battle at Lugo, which is not accepted. Retreat continued. Distress of the Army aggravated. At length reaches Corunna, where a Position is taken up to cover the Embarkation. The Enemy attack. Battle of Corunna. Death of Sir John Moore. The Enemy completely defeated. The Troops embark in the course of the Night and the following Morning. General Observations on the Plan and Conduct of the Campaign.

UPON the recal of Sir Hew Dalrymple, and the resignation of General Burrard, the chief command of the army in Portugal, as we have already stated, devolved upon Sir John Moore; who not long after received a despatch from the secretary at war, definitively confirming him in that important post. No appointment could well have been more popular with the army, or more satisfactory to the public in general: Sir John Moore possessed, perhaps beyond any officer in the service, the confidence and respect of both; and his nomination to the command of the troops afforded the fairest presage of the prosperous result of their operations.

The intended nature of these operations was sufficiently explained in Lord Castlereagh's dispatch. The convention of Cintra took place on the 30th of August, and five days afterwards the intelligence of that event was known in London. The measure of sending an army into the north of Spain had already been under the consideration of government, but was delayed, in part from the want of transports, arising from the obligation we had imposed on ourselves to convey the army of Junot back to France; but chiefly on account of the difficulty of arranging any measure of co-operation with the Spanish people, before the formation of some sole and supreme authority, which might at once act as the authentic organ of their will, and give system and direction to their exertions. Immediately, however, on the meeting of the supreme central junta at Aranjuez, Lord William Bentinck was dispatched to confer with them upon this subject, and it was arranged between that officer and Castanos, that the army in Portugal should move upon Burgos, by the route of Salamanca, to co-operate with the Spanish armies in that quarter, for the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula. With this view, it was intended that a British force, of not less than 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, should be assembled on the borders of Castile and Leon, from which it was purposed that they should operate on the open country, while the Spanish armies, which were unfurnished with the necessary proportion of cavalry, should act on their flanks in the mountains.

To compose this force, a body of

of 20,000 infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, were to be detached from the troops already arrived in Portugal, and to theſe was added a reinforcement of 10 or 12,000 men, already on their way from England, under the command of Sir David Baird. Theſe laſt, it was ſettled, ſhould be diſembarked at Corunna; the combination of their ſubſequent operations was left to be arranged by the Britiſh general with the Spaniſh commanders in the north, whoſe armies, it was expected, ſhould cover the advance and junction of their allies.

The deſpatches, announcing the intention of government, reached Liſbon on the 6th of October, and Sir John Moore immediately made every exertion to give them effect: although nothing had hitherto been done, either for the equipment of the men, or the preparing of the neceſſary means for a marching army, within eight days, by the indefatigable exertions of the general, the greater portion of the troops were put in motion.

The diviſion under the command of Sir David Baird, had left England for Corunna on the 9th, and, by Lord Caſtlereagh's deſpatch, it was left to the diſcretion of Sir John Moore to decide, whether the forces from Liſbon ſhould proceed by ſea or land to effect their junction with it; after ſome deliberation, the latter alternative was adopted, both from a conſideration of the hazards attending a coaſting voyage in the winter, and on account of the difficulties which it was apprehended would accompany the proviſioning in Gallicia of ſo large a body, as under theſe circumſtances would have been there aſſembled.

It yet remained to decide the line of march, to be taken by the army in proceeding to its deſtination. Of the two routes which preſented themſelves, it was aſſerted, both by Portugueſe and Britiſh officers, that the more direct one by Almeida and the north of Portugal, was impracticable for artillery. On the other hand, the Spaniſh commiſſaries ſtated it to be impoſſible to provide the means of ſubſiſting the whole army on the great eaſtern road by Elvas; no magazines having been formed for the ſupply of any ſuch numbers. It became neceſſary therefore to divide the army; the artillery and cavalry, with four regiments of infantry, marched, under the command of General Hope, by Elvas, on the Madrid road; General Paget led two brigades by Elvas and Alcantara: of the remainder of the troops, it was arranged that two brigades, under General Beresford, ſhould proceed by Coimbra to Almeida, while thoſe under General Fraſer moved by Abrantes to the ſame deſtination. The whole of the forces from Portugal were to unite at Salamanca, at which place, or at Valladolid, it was intended to form a junction with the diviſion under Sir David Baird; a body of about 11,000 men, under a ſeparate command, were left behind to garriſon Portugal.

On the 15th a general order was iſſued to the troops, admoniſhing them with reſpect to their conduct towards the Spaniards, who were juſtly deſcribed "as a grave orderly people, extremely ſober, but generous and warm in their temper, and eaſily offended by any inſult which is offered them;" and a hope was expreſſed, "that the ſoldiers would endeavour to accom-

modate themſelves to the manners of the inhabitants, be orderly in their quarters, and not ſhock by their intemperance a people worthy of their attachment, and whoſe efforts they were come to ſupport in the moſt glorious of all cauſes."

On the 27th, Sir John Moore, having ſuperintended the departure of the ſeveral diviſions, left Liſbon himſelf, and proceeded on his march to the north. On reaching Atalaia, he had the ſevere mortification of diſcovering that the roads which had been repreſented as impaſſable for artillery, were, in fact, though bad, eaſily practicable for that purpoſe; and that, conſequently, there had exiſted no real neceſſity for the ſeparation of General Hope's diviſion from the main body of the army; the error, however, though of the moſt ſerious conſequences to the future operations of the army, was irremediable. On the 8th the general paſſed through Almeida, and arrived at Salamanca with his advanced guard on the 13th. Here, before he had entered the town, he received intelligence of the rout of Count Belvidere, with the Eſtremaderan army, before Burgos. This ſeems to have given him a preſentiment of the events which were to follow. In a long and intereſting letter, which he wrote the ſame day to Lord William Bentinck at Madrid, he evidently betrays his ſenſe of the difficulties of his own ſituation, and his apprehenſion of the inefficiency of the ſupport to be derived from the Spaniards themſelves. He had written, he ſaid, to General Caſtanos, to draw from him ſome explanation reſpecting the movements of his army, and that of General Blake, which as yet were unintelligible. For though they knew that a Britiſh force was marching from different parts in order to unite, they had moved away from the point of aſſembly, leaving us to be attacked and interrupted before our junction. Upon the ſubject of additional reinforcements from England, he obſerved that the ſucceſs of the conteſt depended mainly upon the efforts of the Spaniards themſelves, and he was, therefore, "much more anxious to ſee exertion and energy in the government, and enthuſiaſm in their armies, than to have his force augmented. The moment was a critical one; his own ſituation was particularly ſo; he had never ſeen it otherwiſe, but he had puſhed into Spain at all hazards; this was the order of his government, and it was the will of the people of England. I ſhall endeavour," he concluded, "to do my beſt, hoping that all the bad that may happen will not happen, but that, with a ſhare of bad, we ſhall alſo have a portion of good fortune."

Two nights after this, the general was awakened by an expreſs, with the intelligence that the French had entered Valladolid, at the diſtance of only twenty leagues from Salamanca. As he had, at this moment, with him only three brigades of infantry, he concerted, with the junta of the town, a retreat upon Ciudad Rodrigo. By ſubſequent advices, however, he learnt that the force which had occupied Valladolid, conſiſting merely of a corps of cavalry, had retired next day to Palencia, and that, as yet, no part of the enemy's infantry was advanced beyond Burgos. Orders were, however, deſpatched

patched to Generals Hope and Baird, directing them to concentrate their ſeveral diviſions, and to march with all poſſible expedition upon Salamanca.

The troops under Sir David Baird had arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, but, by the abſurd punctilio and ſuſpicion of the Spaniſh authorities, they were prevented from landing, till an expreſs permiſſion to that effect could be obtained from the central junta. When this arrived, ſuch was the difficulty which Sir David experienced in ſupplying his army, ariſing from the general poverty of the country, the inexperience of his own commiſſariat, and the remiſſneſs and indiſpoſition of the people and local magiſtrates, that it was only by dividing his forces into ſmall detachments, to follow each other at conſiderable intervals, that he managed to reach Aſtorga, a diſtance of 200 miles only, on the 19th of November; and he informed Sir John Moore that he did not calculate upon being able to collect all his troops at that place before the fourth of the following month. Hope had reached the neighbourhood of Madrid on the 22d.

Some days before this, however, the intelligence of the defeat and diſperſion of the army of Blake had reached Sir John Moore, whoſe ſituation was now become one of exceeding difficulty and anxiety. He was, as he deſcribes himſelf in a letter to Mr. Frere, who had lately ſucceeded Lord William Bentinck as miniſter to the ſupreme government, in communication with no one Spaniſh army, nor acquainted with the intentions of the Spaniſh government, or of any of its generals. Caſtanos, with whom he had been put in correſpondence, had been deprived of his command; his ſucceſſor, Romana, was abſent. His troops were as yet only aſſembling, and from ſuch oppoſite directions, that he could not move towards one without proportionally increaſing his diſtance from the other, and, in the event of his being obliged to fall back, they would both riſk to be deſtroyed. In the meanwhile the French were within four marches of his headquarters, but in what numbers he could not learn. No channels of intelligence had been opened to him, and he had not been long enough in the country to procure them himſelf. His poſition was, in fact, ſufficiently perilous. By the defeat of Blake, Buonaparte had it in his power to turn his forces either againſt Caſtanos or the Britiſh general; and againſt ſuch an attack the latter had as yet nothing to oppoſe. No ſymptoms of enthuſiaſm were given by the people; the lower claſſes ſhewed little more than good-will to the cauſe, and the ſupineneſs and miſmanagement of thoſe in authority was often ſuch as it was difficult to account for, upon the ſuppoſition merely of native ſluggiſhneſs and incapacity. The general began therefore to entertain the moſt deſponding views of the probable reſult of the conteſt. "I ſee," ſays he in his journal, "my ſituation as clearly as any one, that nothing can be worſe; yet I am determined to form the junction of the army, and to try our fortune. We have no buſineſs here as things are, but being here it would never do to abandon the Spaniards without a ſtruggle."

On the 28th, the news of the defeat of Caſtanos reached Salamanca, and the Engliſh general inſtantly determined upon a retreat. His army, which had never been expected to act otherwiſe than as auxiliary to thoſe of the Spaniards, had now no longer any other to co-operate with, and it even appeared problematical whether he ſhould be allowed to effect the junction of the ſeveral diviſions of which it conſiſted. He took the reſolution, therefore, of retiring upon Liſbon; in ſo doing he expected to "fall back on his reſources, cover a country where there is a Britiſh intereſt, act as a diverſion in favour of Spain, ſhould the French detach a force againſt him, and be ready to return to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, if circumſtances again rendered it eligible." (Letter to Frere, 27th Nov.) He ſeems, however, to have entertained no hope of being able eventually to maintain Portugal againſt the enemy. In his letter, of the ſame date, to Sir David Baird, in which, purſuant to his propoſed retreat, he ordered that general to fall back upon Corunna, and there embark for the Tagus, he ſays, "Write immediately to England, and beg that tranſports may be ſent to Liſbon; they will be wanted; for when the French have Spain, Portugal cannot be defended." The ſame day he ſent orders to Hope, announcing his intention, and deſiring him to haſten his advance from Madrid by forced marches.

The deſign of retreating, when made known in the army at Salamanca, was almoſt univerſally diſapproved of. Officers of all ranks, and even thoſe on the general's ſtaff, united in their murmurs againſt a meaſure ſo unexpected. The general, however, continued firm in his intention, and was now only waiting the arrival of General Hope, to put it into execution, when, on the 2d of December, he received deſpatches from Madrid. In theſe Mr. Frere repreſented the ſtate of affairs in that quarter in a much more favourable light, and detailed the exertions of the government to collect and concentre the ſcattered remains of their armies, for the protection of the capital, the inhabitants of which were deſcribed as animated by the moſt entire devotion to the cauſe, and the ſtrongeſt ſpirit of reſiſtance to the enemy. He ſtrongly diſapproved the propoſed retreat of the Engliſh general; enforcing, on the contrary, the expediency of a ſpeedy advance to cover Madrid; and, in caſe this meaſure ſhould appear too hazardous in its nature, he, at all events, moſt earneſtly deprecated any movement upon Portugal, as a ſtep which would at once ſink the hearts of the whole country. In preference to this, he recommended the taking up a poſition in the ſtrong country about Aſtorga, from whence the march to Corunna would neither be long nor difficult, and which would enable the army to act in the flat country which opens from that point, and extends through the whole of Caſtile and Leon.

The reaſoning of the ambaſſador did not much affect Sir John Moore, who continued his preparations to fall back; but on the fifth he received a letter ſigned by the prince of Caſtelfranco, and by Morla, announcing "that the army which General Caſtanos commanded,

ed, amounting to about 25,00 men, was falling back on Madrid to unite with its garriſons, and that the force which had been at Samoſierra of 10,000 men was haſtening for the ſame purpoſe to that city, where nearly 40,000 men would join them. With this number of troops, they obſerved, that the enemy's army which had preſented itſelf was not to be feared; but that the junta apprehenſive of an increaſe of the enemy's force to unite with that at hand, was in hopes that the Engliſh general, if no force was immediately oppoſed to him, would be able to fall back to unite with their army, or take the direction to fall on the rear of the enemy; and the junta could not doubt that the rapidity of his excellency's movements would be ſuch as the intereſts of both countries required."

The prince of Caſtelfranco, and Don Thomas Morla, were deputies of the ſupreme junta intruſted with the defence of Madrid; and the latter was the perſon appointed to concert all military movements with the Engliſh general. Sir John Moore was taking their deſpatch into conſideration, when Colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant in the Engliſh ſervice, arrived with deſpatches from Mr. Frere. Charmilly had been in Madrid on the firſt inſtant, and had witneſſed the moſt unequivocal expreſſion of their zeal for the cauſe among all claſſes of the inhabitants. The whole maſs of the people were arming, the ſtreets broken up, houſes barricadoed, batteries erecting, and peaſants from all parts flocking to the defence of the capital. The Duc del Infantado had commiſſioned him to report to the Engliſh general this ſtate of affairs, and to intreat him to make ſome movement which might operate as a diverſion for the capital, which it was reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. In paſſing by Talavera, to which place the junta had retired on their way to Badajoz, Colonel Charmilly ſaw Mr. Frere, who inforced the ſame topics in the ſtrongeſt manner, in a letter to Sir John Moore, conſigning, at the ſame time to Charmilly another, which was to be delivered only in the event that the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual, and the purport of which was to demand that the bearer be examined as to what he had witneſſed, before a council of war. Sir John Moore made no reply to the repreſentations of Charmilly, being diſinclined to intruſt the nature of his views to one in whoſe character he did not altogether confide. But this concurrence of teſtimony and advice made naturally a ſtrong impreſſion on his mind. By his inſtructions he was directed to pay all deference and attention to the repreſentations both of the Spaniſh government and the Engliſh ambaſſador. The ſubſequent conduct of Caſtelfranco and Morla, has made it but too certain that they had no other purpoſe in their ſtatement, than to betray their allies to a more aſſured deſtruction; for in fact, on the very day that they wrote their deſpatch, they had begun to capitulate, and they knew that before it reached its addreſs, Buonaparte muſt, in effect, have made himſelf maſter of Madrid. Moore, however, who could have had no reaſon to ſuſ-

pect a treachery so base, and so complicated on the part of these noblemen, was convinced that a decided improvement had taken place in the state of public affairs, and he conceived it to be his duty to avail himself of it. The same night he wrote to Sir David Baird, desiring him to suspend his retreat: and on the following morning, by a second letter, he ordered him to return to Astorga. "We must be at hand," said he, "to aid and take advantage of whatever happens;" adding, "I mean to proceed bridle in hand, for if the bubble bursts, and Madrid falls, we shall have a run for it." Baird had luckily retired no further than Villafranca; and General Hope, by the rapidity of his marches, had already reached the neighbourhood of Salamanca. The position of the army was, therefore, become much more secure. The general had a complete though small corps, with cavalry and artillery, and by a movement to the left his junction with Sir David Baird was assured.

Charmilly, in the meanwhile, was utterly ignorant of this change of measures, and having had an opportunity of observing the general discontent of the army with respect to the proposed retreat, considered himself as obliged by his instructions to deliver the second letter with which he had been charged by Mr. Frere; and which, accordingly, on the following day he put into the hands of the general. Sir John was in a high degree exasperated at what he conceived to be a most insulting proposal, and almost immediately commanded the bearer to leave Salamanca. He wrote, however, to Mr. Frere, in a tone equally mild and dignified, abstaining from any reproach, and announcing his intention to make every effort for the relief of Madrid. It was impossible, however, to make any direct movement on that city, as the passes of Guadarama and Samosierra were in the occupation of the French; besides, until joined by Sir David Baird, he was much too weak. His plan, therefore, was to make a movement on Palencia and Burgos, which might threaten the enemies' communications on their rear, and thus operate a diversion, which by drawing the French from Madrid, might at the same time afford a relief to the capital, and an opportunity for the re-organization of the armies to the south of it. At all events, as he observed in his letter, he should thus cover Sir David Baird while assembling at Astorga and Benevente, secure his immediate communications with that corps, and in the meanwhile be equally safe as at Salamanca or Zamora. On the 8th he ordered Baird to push forward by brigades to Benevente, and himself prepared to make a movement on Zamora and Toro in order to effect a junction.

On the 9th news arrived of the betraying of Madrid by Morla. Colonel Graham who had been dispatched to that city, learnt the story of its capitulation on his arrival at Talavera; there he found a part of the central junta, and these informed him, that on the 3d some treacherous agreement had been made by Castelfranco and Morla with the French, who the day before had got pos-

session

ſeſſion of the Retiro and Prado. The inhabitants, however, had refuſed to give up their arms, and the enemy remained in the Retiro without having made any attempt to take poſſeſſion of the different poſts within the town. Their force was eſtimated at between 20 or 30,000 men. Caſtanos' army, under the command of La Pena, conſiſting of 30,000 men, was at Guadalaxa; about 12,000 of the remains of St. Juan and Hereida's force, was at Talavera, on their way to occupy the bridge of Almaraz: accounts which had been received from Romana, ſtated his force at 30,000, and the junta was moſt anxious that the Engliſh general ſhould concert operations with him. The whole amount of the enemy's force was not calculated to exceed from 70 to 80,000 men.

Such was the intelligence obtained by Colonel Graham, and Sir John Moore, without entirely depending upon its accuracy, conceived there were ſtill grounds to juſtify his adherence to his former deſign. Accordingly on the 12th he advanced from Salamanca. The movement was made from the left flank by brigades, towards the Duero: Lord Paget, with the cavalry, from Aſtorgas, had already reached Toro, to which place the reſerve and General Beresford's brigade was marched to meet him. The commander in-chief, with the other diviſions, moved on towards Alaejos and Tordeſillas, at which laſt place it was purpoſed to unite the whole, and from thence proceed to Valladolid; and with this view Sir David Baird was ordered to puſh his brigades by Benevente.

On the 12th Lord Paget, with the principal part of the cavalry, marched to Tordeſillas; and Brigadier-General Stuart, with two regiments of cavalry was moving the ſame day from Arevolo, when he ſurpriſed a party of French troops at the village of Rueda, and enveloping them by a rapid and ſkilful movement, killed or took almoſt the whole detachment. On the 14th Sir John Moore reached Alaegos; here he received a packet of letters from the head-quarters of the French army; it had been intercepted by ſome peaſantry, who had taken and put to death the officer encharged with it. Among the contents was a deſpatch from Marſhal Berthier to Soult, which afforded the firſt authentic intelligence which the Britiſh general had been able to obtain, reſpecting either the fate of Madrid, or the ſtrength or poſition of the enemy's forces in the field. Madrid, it appeared, was quite quiet, and ſubmiſſive: Soult had with him at Burgos two diviſions and four regiments of cavalry: Junot was collecting another diviſion at Burgos, and a fourth under Mortier was directed againſt Saragoſſa. The Engliſh were ſuppoſed to be in full retreat; the advanced guard of the French was to be that day, December 10th, at Talavera, on the way to Badajoz, and this movement it was expected would neceſſarily compel our army to run for Liſbon. Soult, therefore, it was ſaid, would have nothing but Spaniards to oppoſe him, and under theſe circumſtances he was ordered to march ſtraight forwards, move upon Leon, drive the enemy into Gallicia, and overthrow

throw every thing before him : a feat, which, the Engliſh being once out of the way, it was thought would be of no very difficult achievement.

This information determined the general to change his direction; finding Soult ſtronger than he had apprehended, he reſolved, inſtead of Valladolid, to move towards Toro, where he purpoſed to concentrate his forces; and he ſent orders to Baird to do the ſame at Benevente: from theſe poſitions the two diviſions, either by a forward or flank movement, might at any time effect their junction. At Toro, on the 16th, he received intelligence from Colonel Symes, whom he had deputed to Romana, of the ſtate of whoſe army the moſt deplorable account was given. On the 20th he reached Mayorga, where he was joined by Baird, and the reſt of the forces, which now completely united formed a force of 23,000 infantry, and 2,300 cavalry. The cavalry and horſe artillery were in advance at Monaſtero Melgar Abaxo, within three leagues of Sahagnn, where it was reported that a body of 700 of the enemy's cavalry were poſted. Lord Paget conceived the deſign of cutting off this detachment. On the night of the 20th he ſet out with the tenth and fifteenth Huſſars, and having ordered General Slade, with the former regiment to move along Cea, direct upon the town, attempted with the other to turn it. Unluckily he fell in with a patrole, which eſcaped and gave the alarm; the French had thus time to form on the outſide of the town, before Lord Paget could get round. However he charged immediately, overthrew and diſperſed them in a moment, taking 150 priſoners, among which were two lieutenant-colonels.

On the 21ſt Sir John Moore reached Sahagun, to which place head-quarters were transferred, and here a co-operation was ſatisfactorily eſtabliſhed with the troops of Romana, who engaged to ſupport any movement that might be concerted with nine or 10,000 men. In the meanwhile Soult had poſted his diviſions, conſiſting of about 18,000 men, behind the river Carrion, upon which line the Engliſh general was preparing to advance, with the reſolution of attacking him; a meaſure of which the event was anticipated with confidence by the whole army. In this feeling, as far as might reſpect the immediate reſult of the action, Sir John Moore no doubt participated. But his general views of the ſtate of affairs was not the leſs deſponding. In his letter to Mr. Frere, announcing his intention to attack the corps under Soult, after bitterly complaining of the want of co-operation on the part of the Spaniards, he obſerves, "The movement I am making is of the moſt dangerous kind. I not only riſk to be ſurrounded every moment by ſuperior forces, but to have my communication intercepted with Gallicia. I wiſh it to be apparent to the whole world, as it is to every individual of the army, that we have done every thing in ſupport of the Spaniſh cauſe, and that we do not abandon it, until long after the Spaniards had abandoned us." In fact, a reluctance to diſappoint the expectations of the people of England, an anxiety to have the appearance of having made an effort of ſome kind

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or other, ſeems confeſſedly to have dictated his latter movements, much more than any ſenſe of their expediency in a military point of view, or any hope of a beneficial reſult at all adequate, in his own eſtimation, to the riſk. Preparations were now made for an immediate engagement. Orders were iſſued to march the ſame evening to Carrion, from whence, on the morrow, it was reſolved to move upon Saldanher, for the purpoſe of attacking the enemy. Every diſpoſition to this effect was completed, and the troops were in the higheſt ſpirits, in the undoubting expectation of a glorious reſult. But, in the courſe of the day, intelligence arrived from various quarters, which gave a new turn to affairs. Strong reinforcements, it appeared, had already arrived at Carrion from Palencia; and, from the extraordinary quantity of proviſion and forage which was collecting in the neighbouring villages, it was to be inferred that more were expected. The French corps that was marching to the ſouth, had received orders to halt at Talavera; at the ſame time that it was aſcertained that the main force of the enemy was rapidly advancing from Madrid and the Eſcurial. A letter from Romana fully confirmed this latter piece of information.

Moore now perceived that what he had always apprehended was about to take place. Buonaparte, undeceived as to the ſuppoſed retreat of the Engliſh upon Liſbon, was taking meaſures to avail himſelf of their advance, and making every exertion to outnumber and envelop them. For this purpoſe, it is ſaid, he had inſtructed Soult, to avoid an immediate action, but rather, by gradually falling back, to draw his adverſary as much as poſſible to the Eaſt, and thus enable the corps which were advancing from Madrid upon Benevente, to take up a poſition which would completely ſhut out our retreat. Under theſe circumſtances the general conceived that no time was to be loſt. The troops were ſuddenly ordered back to their quarters, and a meſſage deſpatched to Romana, adviſing him of this change of operations, and of the circumſtances which rendered it neceſſary. Meaſures were taken for immediately retiring upon Aſtorga, at which place the general propoſed to make his ſtand, as he imagined that his retreat from thence would in all events be ſecure. "There," as he obſerved in his letter to Romana, "he ſhould be in the way to receive the ſupplies and reinforcements he expected from England. At the worſt, he thought he could maintain himſelf, defend the Gallicias, give time for the formation of the armies in the ſouth, and of that under Romana, when a joint effort might be made, which alone could be efficacious." He further requeſted that the marquis would leave a ſtrong corps at Mauſilla, to defend the bridge, and that Aſtorga and its neighbourhood, together with the paſſage into Gallicia, might be left clear for the Britiſh troops.

The bridge at Mauſilla is that which croſſes the Eſlar, on the road to Leon. It was ſuppoſed impoſſible that the Britiſh army could take this route in its march to Aſtorga, as the country was completely exhauſted by Romana's people. The choice therefore lay between

between the more direct road by Valencia, where there was only a ferry over the river, and the bridge at Caſtro Gonſalo, in the way to Benevente. Many circumſtances contributed to make the adoption of the former route by the whole army unadviſable. Intelligence had been received that the river was rapidly increaſing, the ford would be deep, and the boats were few; it was reſolved therefore that the whole army ſhould be divided into two bodies, of which one, under the command of Sir David Baird, took the ſhorter route by Valencia, while the general himſelf proceeded with the other to Benevente. That theſe movements ſhould be executed with all poſſible rapidity, was now become eſſential to the ſafety of the army. Buonaparte in perſon, with 40,000 men, was ſpeedily advancing upon the ſame point, and the advanced guard of his cavalry had paſſed through Tordeſillas on the very day that the Engliſh general commenced his retreat from Sahagun. On the 26th the diviſion under Baird ſucceeded, after ſome difficulty, in effecting their paſſage of the Eſlar at Valencia, while the remainder of the forces proceeded without moleſtation to Caſtro Gonzalo, at which place the rear guard paſſed, and blew up the bridge on the 27th. Lord Paget with the horſe effectually covered theſe movements from any attempt on the part of the enemy's cavalry, of which ſome ſtrong detachments had been puſhed forward to the neighbourhood of Villalpando and Mayorga. At the latter place a very brilliant rencontre took place on the 26th, in which Colonel Leigh, with a portion of the tenth Huſſars, charged and overthrew a ſuperior party of the enemy, ſtrongly poſted on a ſteep hill, killed and wounded ſeveral, and took above a hundred priſoners.

Upon his arrival at Benevente, the general found it neceſſary to iſſue a general order, animadverting in the ſtrongeſt manner upon the conduct of the troops on the march from Sahagun. From the begining they had always manifeſted their averſion to the ſyſtem of retreat, and their diſcontents on the ſubject returned with redoubled acrimony when that deſign was again reverted to at the very moment that their hopes were wound to the higheſt pitch by the expected attack upon Soult. The ſtate of the weather, the inſufficiency of ſupplies, and the apparent indiſpoſition of the people towards them, equally contributed to exaſperate their diſlike of the meaſure, and the ſoldiers had given looſe to their angry and indignant humours in acts of diſorder and plunder, which the remiſſneſs and backwardneſs of the inhabitants to afford ſupplies could better account for than excuſe. The expreſſions of the commander of the forces, on this ſubject, were proportionally ſtrong. "The miſbehaviour of the troops," ſays he, "in the column which marched by Valderas to this place, exceeded what he could have believed of Britiſh ſoldiers. It is diſgraceful to the officers, as it ſtrongly marks their negligence and inattention. He could feel no mercy," he continued, "towards officers who neglect, in times like theſe, eſſential duties, or towards ſoldiers who injure the country they are ſent to protect. The Spaniſh forces

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have been overpowered; and until ſuch times as they are re-aſſembled and ready to come forward, the ſituation of the army muſt be arduous, and ſuch as to call for the exertion of qualities the moſt rare and valuable in a military body. Theſe are not bravery alone, but patience and conſtancy under fatigue and hardſhip, obedience to command, ſobriety, firmneſs and reſolution in every different ſituation in which they may be placed. When it is proper to fight a battle the general will do it; and he will chooſe the time and place he thinks moſt fit: in the mean time he begs the officers and ſoldiers of the army to attend diligently to diſcharge their parts, and to leave to him and to the general officers the deciſion of meaſures which belong to them alone." This laſt paragraph was in alluſion to the ſpirit of criticiſm upon the meaſures adopted, in which certain of the officers had indulged.

Severe and ſtrong as was this language, it had but little effect. The ſame ſpirit of irregularity and diſorder continued to animate the troops during their ſtay at Benevente, where the caſtle, a magnificent Gothic edifice belonging tothe Duke of Oſſuna, and of the extent of which ſome notion may be inferred from the fact, that two regiments were quartered within its walls, was ſpoiled and almoſt gutted by the moſt wanton ravage. In the meanwhile it was neceſſary that the march ſhould continue. The general ſeems at this time to have abandoned all intention of maintaining himſelf in Gallicia, conceiving that the overwhelming numbers of his purſuers, rendered any ſuch endeavour impracticable. His exertions were now ſolely directed towards reaching the coaſt, where Vigo was the place appointed for the embarkation. To this town there are two routes from Benevente. The one paſſing by Orenſe is the more direct, but unhappily not practicable for artillery, or baggage-waggons. The army was, therefore, compelled to take the more circuitous courſe by Aſtorga, to which place Sir David Baird, with the diviſions at Valencia, was inſtructed to direct his march. On the 29th Sir John Moore left Benevente with the reſerve, having previouſly deſtroyed the bridge on the Eſlar, and Lord Paget, as uſual, brought up the rear with his cavalry. Before, however, that officer had left the place, he perceived a detachment of the enemy's horſe attempting a ford a little below the bridge, and ſhortly after, the whole, conſiſting of nearly 600 cavalry, forming a part of the imperial guard, plunged into the river and gained the oppoſite bank. They were gallantly oppoſed by the Britiſh piquets, which immediately collected under Colonel Otway, until Lord Paget was enabled to bring up the 10th huſſars to their aſſiſtance, when General Stuart charged, and after a ſhort but ſharp conflict the enemy gave way, and precipitately repaſſed the river, leaving in our hands about 70 priſoners, among whom was their colonel, the General Lefebvre. The reſult of this affair effectually checked the impatience of the French, and our march to Baneſſa was purſued unmoleſted. A body of 3,000 men, under the command of General Craufurd was detached to Vigo,

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by the route of Orenſe, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the road in that direction.

On the following day the army reached Aſtorga, which, contrary to the expreſs intreaty of Sir John Moore, was found to be already occupied by the troops of Romana. That general had retired thither, purſued by Soult, who after capturing the corps left to defend the bridge at Mauſilla, had ſubſequently made himſelf maſter of Leon without reſiſtance, and was now marching upon Aſtorga, to effect at that point his junction with the grand army under Buonaparte. The neighbourhood of the town preſented no poſition by which the Engliſh army could be enabled to reſiſt ſuch ſuperior force, and meaſures were taken for immediately continuing the retreat, to the increaſed diſappointment of the troops, who had looked forward to this as the point where a ſtand would finally be attempted. A depôt of military ſtores which had been formed here, and the whole of the camp equipage belonging to Sir David Baird's corps, which had been brought from Corunna, was deſtroyed, together with a conſiderable quantity of baggage belonging to the officers. Meaſures which ſufficiently indicated that the general had no other object in view than to expedite, by every poſſible means, his ſpeedy arrival on the coaſt. On the 30th and 31ſt, the ſeveral diviſions left Aſtorga. To the north-weſt of that town riſe two ranges of ſteep and lofty mountains, in a direction nearly north and ſouth, incloſing a tract of fertile and delicious country, denominated the Bierzo. Acroſs this runs the great road to Corunna, paſſing through a ſeries of ſuch defiles, that Romana had ſome time before recommended it to the attention of the Britiſh general, as a paſs in which 1,000 men might effectually reſiſt twenty times their number. Sir John Moore however took no meaſures to avail himſelf of it. Beſide the difficulty of procuring ſupplies which would attend any delay in that country at that ſeaſon, he ſeems to have been of opinion that almoſt any poſition on this line, would be liable to be turned by roads on his flanks. This has been ſtrongly controverted, and in fact it ſcarcely ſeems clear that the general gave the ſubject ſufficient conſideration. The troops however went on. The weather continued horrible; the roads almoſt impaſſable from the ſnow and mud; the whole country, naturally poor, now completely exhauſted by the paſſage of ſucceſſive armies—The diſcontent and diſorder of the ſoldiery reached its height. It was no longer poſſible to reſtrain them from acts of violence and rapine the moſt audacious, and they gave vent to all the exceſſes which intemperance and exaſperation could ſuggeſt.

Buonaparte had by this time reached Aſtorga, where his forces united, compoſed a body of not leſs than 70,000 men. He did not proceed in perſon beyond this town, but leaving Soult with three diviſions to purſue the retiring Engliſh, turned his attention elſewhere. The ſituation of our army in the meanwhile, became aggravated by every circumſtance which could contribute to its diſtreſs. The rain fell in torrents, drenching the troops, who with difficulty made their way through roads knee deep

deep in mire. When they halted they were often without either ſhelter or fire, or even proviſions. The magazines were carried in waggons drawn chiefly by Spaniſh cattle. The drivers frequently ran away in the night, and without them, it became impoſſible to make their animals move. Stores and baggage was thus of neceſſity deſtroyed, or, with the ſick and the wounded, abandoned on the approach of the enemy. Stragglers from the corps in advance became accumulated in the towns, and were commonly diſabled by intoxication from rejoining their diviſions. On paſſing by Bambibre, the general found it crowded by individuals of this deſcription, to the number of nearly a thouſand; when the reſerve moved onwards a body of cavalry was left to cover the town, and to warn the ſoldiers of their danger. The intimation had little effect; a few only were rouſed to exertion, till the appearance of the enemy obliged our cavalry to retire, when the road was thronged by an indiſcriminate medley of ſtragglers, Spaniſh and Britiſh, mules, carts, women and children. The enemy's ſquadrons galloped through the crowd, ſlaſhing with their ſabres to the right and left, the wretched ſoldiery, who, in their ſtate of inſenſibility, made no effort to reſiſt or even to eſcape. Some of theſe ſtragglers who had got off, were afterwards ſhown in their mangled ſtate, by way of warning to the reſt, and at Villafranca, where ſimilar diſorders had taken place, a man was ſhot as an example.

A ſkirmiſh of cavalry took place on the 3rd at Cacabelos. From Villafranca, the general finding himſelf preſſed by the enemy, reſolved to puſh on to Lugo, where he reſolved to give battle. Orders were ſent to the diviſions in advance to halt at that place, and in order to expedite his own movements, he made a night march to Herrerias. At Lugo they arrived on the 5th, after a march in which the miſery and privation endured by the army ſeems to have reached their conſummation. The men worn out by inceſſant fatigue, and fainting from inanition threw themſelves in deſpair by the way-ſide to meet their fate in the ſnow. Of the women and children, many dropped on the road from wearineſs, more were frozen to death in the waggons which broke down, or were left behind for want of cattle to draw them. Almoſt all that remained of the baggage was abandoned; among the reſt it was even found impoſſible to retain the dollars, whole caſks of which were rolled over the precipices by the ſide of the road. In the midſt of this, they met at Nogales, between thirty and forty waggons, laden with ſtores, on their way for the ſupply of Romana's army, which were alſo of neceſſity deſtroyed.

At Lugo the general publiſhed another general order, reflecting in ſtill ſtronger terms, if poſſible, than before, on the miſconduct of the troops in their march, and announcing his intention to offer battle. This intimation almoſt inſtantaneouſly reſtored order and diſcipline among the troops; a favourable poſition was taken up, and the approach of the enemy was eagerly awaited. On the 7th Soult made

made ſome partial attacks on our line, which were repulſed with ſuch vigour, that he did not think proper to repeat them. On the 8th our army continued drawn out in array for engagement. The enemy however did not ſtir, and Moore judged it inadviſable to attempt an attack. Their poſition was ſtrong; a failure would be fatal, and ſucceſs of little eſſential advantage. To remain was impoſſible, as they had not two days' proviſions with them, and, accordingly, next morning they continued the retreat. It had already been determined to change the deſtination of the army from Vigo to Corunna, which latter, among other advantages, was three marches nearer; and orders had been deſpatched to ſend round the tranſports to that place. The march continued as irregular as ever, notwithſtanding the warnings of the general, who told the ſoldiers "that they had ſtill eleven leagues to march, and muſt make an effort to accompliſh them; the rear guard could not ſtop, and thoſe who fell behind muſt take their fate." The diſorder and ſtraggling ſtill prevailed in the ranks, but the enemy made no efforts to avail himſelf of it, and the troops on the 11th reached Betanzos undiſturbed.

On the next day, they arrived at Corunna, after a diſaſtrous, retreat or rather flight, of nearly three weeks, in the courſe of which they had loſt about a fourth of their number, almoſt all their cavalry horſes, and abandoned the ſick and wounded, together with the military cheſt, and all their ſtores, baggage, and ammunition. The tranſports, detained by contrary winds, had not yet got round from Vigo, and it became neceſſary to make arrangements, which might enable the army to await with ſecurity their arrival. The enemy had already made his appearance on the heights, and it was obvious that the troops would have to gain a battle before they could effect their embarkation. The ground was therefore examined for a poſition. Had the army been ſufficiently numerous to occupy a range of hills about four miles diſtant from the town, it would have been enabled to reſiſt a very ſuperior force. This, however, with their preſent numbers, was found to be impoſſible; and they were obliged to take up, on a lower range, nearer the bay, a poſition which appeared ſo diſadvantageous that ſeveral of the general officers adviſed Sir John Moore to offer terms to the enemy, by which he might be ſuffered to embark his troops without moleſtation. This degrading counſel, the general happily rejected, and proceeded to take the neceſſary meaſures for effecting his object in a manner more conſiſtent with the honour of his army, and of England. General Hope, with the firſt diviſion, was poſted on a hill on the left, commanding the road to Betanzos, and the height of which gradually decreaſed in a curved direction, towards the village of Elvina, where Baird's diviſion began, and bending to the right, formed with the other nearly a ſemicircle. To the right of Baird, the rifle corps ſtretched acroſs a valley, and communicated with General Fraser's diviſion, which was drawn up on the road to Vigo, about half a mile from

from Corunna. The reserve under General Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half a mile in the rear of General Hope.

On the 14th a partial cannonade took place on both sides. A magazine of 4000 barrels of gunpowder which had been formed on a hill beyond the British posts was blown up, it being impossible to remove it. The same evening the transports from Vigo hove in sight. The embarkation of the sick, and of the baggage, began immediately, and was continued incessantly throughout the 15th, on which day the enemy remained for the most part quiet. On the morning of the 16th, they continued to give no demonstration of an intended attack, and, every thing being in readiness, it was resolved to embark the troops the same night. General orders with relation to this measure were issued to the officers, and all arrangements being completed, about one o'clock the general had mounted his horse to visit the outposts, when he learnt that the enemy's line was getting under arms. He hastened to the field. The firing had already commenced on the right, where the enemy's light troops were pouring down on our position, and soon after a heavy cannonade was directed on our line from eleven guns advantageously planted on the hills in front.

The French now moved from their position in four strong columns. Two advanced from a wood upon our right, which was the weakest point of our line, a third threatened the centre, and a fourth approached the left along the road from El Burgo. General Paget was ordered to bring up the reserve to support our right, where the position was bad, but of the most vital importance, as the loss of it would inevitably have induced the ruin of the army, and, in the meanwhile, it was gallantly maintained by Lord William Bentinck's brigade, consisting of the 4th, the 42nd, and 50th regiments, with the guards in their rear. The two lines now advanced, and were nearly closing, when it was perceived that the French line extended beyond the right flank of the British, and that a body of the enemy was moving up the valley to turn it. The half of the fourth regiment, which formed this flank, instantly fell back forming with the other half an obtuse angle, and commenced a heavy flanking fire. The general, who observed the manœuvre expressed his approbation, and went on to the 50th regiment, which, commanded by Majors Napier and Stanhope, had got over an inclosure in front, charged the enemy, and drove them with great slaughter out of the village of Elvina; but unhappily Napier advancing too far, was wounded and taken, and Stanhope received a mortal wound. He then joined the 42nd, whom he addressed with the words, "highlanders remember Egypt." They rushed forwards driving the enemy before them till stopped by a wall. The general now sent Captain Harding to order up a battalion of the guards to the left flank of the highlanders, and was observing the manner of its advance, when he was struck to the ground by a cannon ball, which carried away his left shoulder, and part of his collar bone, leaving

the arm hanging by the fleſh. He raiſed himſelf, and continued looking intently at the highlanders, with a countenance ſo unaltered in its expreſſion, that Colonel Graham who had diſmounted to aſſiſt him, at firſt entertained hopes that he was not even wounded. But the dreadful effuſion of blood too plainly betrayed the truth, and he was removed in a blanket to the rear. As they were raiſing him up, his ſword became entangled between his legs, and Captain Harding was about to take it off, but the general ſaid in his uſual tone and manner, and in a diſtinct voice, "it is as well as it is, I had rather it ſhould go out of the field with me." Sir David Baird had, early in the day, had his arm ſhattered with a cannon ball, and been compelled to leave the field. The command therefore now devolved on General Hope.

In the meanwhile General Paget with the reſerve, had moved up rapidly to ſupport the right. Colonel Beck with the rifle corps, ruſhed on, driving back the enemy, and advancing on their flank, till compelled to retire before a much ſuperior corps, who were moving up the valley. General Paget attacked this corps with a portion of the reſerve, and ſpeedily repelled it. He then preſſed on, diſperſing every thing before him, till the enemy, finding their left wing quite expoſed, drew it entirely back. They then advanced on the centre, but were effectually repelled by Generals Maſſingham and Leith, the ground here being more elevated, and favourable for artillery. Their efforts on our left, where the poſition was very ſtrong, were ſtill more unavailing; but a body took poſſeſſion of a village on the Betanzos road, and continued to fire till beaten out by Colonel Nichols, with ſome companies of the 14th. The enemy had now fallen back in every direction; night was cloſing in, but the firing continued till dark.

The victory was deciſive, though obtained under many circumſtances of diſadvantage. Our numbers, after all deductions, did not exceed 15,000 men. The enemy were at leaſt a fourth more numerous, their poſition much better, and their cannon of heavier metal. The loſs on our ſide, amounted to between ſeven or eight hundred killed and wounded; that of the French was near two thouſand. Moore lived to hear of the completion of his victory. The event of the battle was the thought uppermoſt in his mind ever ſince he had left the field, and he aſked of every one he knew as they entered his chamber, "are the French beaten?" When aſſured that they were, on every point, he expreſſed the livelieſt ſatisfaction; but ſtill betrayed his anxiety reſpecting the opinion which his country would form of his conduct. "I hope the people of England will be ſatisfied," ſaid he, "I hope my country will do me juſtice." He lingered a few hours in great pain, and died in the courſe of the evening without a ſtruggle. As he had been heard repeatedly to declare his wiſh, if he were killed in battle, to be buried where he had fallen, it was determined that the body ſhould be interred on the rampart of the citadel of Corunna. A grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment; no coffin could be procured, and the body was never undreſſed,

dreſſed, but wrapt up in a military cloak and blanket, was borne to the ſpot by the officers of his family; when the funeral ſervice was read, and the corps committed to the earth *.

In the courſe of the night the embarkation of the troops was nearly completed. At ten o'clock, the ſoldiers had been marched by brigades to Corunna, where the boats were in readineſs, General Beresford with 2,000 men, occupying the lines in front of the town, and covering the whole operation. In the morning the enemy having diſcovered the departure of the Britiſh, puſhed on ſome light troops to the heights of St. Lucia, and got ſome guns up to a riſing ground near the harbour, whence they fired at the tranſports. Several of the maſters were ſo much alarmed, that they cut their cables, and four of the veſſels ſtranded. The troops of theſe ſhips were removed to others, and the veſſels themſelves burnt. The reſt of the fleet then left the harbour. The ſame night (Jan. 17), General Beresford ſent off all the ſick and wounded, which were in a condition to be removed, and embarked next morning with the rear guard, without the ſlighteſt interruption from the enemy.

Such was the unhappy termination of our firſt expedition to the peninſula. The diſappointment to the public was moſt bitter, in proportion to the height of its previous expectations. It was a ſubject of long and vehement controverſy, to determine the proper origin and occaſion of a failure—ſo deciſive and complete. In this inquiry, the wiſdom and expediency of the original plan of operations, as laid down by government, became the chief ſubject of animadverſion. Nothing, it was contended, but defeat and diſaſter, could, from the beginning, have been expected from a ſcheme, ſo radically deficient in its very contrivance; nor could miniſters have been ignorant of the utter inadequacy of the means in preparation for the attainment of the propoſed objects, without the groſſeſt miſcalculation on their part, or the moſt culpable remiſſneſs in obtaining information. The force of the French behind the Ebro never fell much below 50,000 men, excluſively of the 15,000 employed in garriſons; and it was notorious, that ſince the retreat of Joſeph from Madrid, the enemy had, for nearly three months, been inceſſantly exerting himſelf, for the reinforcement of theſe troops to at

* Subſequently, upon the re-occupation of Corunna by Romana, a monument was erected to his memory by that general, with the following inſcription: "Grateful Spain, to the glory of the Engliſh General Moore and his valiant countrymen." "A la gloria del General Ingles Moore y ſus valientes compatriotas; la Eſpana agradecida." A not leſs honourable tribute was paid to his memory by the commander-in-chief, in a general order to the army, from which we extract the following paſſage: "The life of Sir John Moore was ſpent among the troops. During the ſeaſon of repoſe his time was devoted to the care and inſtruction of the officer and ſoldier. In war he courted ſervice in every quarter of the globe. Regardleſs of perſonal conſiderations, he eſteemed that to which his country called him, the poſt of honour! and by his undaunted ſpirit and unconquerable perſeverance, he pointed the way to victory. His country, the object of his lateſt ſolicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory, and the commander-in-chief feels that he is paying the beſt tribute to that memory in thus holding him up as an example to the army."

leaſt double their amount. The armies of Spain oppoſed to this force, and which, government ſeems to have expected, might even of themſelves have ſufficed to drive it beyond the Pyrenees, can ſcarcely, notwithſtanding the exaggerated calculations of the juntas, have ever exceeded the number of 70,000 men in the field. It is known that the troops of Blake, which alone were eſtimated at nearly that amount, and upon which the Britiſh government mainly depended, as operating to cover the movements neceſſary for the aſſembling of its own forces, had at no time compoſed a body of above 37,000 men, including thoſe brought from Denmark by Romana. The Eſtremaduran army, commanded by Belvedere, conſiſted of about 18,000, and the force under Caſtanos and Palafox ſuppoſed to be the moſt numerous and effective of any, according to Colonel Graham's report, were hardly 30,000 ſtrong. Of all theſe troops, a conſiderable proportion conſiſted of half-armed, half-clothed peaſantry, as rude and inefficient in their diſcipline as they were deſtitute in equipment, and yet the groſs amount of their force, incluſive of the Britiſh, was numerically much inferior to that of the veteran armies, which, under every poſſible advantage of organization and conduct, were daily pouring over the Pyrenees to meet them.

The ſame error, it was ſaid, was obſervable in the eſtimates formed of the aſſiſtance expected to be derived from the maſs of the people. The ardent and univerſal enthuſiaſm which had been attributed to them, manifeſted itſelf little otherwiſe than in the expreſſion of good will to the cauſe. In other reſpects, ſo little was it to be depended upon as a means of active or effectual reſiſtance to the enemy, that it hardly ſufficed to animate the inhabitants to that degree of exertion and ſacrifice, which was neceſſary for the ordinary ſupply and proviſioning of the troops which came to their protection. No confidence exiſted towards the government; no concert had been arranged between the generals; miniſters had equally been miſled by the vaunting reports of the juntas, and the romantic exaggerations of the young officers whom they had deſpatched as commiſſioners to report on the ſtate and diſpoſition of the country; and it was not difficult to foreſee the fate of an expedition, thus blindly thruſt forward under circumſtances of ignorance and miſmanagement ſo complicated.

It cannot be denied that much of the objection thus urged was reaſonable and well founded; yet it is perhaps more eaſy to detect the obſtacles which oppoſed themſelves to the probable ſucceſs of the particular plan which miniſters adopted, than to point out that other ſcheme of offenſive operations to which the ſame difficulties would not almoſt equally apply. The difficulties, in fact, were ſubſtantially inherent in the very nature of the war itſelf, and as ſuch might be ſaid to attach more properly to the general queſtion of the policy and expediency of that meaſure, than to any particular plan of operation undertaken in promotion of it. The ſuperior and almoſt inexhauſtible reſources of France; the neceſſarily limited meaſure of military

military ſuccour which could be afforded by England; the inefficiency of the Spaniſh armies in the field; the difficulty of effectually co-operating with them in that eſpecial kind of warfare to which alone they ſeemed adapted; the unmanageable prejudices of the people, and the ineffective conſtruction of their government; theſe were the obſtacles that eſſentially impeded the ſucceſs of our expedition, and theſe would have exiſted, in whatever part of the peninſula we landed, or whatever line of operations we took up. Had the troops been ſent to Cadiz inſtead of Corunna, ſuch a ſyſtem might poſſibly have better provided for the ſecurity and convenience of their retreat and re-imbarkation; and at any rate would have rather betrayed an anxiety to ſecure thoſe objects, than any alacrity to co-operate with our allies in the field; but unleſs the deſtruction of the armies on the Ebro had been aſſumed as neceſſary and inevitable, it hardly ſeems obvious how ſuch a meaſure could immediately have aſſiſted Spain, whoſe battles were then fighting in the north, or even in what degree it would ultimately have tended to the protection of the provinces in the ſouth. The Sierras of Andaluſia might have proved as little defenſible againſt a ſuperior force, as the Gallician paſſes were eſteemed to be in the retreat from Aſtorga; and the co-operation of the Spaniſh armies might have been as inefficient in La-Mancha, as Sir Arthur Wellesley not long after experienced it in Eſtremadura.

Aſſuming it, therefore, for granted, that an effort was to be made, we are diſpoſed to think that its ſucceſs was as probable in the direction ſelected by the cabinet, as in any other that could well be pointed out. By taking up this poſition, we were neareſt at hand to co-operate with and ſupport the exertions of our allies; as a diverſion, it would operate, perhaps more effectually than any other, by menacing the right flank of the French advance; and there was every reaſon, from the accounts given of the face of the country, to ſuppoſe it more than commonly defenſible in its nature, and available for the protection of a retreating army. On this ſide, moreover, our armies were more than any other within the reach of ſupply and ſuccour from home; a conſideration of no ſlight importance in a war carried on in a country like Spain. That, however, there was ſome unneceſſary delay in the ſending out the troops, and much miſmanagement in arranging the details of the campaign, we are not diſpoſed to diſpute; nor perhaps was it to be wondered at in the firſt inſtance, when we conſider the neceſſary inexperience of our military departments in the ordering of ſuch matters; an inexperience ariſing chiefly from the want of uſe in continental expeditions, but partly perhaps from the very nature of our government, in which a man is commonly choſen war miniſter from his parliamentary influence, or parliamentary tactics, or any thing rather than any ſenſe of his eſpecial fitneſs for the peculiar duties of his office.

The conduct of the general himſelf, commanding the forces in this ill-fated expedition, was equally the ſubject of diſpute. He was

alike blamed for not advancing earlier, ſo as to cover and protect the capital; for advancing at all at the time at which he did advance, and for retreating in a manner ſo precipitate and diſaſtrous. We do not profeſs to feel ourſelves competent, did even the nature and limits of our work permit it, to enter into a detailed diſcuſſion of points purely of military conſideration; but we muſt obſerve, that it is clear from the accounts given, that Moore's inaction, in the firſt inſtance, was wholly and ſolely attributable to the abſolute neceſſity he was under of waiting for the junction of the corps under Hope and Baird. Before this it would have been madneſs to advance; and this could not poſſibly have been effected before the 13th or 14th of December. The defeat of Caſtanos took place on the 23d of November. "Had this army," ſays Moore, in his letter to Frére of December 6th, "been united and ready to act at the time of Caſtanos' defeat, much as I think it would have been riſking it, yet it was my intention to have marched on Madrid, and to have ſhared the fortunes of the Spaniſh nation. If I could not have ſuſtained myſelf there, I might have given the broken armies and people of Spain, if they had patriotiſm left, an opportunity to aſſemble round me, and to march to the relief of the capital." But whatever might have been the effects of ſuch a movement, that it was wholly out of his power is evident from a ſimple compariſon of dates: Baird did not calculate on collecting all his corps at Aſtorga before the 4th of December, and the complete junction, Moore ſays, could not poſſibly have been effected before the 13th or 14th of the ſame month. Now on the 30th of November, the paſs of Samoſierra was in poſſeſſion of the French, and on the 2d of December, Buonaparte appeared before Madrid.

The queſtion of the propriety of the ſubſequent advance from Salamanca, is one of much more difficulty. Moore evidently ſaw the extreme peril of the attempt, as clearly and ſtrongly as any one; and, in fact, in making it, ſeems almoſt to have acted againſt his own decided judgment of the expediency of the meaſure, from an anxiety to conciliate the popular feeling at home. On this point, therefore, he would appear, by his own ſhewing, to have been wrong. It is, indeed, impoſſible, when we conſider all the peculiar circumſtances of his ſituation, the remonſtrances of Frére, the intreaties of the Spaniſh authorities, the known expectations of the people of England, not to ſympathize ſtrongly with the feelings under which he was led to take this ſtep; but in a purely military point of view, we fear he cannot altogether be juſtified.

Upon the conduct of the retreat, it is difficult to form an opinion; the queſtion, for the moſt part, neceſſarily turns upon points merely of local circumſtance and accident, concerning which they only who are acquainted with the country are in any degree qualified to decide. But it muſt be confeſſed, that upon a ſimple and general view of the caſe, there does hardly appear to have been ſufficient reaſon for the extraordinary precipitateneſs with which the march was conducted. Throughout the whole

there

there is no appearance of any thing like the exertion of military ſkill or ſcience; of any attempt to arreſt the progreſs of the purſuer, by taking advantage of the nature of the country, or by an able diſpoſition of the retreating columns. From the beginning to the end, it ſeems to have been a mere flight, ſucceſsful only by the abandonment of every thing that could impede the movement of the army. It is, however, only fair to preſume, that the nature of the actual circumſtances admitted of no better means, and that thoſe on the ſpot were the beſt judges of the practicability of meaſures, altogether depending upon local accident and diſpoſition.

CHAP. II.

Opening of Parliament. King's Speech. Expreſſion of a Determination to continue the War in Spain. Addreſs in reply moved in the Lords by Lord Bridgewater, and ſeconded by Lord Sheffield. Singular Speech of Earl St. Vincent. Lord Sidmouth ſupports the Addreſs with a reſerve of Opinion as to Details. Lord Grenville does the ſame, ſtrongly expreſſing at the ſame Time his diſapprobation of the Syſtem of Miniſters, and reprobating their whole Conduct in the Peninſula. Alludes to America. Lord Liverpool replies, and Defends the Conduct of Government. Lords Erſkine and Moira follow on the other Side, and are replied to by the Lord Chancellor. Addreſs voted without Diſſent. Debate in the Commons. Mr. Ponſonby's Speech. Animadverts upon the Conduct of the Campaign; but does not oppoſe the Addreſs. Lord Caſtlereagh vindicates the Proceedings of Miniſters in Sweden and Spain. Explains the Grounds on which the Troops had been ſent to Spain. Mr. Whitbread expreſſes his Fears for the ultimate Reſult of the Conteſt. Doubts of the cordial Co-operation of the Spaniards in the Cauſe. Diſapproves of the Tone of the Reply to Buonaparte's Propoſitions. Mr. Canning replies. Aſſerts the Impoſſibility of ſending an Army to Spain before the Organization of a ſupreme and reſponſible Government in that Country. Defends the Conduct of Government in rejecting the American Overture. Mr. Tierney warmly animadverts upon this part of his Speech, and inforces the Neceſſity of preſerving Peace with America. Mr. Canning brings the Overtures from Erfurth before the Houſe. Speech in Defence of their Rejection: moves an Addreſs approving that Rejection. Mr. Whitbread diſapproves of the Conduct of the Negotiation, though he is of Opinion that it would have led to no Reſult. Moves an Amendment upon Mr. Canning's Addreſs. Mr. Ponſonby diſapproves the Amendment, and applauds the Conduct of Miniſters. Mr. Croker ſtrongly animadverts upon the Tone of Mr. Whitbread's Speech. Sir Francis Burdett ſpeaks deſpondingly of the State of Affairs. Lord Henry Petty ſupports the Addreſs, which is carried without a Diviſion.

THE intelligence of the final termination of the campaign in Spain, by the battle of Corunna, and the ſubſequent em-

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barkation of our troops, had not as yet reached London, when on the 19th of January, parliament was opened by commiſſion: it was known, however, that our army had been for ſome time in full retreat, and the reſult was neceſſarily expected with conſiderable anxiety by the public. In his ſpeech, as delivered by the lords' commiſſioners, his Majeſty informed the houſes, that he had directed to be laid before them copies of the propoſals which had been tranſmitted to him from Erfurth, and of the correſpondence which ſubſequently took place, and he declared his confidence, that they would participate in the feelings he had expreſſed, when required to commence the negotiation by abandoning the cauſe of Spain which he had ſo recently and ſolemnly eſpouſed. It was ſtated that his Majeſty continued to receive from the Spaniſh government, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their determined perſeverance in the cauſe of the legitimate monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain, and that ſo long as the people of Spain ſhould remain true to themſelves, he would continue to them his moſt ſtrenuous aſſiſtance and ſupport. He had renewed to that nation, in the moment of its difficulties and reverſes, the engagements which he voluntarily contracted at the outſet of its ſtruggle againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of France; and as ſoon as the ratifications had been exchanged, the treaty of alliance founded upon thoſe engagements ſhould be laid before parliament. In alluſion to the campaign in Portugal, the king obſerved, that at the ſame time that he rejoiced at the deliverance of that kingdom from the oppreſſion of the French army, he deeply regretted the termination of the campaign by an armiſtice and convention, of ſome of the articles of which, he had felt himſelf obliged formally to declare his diſapprobation. The ſpeech then went on to expreſs his Majeſty's reliance on the diſpoſition of parliament to continue their aſſiſtance to the king of Sweden, and after congratulating the commons on the ſtate of the revenue, which, in ſpite of the efforts of the enemy, continued progreſſively to improve, it concluded by recommending to both houſes, to take into their immediate conſideration, the moſt effectual meaſures for the augmentation of the regular army, in order that his Majeſty might be the better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himſelf of the military power of his dominions in the great conteſt in which he was engaged; and to conduct that conteſt, under the bleſſing of divine Providence, to a concluſion compatible with the honour of his Majeſty's crown, and with the intereſts of his allies, of Europe, and of the world.

The addreſs in reply, which was worded as uſual, was moved, in the Houſe of Lords, by the Earl of Bridgewater, and ſeconded by Lord Sheffield, who expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the determination manifeſted of ſupporting the Spaniſh nation in their efforts, and his confidence that they would eventually produce the liberation of that gallant people. He exulted in the undiminiſhed proſperity of our commerce, and thanked the enemy for having ſhewn by experiment, that neither

ther decrees nor embargoes could materially affect it. With reſpect to the American embargo, in particular, he profeſſed to be always of the ſame opinion, that it would in the event prove much more beneficial to the empire, than injurious.

Earl St. Vincent took a very different view of the ſtate of affairs, and, in a ſpeech ſomewhat characteriſtic in its tone and language, declared, that with the exception of thoſe parts of the addreſs, which went to expreſs our firm determination to carry on the war againſt the enemy, it was ſuch as no true lover of his ſovereign or his country could ever aſſent to. When he adverted to the conduct of military affairs in the Peninſula, it was impoſſible, he ſaid, not to expreſs both ſorrow and indignation. A greater diſgrace had never befallen the country. Praiſe had been claimed for the manner in which miniſters had contrived to provide tranſports, as if by offering a little more than the market-price, ſuch veſſels were not always to be had in abundance. "But, obſerve," ſaid his lordſhip, "the important ſervices to which theſe tranſports were eventually applied. Why, truly, they were at laſt employed to convey the raſcally ruffians, whom Junot commanded, to that part of France which was neareſt the boundaries of Spain, that they might as ſpeedily as poſſible be again brought into action with more effect againſt our own ſoldiers. So that," added the noble admiral, "thoſe devils are at this moment haraſſing the rear of our retreating army." The convention of Cintra he could not conſider without ſentiments of alarm as well as indignation; the more eſpecially when he obſerved the cold-blooded treaty that gave up a conteſt with the ſhips of an enemy, upon a compromiſe ſo unworthy of the nation's character. There was a time when ſuch old-faſhioned words as "ſink, burn, and deſtroy," were underſtood and exerciſed: but now we were to negotiate to be ſhip's huſbands, and we took poſſeſſion by bargain and barter, inſtead of by battles, by bravery, and by balls; we were to hold ſhips in truſt by contract, and not in right by conqueſt. We had princes of the blood, all of whom were bred to arms; why were not ſome of theſe illuſtrious perſonages employed to lead our armies? If they were not to be employed he was at a loſs to aſcertain for what purpoſe they were bred to arms. Why was not Lord Moira employed? a nobleman who poſſeſſed, with the eſteem of his Majeſty, the love of the people, and the confidence of the ſoldiery. Whenever he heard of councils of war being called, he always conſidered them as cloaks for cowardice; ſo ſaid the brave Boſcawen, and from him he imbibed the ſentiment which time and experience had completely confirmed; but never more ſtrongly than after the battle of Vimiera. Juſt the ſame opinion he entertained of the court of enquiry; it was a ſhield to ward off inveſtigation from the miniſters themſelves, but he truſted their lordſhips would not be prevented from making a ſcrupulous inveſtigation of it their own way. If that houſe did its duty they would immediately

immediately proceed to the foot of the throne, and there tell the ſovereign the bold truth, that if he did not remove his miniſters, he would loſe the country. Theſe were the ſentiments of his heart; he ſpoke them as a ſolemn duty which he found himſelf bound to expreſs. It was, probably, the laſt time he ſhould trouble their lordſhips, "and with that," ſaid the noble admiral, "I wiſh your lordſhips good-night." In effect, at theſe words, his lordſhip inſtantly walked out of the houſe.

Lord Sidmouth obſerved, that he roſe merely to qualify the aſſent which upon the whole he ſhould not refuſe to the addreſs. He approved of continuing to ſupport Spain as long as any hope remained, but he was not prepared to thank his Majeſty for a treaty of the conditions of which he was totally ignorant. At no period within his memory was there ſo much loyalty, ſpirit, and zeal, in the country, and yet, at the ſame time, ſo much diſſatisfaction. It was a diſſatisfaction, not ariſing from a turbulent diſpoſition in the people, from the preſſure of public burthens, or from any marked reverſes; but produced by a feeling moſt honourable to the nation, which felt content neither with the extent of the exertions made for the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, nor with the manner in which they were directed. He was followed by Lord Grenville, who in a long and able ſpeech, commented upon the ſyſtem of conduct adopted by miniſters, and expreſſed his conviction of its utter weakneſs and impolicy. With reſpect to Spain, he obſerved, that of the treacherous, the cruel, the atrocious invaſion of the independence of the Spaniſh people there was but one opinion in the country. He had not, however, ever wiſhed to conceal his ſentiments, reſpecting the policy of ſending a Britiſh army into the interior of that country. He did not mean to ſay that there might not be circumſtances which would render ſuch a ſtep adviſable, but he contended that during the laſt ſummer, no ſuch circumſtances exiſted. With the Pyrenees unlocked, and the road between Paris and Madrid as open as between Paris and Antwerp, there was nothing which could juſtify our ſending into the interior of Spain 30 or 40,000 Britiſh men, to meet an army of 500,000. Such a meaſure could only be compared to the far-famed march to Paris, to which it was fully equal in wildneſs and abſurdity. It is perfectly clear, ſaid his lordſhip, that it muſt reſt with the Spaniſh people themſelves to maintain their independence, and that without this ſpirit among themſelves, no army that we could ſend would avail. They adopted a ſyſtem, that had been publiſhed under the title of "Precautions," containing a plan of defence, admirably adapted to the peculiarities of the country, and calculated to haraſs and wear down an invading army by a continued ſyſtem of partial attack, without incurring the riſk which muſt neceſſarily attend a pitched battle with regular and veteran troops. This ſyſtem we forced them to abandon, by ſending into the interior of the country a Britiſh army. It then became impoſſible for them to leave us to fight their battles by ourſelves; our army would, of courſe,

proceed

proceed according to the uſual routine of a regular army, and the Spaniards were thus forced on to engage in the open field, while our own force was too ſmall to be of effectual aſſiſtance; and the preſence of our army might thus be ſaid to have proved actually injurious.

"But ſetting aſide the conſideration of the general queſtion of the policy or impolicy of ſending troops to the interior of Spain, it may be ſaid that there was a time when a Britiſh force of 30 or 40,000 men might have contributed to obtain a great temporary advantage, which, whatever effect it might have had upon the ultimate fate of the war, would at leaſt have enabled the Spaniards to arrange their defence and mature their preparations. It may be ſaid that there was a period, when the French having been driven from Madrid, and forced to take refuge behind the Ebro, a Britiſh force ſent there at that particular criſis, might have driven them beyond the Pyrenees, and placing in the hands of the Spaniards the keys of their country, have enabled them to defend it under infinitely more advantageous circumſtances, than they had ſince been placed in. Allowing ſuch a caſe to have occurred, how was it taken advantage of? To make the proper uſe of ſo favourable a conjuncture, it might have been expected to find our troops deſpatched to the port neareſt the ſcene of action, and from whence they might have been marched in the ſhorteſt time to the ſpot where their ſervices were moſt wanted. But, inſtead of the neareſt port, the fartheſt ſeems to have been choſen, and the troops were ſent to Liſbon. There we are employed in compelling the French to evacuate Portugal; a country which they could not have kept, had Buonaparte failed in the ſubjugation of Spain, and which could not be defended againſt him, if he ſucceeded; and there we afterwards remained for nearly two months, before we ſtir a ſtep to join our allies. The moment was urgent; the occaſion preſſing; every thing depended upon promptitude of action, and the taking advantage of a ſmall portion of time; yet two months elapſe before the army is even put in march to join the Spaniards, and the general who commanded in chief, in giving an account of his conduct, ſays that no arrangement was determined on for that purpoſe. The tranſports which ought to have conveyed our troops, are employed in conveying thoſe of the enemy; our army, compelled to make a long march overland, arrives too late for any effective purpoſe, and the enemy triumphs in the capital of Spain before even a Britiſh muſquet is fired." The noble lord then diſcuſſed that part of the addreſs which alluded to the Cintra convention, and profeſſed himſelf unable to underſtand how the houſe, while unacquainted with the details of that tranſaction, could expreſs itſelf in reprobation of it, without becoming liable to the ſame reproach to which the city of London had been ſubjected; that of pronouncing judgment before inveſtigation. Of the convention itſelf, the blame he was perſuaded lay eſſentially with the miniſters, and would, as ſuch, in due time, become the ſubject of inquiry.

The noble lord then alluded to an important topic, of which no notice

notice had been taken in the ſpeech, the ſtate of our relations with America. The embargo which had been reſorted to by that country, was, he had no doubt, to be attributed to the conduct of the Britiſh government. That meaſure, a noble lord had confidently aſſerted, would eventually be beneficial to this country; a point he ſhould not now diſcuſs, though he did not fear, upon a proper occaſion, to prove the reverſe. But interruption to commercial intercouſe, though a great, was not the only, nor the worſt evil with which it was pregnant. Whatever was the wiſh to maintain the uſual relations of amity which prevailed among the people, both of this country and of America, he feared that the diſpoſition of the government of neither country correſponded in this reſpect with the popular ſentiment. That of the United States had, in more than one inſtance, manifeſted its partiality to the ſide of France; and he was firmly perſuaded that it was the intention of the king's miniſters to drive things to extremity with America. They would not otherwiſe have neglected, as they had done, the opportunity which had occurred of effecting a complete and cordial reconciliation. He then ſtrongly reprobated the meaſure of committing ourſelves by treaties with Spain, in the preſent precarious ſtate of that country. With reſpect to the overtures from Erfurth, he allowed that he did not think peace was at all attainable: the aſſuming of the *uti poſſidetis* as a baſis was abſurd, as it implied, at that very time, that we ſhould retain poſſeſſion of Portugal, and that the French ſhould keep thoſe provinces of the peninſula which were then occupied by their armies. The augmentation of our military force he admitted to be neceſſary, but he deprecated the employment of it in the manner hitherto purſued, and declared it to be his decided opinion that, if that ſyſtem was continued to be acted upon, and the whole armed force of the country ſent into the interior of Spain, the deſtruction of the monarchy was inevitable.

Lord Liverpool (late Lord Hawkeſbury) obſerved in reply, that from the caution with which it was worded, the addreſs could not poſſibly have the effect of committing any one in the way of approbation of thoſe meaſures which miniſters had felt it to be their duty to adopt with reſpect to Spain; it went only to give his Majeſty a general aſſurance of ſupport in maintaining the cauſe of that people, ſo long as they proved true to themſelves. In what way this ſupport had been given, or how it was to be in future adminiſtered, would be a ſubject of diſtinct and detailed conſideration for the houſe; in the mean while they were merely called upon to record a public avowal of their determination not to deſert that cauſe which the country and the government had eſpouſed; and that they would not be ſo far diſmayed by the reverſes which had been experienced, and which were from the beginning to be expected, as to renounce that ſyſtem of ſupport to which both the king and the nation were moſt ſolemnly pledged, and in which it was, in conſequence of theſe reverſes, even become a more ſacred duty to perſevere. Thoſe who inferred that the cauſe was deſperate, from

from the diſaſters which had already happened, reaſoned upon a moſt contracted and imperfect view of the relative ſituations of the parties engaged in the conteſt. The records of hiſtory abounded in inſtances of nations who had been compelled to ſtruggle for their independence under ſimilar circumſtances, and after maintaining conteſts for ten or twenty years, in the courſe of which they had been almoſt uniformly worſted in battle, had eventually ſucceeded, in ſpite of the triumphs of their adverſaries, in ſecuring the object for which they contended. The caſe itſelf was moſt intereſting to the beſt feelings of the human mind; it offered the laſt chance of ſalvation to the continent of Europe, and, taken in a more contracted point of view, our own immediate ſecurity was in ſome meaſure involved in its fate. With reſpect to the meaſures which had been adopted, he was ready, when the proper period came, to vindicate them, both in whole and in part. A large force had been prepared with unexampled expedition, and in its application miniſters had taken the advice, not only of military men of high reputation at home, but of the Spaniards themſelves, who both in the north and ſouth had recommended the reduction of Junot's army as the moſt acceptable ſervice we could perform. Neither had there been one moment's unneceſſary delay in the march of our troops from Portugal. If it did not proceed immediately to Spain after the concluſion of the convention, it was becauſe no central government had been then eſtabliſhed; it being impoſſible to arrange any plan of operations with the provincial juntas. With regard to America, there was no diſpoſition on the part of the Britiſh government to irritate that country; on the contrary, every thing was done in the tone of conciliation, as far as the honour, the intereſts, and the rights of the nation would allow; but no conſideration ſhould prevail upon us to impair theſe things: on the vindication of them depended our national ſtrength and dignity; and ſurely they were not to be ſacrificed to America at the very moment when ſhe betrayed ſo decided a partiality in favour of France, to the prejudice and injury of Great Britain. Lord Moira and Lord Erſkine ſpoke afterwards in reprobation of the conduct of miniſters, and were replied to by the chancellor, when the addreſs was agreed to.

On the ſame day, the ſame field of diſcuſſion was travelled over by the ſeveral parties in the Houſe of Commons. Mr. Ponſonby, on the part of oppoſition, led the way in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, and contended that never, ſince Great Britain had attained its preſent rank among the nations of Europe, had its public force been directed with ſo little ſkill, ſo little foreſight, or ſo little ſucceſs. Laſt year a treaty had been concluded with the king of Sweden, by which we ſtood pledged to pay that monarch the ſum of 100,000l. monthly; a ſtipulation which the country had faithfully performed; "for I believe," ſaid Mr. Ponſonby, "that as far as relates to the expenditure of the public money, there are none who will think of accuſing thoſe of his Majeſty's council with ever having been wanting in vigour. But

But how far there has been any thing of counſel, of concert, of mutual communication, or common underſtanding between the two governments, in conformity with that treaty, we can form ſome judgment by the reſult of the expedition ſent out under Sir John Moore. That that gallant officer is abſolved from all blame, even in the eſtimation of miniſters themſelves, is manifeſt, as they have ſince entruſted him with a command incomparably more important. Was it then, I aſk, becauſe he was kept in ignorance of the mutual counſel and concert of the two governments, or was it becauſe there exiſted in our cabinet neither method, nor ſyſtem, nor deſign, that our general, without a ſingle muſket being fired by his army, or any battalion of it formed in array againſt an enemy, was actually compelled to make his escape from Stockholm in diſguiſe? was it here that we were to look for that energetic vigour on which the preſent ſervants of the crown have ventured to plume themſelves, or were to ſeek it in their daſtardly aggreſſion upon Denmark—an aggreſſion in which we had ſacrificed the national character, with no other fruit than that of diverting the naval efforts of that people from that ſyſtem of fair and open conteſt, in which our triumph was aſſured to a ſpecies of predatory warfare, far more fatal to our commerce than the direct naval hoſtility of any power in Europe. I know not how the right hon. gentlemen oppoſite may view ſuch conſequences; I, for my part, cannot but conſider them as not leſs injurious than diſgraceful—diſgraceful, not to our gallant army or to its commander, but ſurely to thoſe counſels which have manifeſted no further proof of enlargement of ſyſtem; which have realized no other promiſe of energy in cultivating reſources, or of promptitude in applying them, ſave in a ſort of pantomimical movement of fleets and armies from one end of Europe to the other, without effecting any thing."

Mr. Ponſonby then adverted to the affairs of the peninſula, and profeſſed to trace in the meaſures which had been adopted by miniſters with reſpect to that country, the ſame evidence of indeciſion, and want of ſyſtem, which had marked their conduct in the north. In deliberating upon the beſt means of aſſiſting the Spaniards, the firſt object for their conſideration, we ſhould ſuppoſe, was the nature of the warfare moſt likely to be ſucceſsfully carried on by that people; whether it was to be conducted in the field according to the modern ſyſtem of military tactics, or to be conſidered as a kind of deſultory attack by the hoſt of the Spaniſh population, ſupplied by Great Britain with arms and equipments, throughout every province of the peninſula. He knew not which plan was the moſt proper, but he contended that the two were incompatible, and that by attempting to combine both, they muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the energies and efficacy of one of them. Yet ſuch would ſeem to have been the conduct of miniſters; they had attempted to act upon both ſchemes, or rather they had decided in favour of neither. For if any reliance could be placed on the newſpaper accounts of the proceedings of the board of inquiry, it would ſeem

ſeem that Sir A. Welleſley was ſent out without any ſpecific inſtruction, without any direction whither he was to proceed, or with what authority in Spain he was to conſult; but with a kind of adventurous roving commiſſion, to do whatever he pleaſed. On arriving at Corunna, he conſulted, it ſeems, with the junta of Gallicia, and that body had recommended to him not to diſembark at Sanrander, but to proceed to Portugal, and to make that country a point of union and connection between the northern and ſouthern provinces of Spain. There could be no doubt of the anxiety of the junta of Gallicia to get rid of a French force in poſſeſſion of a country on their rear, but it was difficult to ſee how a compliance with their wiſhes could have tended to the delivery of Spain. The French, if driven out of Spain, could not poſſibly hold Portugal, but it by no means followed that the poſſeſſion of Portugal extended a reciprocal protection to Spain. However, it was not only in ſending our army to Portugal in preference to Spain, that the vigour of the king's miniſters was illuſtrated. It was alſo to be traced in the various equipments of the army; it was felt in the want of artillery, in the derangement of the commiſſariat, in the ſcantineſs of the cavalry force. By the ſtatements of their own general officers, it appeared that the troops were ſent without plan, without inſtructions, almoſt deſtitute of cavalry, and deficient in ſtores; the artillery not fit for the operations which ſhould have been purſued, and the horſes blind and lame, and ſome even dying of old age.

Mr. Ponſonby then alluded to the convention of Cintra, and aſked how the diſapprobation which his Majeſty had formerly expreſſed could be reconciled with thoſe demonſtrations of triumph which his miniſters had ordered on the firſt news of its arrival? His Majeſty, it appeared, had a different feeling of what affected the honour of the country, from that entertained by his ſervants, and proteſted againſt being a partner in this diſgraceful tranſaction. He animadverted on the extraordinary inaction of the troops for above two months, after the ſignature of the convention; a delay the moſt unaccountable, as the ſpeedy applicability of the Britiſh army in Spain was the chief ground of expediency on which that unhappy treaty reſted. With reſpect to Sweden, he ſaid he did not ſee how we could refuſe the ſtipulated ſupply, but he could not help lamenting that there was not the ſmalleſt probability of any good ariſing from that power's continuing to perſevere. He had ſaid laſt year, that the moſt prudent uſe which Sweden could make of the money was in procuring a peace for herſelf, and he was ſtill of the ſame opinion. The right hon. gentleman then adverted to our conduct towards America, which he reprobated as intemperate and impolitic, and concluded by giving notice of his intention to bring ſhortly this, as well as the other important matters touched upon in the courſe of his ſpeech, before the houſe, as matter for ſeparate and detailed diſcuſſion: with this underſtanding, he ſhould not oppoſe the addreſs.

Lord Caſtlereagh then roſe: he began by retorting on his oppo-

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nents their reproaches of want of vigour and indecision, and requesting them to recall to mind the extent and energy of their own exertions in support of the cause of Europe, at a crisis scarcely less momentous than the present. Proceeding to the detail of the right hon. gentleman's speech, he observed, that, with respect to the operations in the Baltic, the military force sent to Sweden was so employed, on the requisition, nay entreaty, of the Swedish minister in this country, who had declared that that force might make the whole difference of the salvation of Sweden. What had been the circumstances which led to the return of the troops, the house was not at that time investigating; ministers, however, would have no difficulty in affording every explanation, except what might wound the feelings of our ally, or affect injuriously the interests of the public service. He felt, however, no hesitation in declaring, that the gallant commander of that force stood completely exculpated. Respecting Spain, the subject was too large and too important to be broken down in a debate of that kind. He should, however, venture a few words in reply to the animadversions of the right hon. gentleman, whose own opinion, he remarked, as to the course of military policy which ought to have been adopted, it was not very easy to collect. With regard to the question of a regular or irregular force, that, the cause of events had already decided. When Madrid was evacuated, every province felt the necessity of advancing its troops, and they had consequently become consolidated in the centre of the kingdom. Ministers therefore had no option—the option had been made by Spain. They had chosen the mode of regular warfare, and it would have ill befitted us to have shrunk from the contest, and to have said, "We will give you money, we will give you stores, but we will not hazard our blood in your defence." As to the idea of directing our forces in the first instance to Spain, instead of Portugal, he must say there never was a notion more absurd, than that of a comparatively small force occupying the passes of the Pyrenees, and cutting off entirely the communication between two armies, of numbers infinitely superior. It was not true that our troops had sailed without any determinate object: the expedition had been ordered to go direct to the Tagus, in consequence of the information of Sir C. Cotton, (which however afterwards turned out to be unfounded) that the French had not above 5,000 men in Lisbon and its neighbourhood, and that Sir A. Wellesley's forces would be sufficient to dislodge them. The troops, then, had been sent with a precise object, and precise instructions, though it had not been thought necessary so to tie up the discretion of the general, as to injoin that he should on no occasion take advantage of the favourable circumstances which might occur, until he had directly communicated with government on the subject, and received its answer. Respecting the want of cavalry, he was ready to strengthen the right hon. gentleman's argument, and to admit that it was only by accident that any cavalry at all had been attached to it. It was not conceived

ceived to be a proper deſcription of force to ſend with thoſe floating expeditions, which might be a long time at ſea before they found a favourable opportunity of landing. In the expedition to Portugal, government had made a ſufficient proviſion even of cavalry, and our army would have been ſuperior to the enemy in this reſpect, if the cavalry, which was in Mondego Bay on the 20th, the day before the battle, had landed. Lord Caſtlereagh then defended the conduct of government with reſpect to the convention of Cintra, and obſerved that it was impoſſible not to rejoice at the victories of our armies, and the liberation of Portugal, however much ſome of the articles of that treaty might call for diſapprobation; and in concluſion he expreſſed his gratification at the intention which the right hon. gentleman had intimated, of bringing forward for ſeparate diſcuſſion all the topics upon which he had touched; a ſtep which was neceſſary, not merely for the vindication of miniſters, but that the country ſhould feel the confidence it was neceſſary they ſhould have in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs.

Mr. Whitbread declared the country was now coming to that ſtate, whether by the miſmanagement of miniſters, or by the force of events, that party conſiderations muſt ceaſe. The hour would, however come, when the houſe ſhould call on miniſters to render an account of the uſe they had made of the immenſe power which had been put in their hands; power which, if wiſely exerted, might have produced the moſt glorious effects. He could not blame them for ſending a Britiſh force, in the firſt inſtance, to co-operate with the Spaniards; but ſince then they had had time enough to conſider the probable conſequences of ſuch a ſtep. It was now doubtful whether we had not all along been proceeding upon falſe information, both with reſpect to Spain and to Portugal—Were our troops in reality agreeable to the people of thoſe countries? He had reaſon to doubt of the fact, and to fear that not a few Spaniards wiſhed ſucceſs to Buonaparte rather than to us. We were not ſo ſure as we formerly thought ourſelves, of the feelings of Spain; we were not perfectly content with the reception which we had met with in the different provinces of that country. However we might deteſt the ambition and injuſtice of Buonaparte in his attack upon Spain, yet the means he purſued for the attainment of his object were indiſputably judicious. He aboliſhed the inquiſition, feudal rights, and unequal taxation. This was certainly holding out ſome temptation to the people to acquieſce in the changes which he wiſhed to introduce; whereas the government of England was not connected with any promiſe of reform in thoſe evils, which diſgraced the old regimen, nor with any propoſed amelioration of the condition of the people.

With reſpect to the addreſs, there were ſome parts which had his concurrence, and ſome not, though he did not mean to move any amendment. He had no objection to that part which pledged the houſe to ſupport his Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the war, though he thought it unneceſſary; becauſe every war muſt

be profecuted with vigour until there was an end of it. But if it was to be underſtood that by ſuch an approval he was to be pledged to any thing like a *bellum ad internecionem*, he muſt not only diſſent from, but proteſt againſt it. God forbid that we ſhould abandon the Spaniſh cauſe while it was poſſible for us to ſupport it with any proſpect of ſucceſs; but he was far from ſure that the time might not come when we ſhould have to treat with France, after ſhe ſhall have totally ſubdued Spain. He by no means condemned miniſters for having rejected the propoſitions ſent from Erfurth, as there was no man in the country who could admit of the abandonment of Spain as a preliminary of peace; but what he found fault with was, that the country was apt to run wild upon every gleam of good ſucceſs. When the patriots were ſucceſsful laſt ſummer, nothing was ſpoken of, or thought of, but the utter ruin of Buonaparte, and many politicians of the old ſchool were even arranging the diviſions into which France was to be cut up. He was weary of the vaunting expreſſions which, for the laſt ſixteen years, he had been uſed to hear about the deſtruction of France, followed as they uniformly had been by its aggrandiſement. At different periods of the war it had always been ſaid that England would never make peace unleſs this thing or the other was given up, yet we afterwards were ready to treat with her, allowing her to retain her acquiſitions. He regretted that nothing had been mentioned reſpecting our relations with America. The ſame infatuation ſeemed now to prevail wit hreſpect to that country as in the late American war. There were the ſame taunts, the ſame ſarcaſms, and the ſame aſſertions, that America could not do without us. The foreign ſecretary had, to a propoſition moſt juſt and reaſonable, returned ſuch an anſwer, that accommodation ſeemed at an end, and the American legiſlature almoſt unanimouſly reſolved upon ſhutting all their rivers and ports againſt our trade. He moſt forcibly deprecated the idea which ſome thoughtleſs perſons were but too forward to propagate, namely, of a war with that country; and ridiculed the notion that the orders of council could make any ſerious impreſſion on the power of Buonaparte, by depriving his ſubjects of colonial produce. Notwithſtanding the want of ſugar, coffee, and Jeſuit's bark, he had marched his 200,000 men beyond the Pyrennees, without leaving a ſingle ſtraggler behind; while miniſters were thinking to break up his reſources by ſtopping the importation of Weſt India produce.

Mr. Secretary Canning admitted that miniſters ſtood in a ſituation of reſponſibility, but not of culpability: they had done their duty in following up the feelings of the country, and in uſing the means entruſted to them in ſupport of the great cauſe which had excited thoſe feelings, reſerving to themſelves the conſideration of the moſt eligible manner of applying the national reſources to the object in view. As to the propriety of deliberation, ſo much inſiſted upon by Mr. Ponſonby, the poſition was undeniable. The right hon. gentleman was right in his principle, but he ſeemed to reſolve to atone

atone for that rectitude by being extremely wrong in its application. The ſtate of the caſe called for prompt exertion, and with that call miniſters thought it their duty to comply. The right hon. gentleman had ſtated he collected the facts from which he argued from the newſpapers. But here he was under a miſtake; for it appeared that wherever he found his facts, it was only his arguments that were collected from the newſpapers, in which they were to be ſeen, and pretty nearly too in the ſame order in which he had juſt delivered them. Mr. Canning then entered at length into the queſtion reſpecting the operations in Spain, and inſiſted upon the impolicy of ſending a large regular army into Spain, before the force of that country ſhould have been called forth and organized in ſuch a manner as to co-operate with us, againſt the ſuperior numbers and ſtrength of the enemy. Hence had ariſen all the miſrepreſentations concerning the demand of cavalry by Spain. Unqueſtionably the juntas of Gallicia and Aſturias had applied for reinforcements of cavalry, but the anſwer had been uniformly the ſame, that a Britiſh army ſhould be ſent to their ſupport, but that it was intended that it ſhould act in maſs, and under a Britiſh commander. The ſame circumſtance alſo had occaſioned the various miſ-ſtatements reſpecting the delay of the advance of the Britiſh army from Portugal, as if that had ariſen out of the circumſtances of the convention. The fact was, however, that the ſupreme central junta, had not been inſtalled till the laſt week of September, and as ſoon as the intelligence of that event had been received, the expedition under Sir David Baird was ordered to ſail, and a communication made to the junta of Gallicia and to the ſupreme junta, requeſting an order for permitting the troops to land in Gallicia. The right hon. ſecretary then expreſſed himſelf averſe to any attempt, ſuch as the laſt ſpeaker would ſeem to have adviſed, to interfere with the domeſtic concerns of the Spaniſh people, for the purpoſe of promoting any ſyſtem of reform or improvement, however ſpecious or commendable in itſelf. He had no doubt, if they ſhould ſucceed, that the Spaniards would be happier, and he truſted freer than they had hitherto been, but that happineſs and freedom ſhould be of their own choice, and not of our dictation. Mr. Canning then ſhortly adverted to our relations with America, and contended that the application of that government for a compromiſe was inadmiſſible; there exiſted at that moment an order in force, excluding Britiſh ſhips of war from the American ports, while French ſhips were ſo admitted, and conſequently if the terms offered by America had been accepted, our commerce would have been permitted to America without a ſhip of war to protect it; while the French commerce would be excluded, but French ſhips of war admitted, and the ports of America thus become ſo many neſts for French privateers againſt Britiſh commerce. This part of his ſpeech was ably commented upon by Mr. Tierney in his reply, who obſerved that this excluſion of our ſhips of war, was the conſequence of the outrage committed on the

Cheſapeake, and had nothing to do with the orders in council. He treated with contempt the notion, that in reſcinding our orders, before the French revoked their decrees, we ſhould appear to make conceſſions to the enemy; it was a principle which implied, that while France was perverſe, we muſt be obſtinate, even though it directly militated againſt our intereſt, and againſt all propriety of political conduct. "This may ſuit the ſentiments of the right hon. gentleman," continued Mr. Tierney, but will it be an anſwer to the ſtarving manufacturers of this country? will it be an anſwer to thoſe who complain of the price of bread depending ſo much as it now does on the non-importation of flour? I well remember when former miniſters talked towards America, as the right hon. gentleman does now, and this is a point on which he will have much to anſwer to his country; I ſay he will have to anſwer, for I am perſuaded that nothing ever was written in this country, that produced ſuch unfavourable effects, as the letter of the right hon. ſecretary to Mr. Pinkney." He then deprecated in the ſtrongeſt terms, a war with America, as an evil of the moſt perilous importance to our commerce, and earneſtly enforced the neceſſity of adopting in our intercourſe with that government, a manner more conciliatory, and more adapted to the maintenance of a ſpirit of amity between two empires, which the identity of cuſtoms, language, laws and religion, ought ever to hold in the ſtricteſt bonds of peace.

We have given theſe debates at a greater length, perhaps, than any intereſt attaching to the particular ſpeeches delivered, might ſeem to juſtify; but the opening debate of the ſeſſion is generally worthy of remark, as explanatory of the ſentiments of the ſeveral parties upon public affairs, and of the ground which they will probably take up in the courſe of the enſuing campaign. The general ſenſe of the country, was ſtrongly impreſſed with a perſuaſion of the neceſſity of vigorouſly proſecuting the war, whatever diſcontent might be felt at the manner in which it had been carried on; and the ſame conviction was almoſt univerſally expreſſed in parliament, when, on the 31ſt, the overtures from Erfurth were taken into conſideration. Mr. Canning opened the diſcuſſion, by obſerving that "whatever heſitation there might be in approving the conduct of miniſters, it would only be felt as ariſing out of the particular ſteps of the negotiation, and not as to the principle upon which it turned, nor the reſult in which it terminated. Any man who recollected the ſenſation excited by the arrival of the overture in the country, muſt remember that the general apprehenſion was, leſt miniſters ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be entrapped into an idle and deceitful negotiation, which could only tend to forward the inſidious views of the enemy; many were of opinion, from the unexampled atrocity of Buonaparte's conduct towards Spain, that we ſhould have been juſtified in peremptorily rejecting his overtures, not only upon every ground of high ſpirit, but upon every dictate of ſound principle: upon the moral principle, he could not differ from thoſe who thought thus: but political conſiderations, which were not always to be con-

troulled

trouled by the principles of morality, ſeemed to point out another courſe, which might aſcertain beyond all poſſibility of doubt, the real intentions of the enemy. Mr. Canning then detailed the different ſteps of this ſhort negotiation. No conceſſion had been demanded of Buonaparte. The admiſſion to negotiate alone was demanded for the Spaniſh government; an admiſſion which would not decide the right, nor interfere with any diſputed point, but ſimply open the way to immediate negotiation and eventual deciſion. There was in this no demand of preliminary conceſſion from France; it was only required that the exiſting government, the government *de facto*, ſhould be admitted as a party to the propoſed negotiation. It had been ſaid, that this demand would have more properly been introduced in the negotiation which might have been entered into upon the baſis of the *uti poſſidetis*. But by what right could Spain have been let into the negociation upon ſuch a baſis, if not allowed to be an original party? We had no right to treat for her upon ſuch terms, becauſe we had not the poſſeſſion of Spain.

There were ſome, ſaid Mr. Canning, who were of opinion, that the acceptance of the firſt overtures was but a mere waſte of time, and that conſequently they ought to have been rejected at once. Miniſters however had thought the trial worth making; and the circumſtance of Ruſſia being a party in the application, gave ſtrength to any expectation that might be conceived of the poſſible reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace. Upon the preſumption that the Emperor of Ruſſia felt as a man they had thought that he would have been influenced by the feelings of human nature, by the firſt motive of human action, the principle of ſelf-preſervation, and that conſequently he could not have become a paſſive party to the deſigns of Buonaparte. Ruſſia, moreover, had on all occaſions particularly intereſted herſelf for the honour and ſecurity of Spain. Buonaparte had, however, inſtantly cut ſhort all treaty, by anſwering in ſubſtance, that the Spaniſh people ſhould not be permitted to treat, being rebels againſt him and the ſovereign it was his will to impoſe upon them. If, after receiving this anſwer, continued Mr. Canning, miniſters had receded from the cauſe of Spain, they would indeed have deſerved all the taunts which during the interchange of couriers were preparing for them. He then expreſſed his hopes for the cauſe of Spain. It was ſaid, that whenever Buonaparte had reſolved on a meaſure, and declared he would accompliſh it, ſuch a declaration ſhould be received as the fiat of a ſuperior being, againſt which it was folly to oppoſe any kind of reſiſtance. *He* never pledged himſelf to any thing, but what he would carry into execution. *His* reſolves were inſurmountable. *His* career was not to be ſtopped. Such might be the opinion of ſome, but ſuch was not his opinion, nor that of the Britiſh nation. Even were the ſhip in which we were embarked ſinking, it was our duty to ſtruggle with the boiſterous elements. But he never could acknowledge that

ſuch was our ſtate; we were riding proudly, and nobly buoyant on the waves. If we had agreed to the terms propoſed by Buonaparte, Spain would have been in a worſe condition than when ſhe firſt roſe againſt his uſurpation; deſerted at the moment of her utmoſt need, and given up to the vengeance of an enraged and tyrannous conqueror. In theſe enlightened days, the impoſition of a foreign dynaſty was not regarded with ſo much abhorrence, as it was conſidered what uſeful regulations the uſurper might introduce. Glad he was to think ſo deteſtable a mode of reaſoning was confined to only a few ſpeculators; the general ſenſe of mankind revolted againſt the idea. There was an irreſiſtible impulſe which bound men to their native ſoil, which made them cheriſh their independence, which united them to their legitimate princes, which fired them with enthuſiaſtic indignation againſt the impoſition of a foreign yoke. No benefit to be received from a conqueror, could in their mind atone for the loſs of national independence. Let us then do homage to the Spaniſh nation for their attachment to their native ſoil; an attachment which in its nature is divine, and do not let us taunt them in being a century behind us in civilization and knowledge, or attached to prejudices in religion, in politics, or in arts which we have happily ſurmounted. The right hon. ſecretary then moved an addreſs thanking his majeſty for the communication on this ſubject made to the houſe, pledging themſelves to ſupport him in the maintenance of the war, and approving of the line of conduct purſued by miniſters on the occaſion of the overtures from Ruſſia.

Mr. Whitbread admitted, that, after the anſwer of the French government, negotiation was out of the queſtion, but he contended that the right hon. ſecretary had provoked that anſwer by his ill-placed taunts, and by a wanton and unjuſtifiable arrogance in replying to a fair overture. It was an error too prevalent with individuals in office, to aſſume in their communications with an hoſtile power, every virtue to themſelves, and to charge their opponents with every vice; but the aggreſſions of human governments were, unfortunately, neither new or unfrequent, and it was ſomewhat extraordinary to hear the right hon. gentleman, who committed an act which exceeded the moſt atrocious occurrences in our hiſtory, (the attack on Copenhagen) complain againſt France, that her uſurpation of Spain was unparalleled. The firſt communication which came from the enemy was in his opinion perfectly unexceptionable; nor was it true that Buonaparte had in that paper required the abandonment of Spain as a preliminary, for it was only ſtated by him after he had received the reply of our government. There had been two inſtances before, where direct propoſals of peace from Buonaparte to the king, had been made in vain. Every body remembered, and almoſt every body now regretted, the manner in which the firſt overture of that nature had been rejected. However highly he reſpected the noble lord, who was then

then the ſecretary for foreign affairs, his opinion of that tranſaction remained the ſame. Experience, and the evidence of facts, were then the burden of the ſong. Heavy indeed was the ſong, and he feared it was a knell which ſounded the doom of the country.

In his opinion, Mr. Whitbread continued, the mode in which we ſhould have conducted the negotiation, was to have made the independence of Spain, a firſt condition of peace, but not to have inſiſted upon it as a preliminary. Buonaparte did not propoſe the abandonment of Spain as a preliminary; it was the right hon. ſecretary who made the admiſſion of the Spaniſh nation as parties, a preliminary to all negotiation. It was not till after his firſt communication had been anſwered in an inſulting tone, that the French emperor uſed inſulting expreſſions. He had always thought it wrong to uſe ſuch language towards Buonaparte; for after all, if we ever wiſhed for peace, it was probably with this man that we muſt make it, and the price would at leaſt be the uſe of ſomething like decorous language towards a power probably the greateſt that ever exiſted. He did not conceive peace to be ſo dangerous as ſome people ſuppoſed. Buonaparte had got almoſt the whole of Europe by war, and he did not ſee how he could have done more by peace. In his opinion on this ſubject, he knew he was in a ſmall minority, both in that houſe and the country; it was for that reaſon, more eſpecially, his duty to ſtate the ground upon which he felt himſelf juſtified in differing from ſo many. He again repeated his regret, that the offer for negotiation had been ſo abruptly rejected, and in terms ſo irritating. Even in treating with France, it was better to treat with a ſpirit of as little acrimony as poſſible, for ſay what you will, "to this complection we muſt come at laſt;" we muſt ultimately treat with Buonaparte, and he truſted that when we did ſo, we ſhould hardly act as the Roman king with the Sybil; be content to take the three volumes upon the ſame terms upon which ſhe had previouſly proffered the nine. Mr. Whitbread then moved as an amendment, an addreſs aſſuring his majeſty that the houſe would have viewed with deep regret any inclination on the part of his majeſty to abandon the cauſe of Spain, but ſtating that from the papers before them, it did not appear that any ſuch diſgraceful conceſſion was required by the other belligerent powers in the late overtures as a preliminary to negotiation; and that the previous requiſition on our part of the admiſſion of the Spaniſh government as a party, was unwiſe and impolitic, unneceſſary to the maintenance of the great cauſe of Spaniſh independence, and obviouſly calculated to prevent all further intercourſe on the ſubject of peace. After further repreſenting, that it appeared to the houſe that an overture made in terms reſpectful to his majeſty, ſhould have been anſwered in language more moderate and conciliatory, and that immediate and deciſive ſteps ought to have been taken for entering into negotiation upon the baſis of that overture; the amendment concluded by praying the king to avail himſelf of any opportunity which may offer of

acceding to or commencing a negotiation for the reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace, on ſuch terms as the circumſtances of the war in which we are engaged, may render compatible with the true intereſts of the empire, and the honour of his majeſty's crown.

Mr. Ponſonby, in a few words, oppoſed the amendment of his hon. friend. He could not but think that miniſters had acted perfectly right in demanding a quick explanation reſpecting the admiſſion of Spain as a party to the treaty; and even with reſpect to the tone in which the overtures had been anſwered, although he was far from approving of it in itſelf, yet he could not believe that any tone, however moderate, would have had the leaſt effect in the negociation. After the pledge which, on the 25th of October, Buonaparte had given to his ſenate for the proſecution of the war in Spain, the reply of the ſenate, and the vote of 160,000 men with which it was followed up, it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe that any moderation of tone would have diverted his purpoſes. Mr. Croker obſerved, that Mr. Whitbread had ſet out by doing Buonaparte the favour of trying to find a parallel for his late attack upon Spain, and he boaſts of having found many; but in the regiſter of Britiſh diſcuſſion, in the recollections of Britiſh feeling, I defy him to find a parallel for his own ſpeech; a ſpeech calculated only to advocate the cauſe of the enemy. I do not mean to repreſent him as an intentional advocate of the enemy; but I will aſſert, that whether intentionally or not, he has taken that courſe, by his elaborate reſearches for examples which might keep the French government in countenance. Whoever produces gratuitouſly, in the diſcuſſion of one crime, examples and inſtances of greater ones, extenuates undoubtedly the atrocity of that one by a compariſon with others. But even if he were not ſo deeply to blame for this compariſon; ſuppoſing that this courſe was neceſſary to his argument, even here he had been in error: he had produced no parallel inſtance; the hiſtory of the world did not furniſh one; and he had fruitleſsly gone out of his path to weaken the cauſe of his country.

Mr. C. then alluded to the calumnious alluſion to the Iriſh catholics in Champagny's reply; a topic which arouſed General Mathew, who entered into a violent and ill-timed defence of the conduct of his countrymen, with little apparent conſideration of its connection with the ſubject before the houſe. He was perſiſting in this ſtrain, when he was called to order by the ſpeaker. Sir Francis Burdett obſerved, that it might be diſagreeable to the ears of Engliſhmen, to hear the perilous ſituation of their country deſcribed; to have enumerated a train of occurrences more calamitous and unprovident, probably, than had ever diſgraced any nation on the face of the globe; but ſtill, had he not been inſtructed by the ſuperior judgment of the ſpeaker, he ſhould have thought that the hon. general might have proceeded, and have fairly introduced any parallel inſtance of atrocity, when told that the act of the French emperor, by which this country was precluded from treating with him, was an inſtance of the

the moſt unparalleled atrocity which had ever diſgraced any country. Whatever were Buonaparte's merits, it would at leaſt be allowed that he knew the beſt means of accompliſhing the objects which he had in view. Having then received from him a taunt as to an unprotected part of our dominions, let us take the hint, and by an act of our own, render a repetition of the taunt unneceſſary. With reſpect to the Spaniſh war, he confeſſed he ſaw no rational hope of our attaining the object propoſed. The abſurdity of acting upon the divine right of kings had been the misfortune of this reign. In ſupport of it, we had made an unavailing waſte of blood and treaſure, but we had never yet embarked in any legitimate object.

Lord Henry Petty profeſſed himſelf ſatisfied that no peace was to have been expected from the overtures at Erfurth, but upon the abandonment of Spain; and that it was by arms, and not by negociation, that the fate of Spain was to be decided. Our character with Spain was ſtill to be gained, and if we wiſhed to inſpire her with a belief that we meant to make an exertion in her favour, our conduct ſhould have been in uniſon with our declaration, and not calculated to raiſe any doubt in the minds of the Spaniſh people as to our ſincerity, or that we meant to bring the cauſe of Spain into our market. With regard to the obſervations ſo eloquently urged in the ſpeech of Sir F. Burdett, in the principal part of the ſentiments of which he cordially concurred, he obſerved, that whether our making common cauſe with Spain was right or wrong, we had already made our election; our part was choſen, and an abandonment of it would have been alike detrimental to our honour and our intereſt. He deprecated the tone of inſult in which Mr. Canning's anſwer was conceived, but at the ſame time confeſſed that he did not ſee any mode by which the intentions of the French emperor could be altered. He ſhould vote for the addreſs, underſtanding it to expreſs a determination to perſevere in the war, without implying any approbation of the manner in which it had been conducted. Mr. Whitbread, finding himſelf almoſt wholly without ſupport, did not attempt to divide the houſe, and the addreſs was carried.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of Parliament continued. Lord Liverpool moves the Thanks of the Houſe for the Battles of Vimiera and Corunna. Similar Motions are agreed to in the Commons, and a Monument voted to the Memory of Sir John Moore. Lord H. Petty animadverts upon ſome Attempts to detract from that Officer's Merit. Shortly after he brings the Subject of the Campaign in Portugal before the Houſe in an elaborate Speech. Dwells upon the Fluctuation of Council as to the Object of the Expedition. Indefinite Nature of the Orders to the Commanders. Deficient State of the Equipments. Want of Cavalry, and of Horſe-Tranſports. Singular Principle of Selection in the Supply of the Artillery Horſes. Rapid Succeſſion of Commanders, neceſſarily deſtroy-

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ing all Unity of Counſel and Action. Lord Henry concludes by moving two Reſolutions in Reprobation of the whole Conduct of the Campaign. Lord Caſtlereagh, in Reply, explains the Circumſtances under which the Expedition took place, and vindicates the Nature of the Equipment of the Expedition. General Tarleton ſupports the Reſolutions. Sir Arthur Welleſley explains the Motives which governed his Conduct throughout the Campaign, and his own Opinion as to the Occaſion of its Failure. Defends the Propriety of the Cintra Convention. Mr. Windham follows, and enters elaborately into the Queſtion. Endeavours to ſhew that the Deficiency of Cavalry had in fact occaſioned the Convention. Ridicules the Syſtem acted upon in the Appointment of the Commanders. Obſerves upon the contradictory Opinions which Miniſters ſeem to have entertained as to the Merits of the Convention. Deſignates the Meaſure of ſending Troops to Portugal at all as injudicious and uſeleſs. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Caſtlereagh recriminate on the Conduct of their Opponents when in Power. Mr. Whitbread reprobates this Mode of Juſtification. Mr. Canning defends the inſtituting of a Court of Inquiry, and vindicates the Appointment of the Generals. General Ferguſon and Mr. Yorke follow. Lord H. Petty replies, and the previous Queſtion is carried upon a Diviſion. Mr. Ponſonby moves an Inquiry into the late Campaign in Spain. Grounds of his Motion. Lord Caſtlereagh oppoſes it. Explains the Reaſons why the Expedition had not ſailed earlier, and contends that no Blame could attach to Government in the Affair. Mr. Tierney aſks why the Troops about to be embarked had been remanded, and inſiſts generally upon the Neceſſity of an Inquiry. Mr. Canning points out the Miſrepreſentations by which the public Judgment had been miſled, and proteſts againſt the Tone of Deſpondency aſſumed on the Subject of Spaniſh Affairs. Motion of Earl Grey in the Lords cenſuring the Conduct of the Campaign. Reply of Lord Liverpool. Motion loſt. Similar Motion by Earl Temple in the Commons. Alluſions to the Conduct of Mr. Frere. Lord Caſtlereagh explains the Amount of our Loſs. Speeches of Mr. Canning, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Bathurſt, and Mr. Whitbread. The Motion negatived upon a Diviſion.

ON the 23d, Lord Liverpool moved the thanks of the houſe to Sir A. Welleſley for his ſervices in the battle of Vimiera: an amendment was moved by Lord Moira to inſert in the vote the name of Sir H. Burrard, which was negatived, and the motion paſſed unanimouſly. Two days after a ſimilar vote of thanks was moved for the battle of Corunna, and paſſed after a ſhort debate, in which all parties concurred in eulogizing the memory of Sir John Moore, though Lord Grenville regretted the incapacity which had rendered ſuch ſkill and valour ineffectual; and Lord Erſkine intemperately declared, that except with regard to the renown of the troops we had loſt, it would have been better to have had them ſhot on the parade in St. James's park. The ſame motions were made in the commons, and paſſed, with the ſame comments on the part of oppoſition, who ſtudiouſly exalted and even exaggerated the merits of the departed

departed general, with the obvious purpoſe of more ſurely fixing the blame of failure on miniſters. A monument was voted to his memory, on which occaſion Lord Henry Petty noticed, in a ſtrain of eloquent indignation, the attempt of a miniſterial paper to attach ſome blame to that officer's conduct. "I would be far," ſaid he, "from imputing to the noble lord the having given the prints in queſtion his authority. I have a right to conclude that his opinion of the tranſcendant merits of the officer, whoſe loſs we deplore, is as high as any entertained by any member of this houſe [here Lord Caſtlereagh ſignified his aſſent]; and when I allude to this pitiful attempt of a journaliſt, to tear from a gallant ſoldier's grave the laurels which his country's wiſhes have planted there, it is merely that the attempt may be marked, and expoſed to public reprobation. In what I have ſaid I would not be underſtood to inſinuate, that though death canonized great men, it ſhould be a ſhelter for miſconduct. If there has been miſconduct, trace it to its proper ſource; viſit its conſequences upon its proper authors; but let every attempt to transfer the blame from the guilty living to the blameleſs dead be ſcouted with an honeſt and manly indignation." It is difficult to underſtand why the editor in queſtion had not as good a right to make up and to declare his mind reſpecting the merits of Sir John Moore, as the noble lord himſelf; and at any rate, the journaliſt's cenſure of the conduct of that general was hardly more premature than the unqualified encomium which, without any better means of judging, his lordſhip had thought proper to paſs upon it.

The queſtion of our operations in the peninſula, however, were ſhortly brought more directly before the houſe. With reſpect to the convention of Cintra, Lord Henry Petty moved two reſolutions, ſtating, firſt, that it had diſappointed the hopes and expectations of the country, and, ſecondly, that the cauſes and circumſtances which immediately led to it, appeared to have ariſen from the miſconduct and neglect of his Majeſty's miniſters. His lordſhip obſerved, that he conceived a parliamentary inveſtigation of the ſubject was in no degree precluded by the proceedings of the board of inquiry; a tribunal utterly incompetent to give ſatisfaction to the nation, and which, by opening its doors to the public, calling upon the very parties to give their teſtimony, and drawing from them information by which they were to be ſubjected to criminal proſecution, was calculated rather to defeat than to promote the ends of juſtice.

"At the time when the reſolution was taken to aſſiſt the Spaniards," continued Lord H. Petty, "there was a conſiderable expedition at Cork prepared for diſtant ſervice. There was another force in the Mediterranean under General Spencer, which had been ſent to take poſſeſſion of Ceuta, but when it arrived, the attempt on Ceuta was found to be impracticable. A third army had been diſpatched upon a voyage of diſcovery and obſervation, to look out for an expedition in the Baltic. Thus government had at that time in actual readineſs three diſtinct maſſes of

of diſpoſable force. Lord Caſtlereagh was actually rich in his own failures. It was reſolved to ſend a force to aſſiſt the Spaniſh patriots. Sir A. Welleſley was appointed to the command, and the ultimate deſtination of the expedition was Portugal. There was nothing in the poſſeſſion of Portugal itſelf, nothing in the poſſeſſion of the port of Liſbon, as a ſource of immediate ſuccour to the Spaniards, which could point out, much leſs juſtify, that deſtination. I do not, however, deny, that there were objects in Portugal which claimed our attention. There were in that country a French army and a Ruſſian fleet, and the capture of theſe was both an object highly important in itſelf, and from the nature of their poſition, apparently of no difficult attainment. We ſaw a French army in a poſition in which it was cut off from all means of aſſiſtance, ſituated in an unfriendly country, deprived of every ſuccour by ſea and land.

" But the ſhores of Portugal, it ſeems, were not the firſt objects of the expedition: it fluctuated between the northern and ſouthern coaſts of Spain; and the ſuggeſtion of carrying it to Portugal, far from having been founded upon any previous original determination, was taken up in forty-eight hours upon the ſuggeſtion of the Spaniſh deputies. By Lord Caſtlereagh's letter of the 21ſt, it would appear, that Spain was the deſtination of the army. He ſays that it would be better to bring the whole force together, than to truſt to a junction on the ſhores of Spain; but from that moment every thing was truſted to a junction on the ſhores of Spain. Sir A. Welleſley's expedition failed ſeparately; the cavalry belonging to it failed ſeparately; General Moore's expedition, General Acland's expedition, the whole of the ordnance, failed ſeparately; and the junction of all theſe forces and equipments was left to be effected on the coaſt of Spain. On the 28th of June, one letter was written to Admiral Purvis, directing him to ſend intelligence to Sir Arthur on the north coaſt of Spain, and another to General Spencer, telling him that Sir Arthur was to co-operate with him; ſo that the machinery, by which the expedition was to be worked, was, that the admiral off Cadiz was to ſend requiſites to Sir Arthur on the north coaſt of Spain, which were to induce Sir Arthur to ſend orders to General Spencer, who was in the ſouth. This is on the 28th. On the 30th, a ſuggeſtion of the Spaniſh deputies overturns the whole plan; and Lord Caſtlereagh writes to inſtruct Sir Arthur, 'to expel the French from Portugal;' words of which Sir H. Dalrymple has ſaid, that, if they were ſelected for being equivocal, they could not have been more ſo. On the morning of the 30th, theſe inſtructions were ſent; on the night of the 30th, new inſtructions were deſpatched, in conſequence of freſh deſpatches from Sir C. Cotton, that there were only 4000 men left to defend the forts of the Tagus. Whether it was ſtated how the 20,000 French became reduced to 4000, I know not, but the information was believed, and acted upon without heſitation. The expedition was ſent off to Portugal; it arrives in time to diſcover the utter falſehood of the ſtatement, and

and the Britiſh commander is compelled to execute very imperfectly the ſervice to which he had been appointed.

" The equipment of the expedition correſponded to the preciſion of its plan. We have the authority of Sir A. Welleſley himſelf, that there was not a point in which cavalry would not have been ſerviceable, and yet 300 only were ſent out with him. Afterwards, when it was diſcovered that inſtead of 4000, Junot had 20,000 men, with a large proportion of cavalry, the noble lord informed Sir Arthur, that a proportion of cavalry would alſo accompany him, and accordingly 700 are embarked. This is the whole amount; for even including General Stewart's diviſion, which did not reach the Tagus till September, the number of cavalry in Portugal never exceeded 1500 men. The houſe would recollect, that in Auguſt 1807, when there was neither hope or intention of attempting any thing on the continent, Lord Caſtlereagh felt ſo much diſſatisfaction at his predeceſſor's want of tranſports, that he put a reſolution on the table, informing the houſe that he had provided them for 4000 horſes—that there they were—that they wanted nothing but ſervices. But in 1808 he tells General Welleſley, that as great a proportion of cavalry ſhall be ſent as his means of tranſport will enable him, and accordingly 700 are diſpatched. So much for the cavalry. The equipment of the artillery was ſtill more ſingular. Sir A. Welleſley ſays, that when the expedition ſailed, it being uncertain whether it might not long remain at ſea, and doubtful in what part of the peninſula it might be ſerviceable, it was thought adviſeable not to take good horſes to draw the guns. I have heard of caſes where it has been neceſſary to have particularly good artillery horſes; I have heard of caſes where it has not been thought neceſſary to have any artillery horſes at all; but this is the firſt time in my life I have ever heard of an expedition where it has been thought expedient to have bad artillery horſes. The account of Colonel Robe deſcribes the horſes as ſick, lame, blind, caſt off, and unfit for ſervice; and this not by accident, but by concert between Lord Hawkeſbury and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

" The gallant general ſailed, conceiving himſelf to be commander in chief of the expedition for the deſtruction of the French in Portugal; yet three days after, a new commander is appointed, and, in fact, not only one but ſix general officers, ſuperior to him in rank, are ſucceſſively ſent out to Portugal. Having ſent General Burrard to ſuperſede General Welleſley, and General Dalrymple to ſuperſede General Burrard, and deſigning to ſend another general to ſuperſede General Dalrymple, it is entertaining to ſee the noble lord recommending perſons, ſo ſuperſeding each other, to act together in harmony. The noble leader of the band puts all his inſtruments out of tune, throws them into a ſtrain of diſcord, and then conjures them to be harmonious. By this time, however, the noble lord was himſelf ignorant who was the commander in chief: they had been appointed in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion, he knew not to whom he ſhould addreſs himſelf as ſuch, and all

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his future inſtructions were therefore directed to the ſenior officer for the time being. Sir Arthur landed, and commenced a bold ſyſtem of operations, which, ſupported by Britiſh bravery, could not have been otherwiſe than ſucceſsful. Sir Harry Burrard arrived to ſuperſede him: to him all the defects in the ſtate of the army were immediately obvious; he ſaw the want of cavalry and artillery, and the inability of the country to afford proviſions; and on theſe grounds he reſts the juſtification of his ſubſequent conduct. His reign, however, was but ſhort. The north wind brought Sir Harry, the ſouth wind brought Sir Hew; and ſcarcely had Sir Harry's ſun riſen, when it ſet for ever. And here it is but juſtice to point out the very peculiar ſituation in which Sir H. Dalrymple was placed, in the command of an army which he had never before ſeen, and landed in a country with which he was unacquainted. He was committed to a ſyſtem of operations upon which he had never been conſulted. In his own words, all the reſponſibility was veſted in him, all the direction in others. He was in want of every thing neceſſary to enable him to act with confidence; he was in want of preciſe inſtructions; he was in want of cavalry, and of artillery horſes. It was under theſe circumſtances that he took the command, and upon a conſideration of them that he felt it to be expedient to give his conſent to the armiſtice and convention, which have ſo fatally diſappointed the hopes of the country." Lord Henry then contended, that upon theſe grounds it was impoſſible not to attribute the convention to the circumſtances in which the miſmanagement of miniſters had placed the army, and concluded a ſpeech equally eloquent and argumentative, by calling upon the houſe to mark, by the vote of that night, its ſenſe of their miſconduct.

Lord Caſtlereagh, in reply, explained that at the beginning of the campaign, we had a diſpoſable force of 5000 men under General Spencer at Gibraltar, and 10,000 at Cork under Sir Arthur Wellesley. The force under Sir John Moore could not be calculated upon immediately, as its getting free of the Baltic was uncertain; and he aſked whether the noble lord would think it wiſe to keep the corps at Cork, until the additional 10,000 had arrived from the north? There had been no contrariety in the inſtructions given to Sir A. Welleſley; two ſets of inſtructions had been given, the firſt of a general nature; the ſecond particular, in conſequence of Sir C. Cotton's information; but they were not contradictory. General Spencer, it was true, had been ſent in the firſt inſtance to Cadiz, and not to Portugal; and the plain reaſon was, that if he had arrived in the Tagus before the main force under Sir A. Welleſley, it would have been a ſignal to the enemy to concentrate his forces. With reſpect to the equipments, the queſtion had been greatly narrowed ſince it firſt came under diſcuſſion. Firſt the whole failure was imputed to miniſters; they had ſent out an army deſtitute of ammunition, of artillery, of proviſions, of tents, in ſhort, of every thing; but the deficiency of artillery horſes, and the ſituation of Portugal reſpecting ſupplies, were the only points now

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inſiſted upon. With reſpect to this laſt, a diſtinction ſhould be made between an army landing in a country, and an army proceeding on its march after having landed. An advancing army in general depended upon the country it went to ſuccour for ſupplies, by which he did not mean proviſions, for a ſufficiency of thoſe for three months had been ſent out with all our expeditions to Portugal; but an army required a great ſupply of cattle to convey thoſe proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and, in general, he believed, the amount of cattle to be half the number of the men. For aſſiſtance of this kind, they muſt depend on the country; and it became neceſſary that an army ſhould land at ſome diſtance from the enemy, in order to have time to create and collect the means of enabling it to advance. As to the artillery horſes, the noble lord muſt have ſhut his eyes to the reinforcement which was immediately to follow from England, and which made the whole amount to 778. For his *countrymen* (the horſes from Ireland) he muſt be allowed to ſay a few words. They did not ſhew themſelves ſo bad, as was repreſented in the battle of Vimiera; they were very much admired by the French; an hundred had been ſelected to purſue the campaign in Spain, and they had acquitted themſelves, under a moſt difficult and fatiguing march, as well as any in the army. He thought it hardly poſſible, in extenſive military operations, that the chief command ſhould not change hands. In the low countries, it happened, on one occaſion, that no leſs than four ſuch changes took place within forty-eight hours; but he did not mean to ſay, there was any advantage in that circumſtance. His lordſhip then paſſed ſome compliments on Sir H. Dalrymple, and concluded by dwelling upon the advantageous reſults to which the campaign had led way.

After a ſhort ſpeech from Gen. Tarleton, who warmly ſupported the reſolutions, Sir A. Welleſley roſe and explained the circumſtances which had governed his conduct in proceeding to the Tagus. When he arrived at Corunna, the junta of Gallicia had heard of the defeat at Rio Seco. He offered to land his troops, and aſſiſt General Blake in covering the province: their reply was, that they did not want men, and that the beſt ſervice he could do them and their cauſe was to expel the French from Portugal; and ſuch importance did they attach to this ſervice, that though threatened from two points at the time, they ſent 2000 men to Portugal to aſſiſt him in that quarter. Under theſe circumſtances, the deſtination of the troops to Portugal was juſtified, not merely as promoting an object of Britiſh intereſt, but one of great conſequence, with a view to future operations in Spain. With reſpect to the ſufficiency of the force ſent out, he obſerved, that ſo ſatisfied was he of the adequacy of his own force to execute his object, that he had not intended to have employed the expected reinforcement under General Ackland in the field at all, but to have ſent it to beſiege Peniche. When Sir H. Burrard arrived, he had no longer the command, but he recommended a plan of operation for the corps of Sir J. Moore; and if that had been adopted, he ſhould not this night have had the mortifica-

tion to hear a reſolution propoſed that the expedition to Portugal had diſappointed the hopes of the nation. The plan was, that Moore ſhould advance upon Santarem to intercept the enemy, for he thought they would endeavour to croſs the Tagus. It was feaſible not only in his own opinion, but in that of all thoſe who had given evidence before the court of inquiry. Sir H. Burrard, however, thought proper to recall that corps to the aſſiſtance of the army, and thus the whole ſyſtem of operations was materially altered. His original plan was to have engaged the enemy as near Liſbon as poſſible, and to have followed up the advantage which he undoubtedly expected with the utmoſt expedition; by which means he truſted to have got to Liſbon nearly as ſoon as themſelves, and to have prevented them paſſing the Tagus; and it was ſtill his opinion, that if this plan had been purſued after the battle of Vimiera, it would have fully ſucceeded.

With reſpect to the treaties which followed, it was neceſſary to conſider the ſituation of the two armies when the armiſtice took place. The French, after the battle of Vimiera, occupied a ſtrong poſition, in which they might have ſtopped a ſuperior force three or four days; and when we had diſlodged them from this, we ſhould further have had to drive them from two or three other lines which lay between the main poſition and Liſbon. In the mean while, they would have been employed in preparing the means for paſſing the Tagus, which, he affirmed, it would have been impoſſible to prevent. We ſhould then have had to reduce Elvas, to attempt which the army would not have been in a condition till December; and it might then be thought adviſable to give the French army the ſame, or nearly the ſame terms, as thoſe which were granted in Auguſt. Under theſe circumſtances, he could not think the convention diſgraceful, but at any rate the blame of it could not attach to the government. The want of artillery, of horſes, or other equipments, had never been taken into account, and it was ſurely hard to charge the treaty upon government, when, if a certain plan of operations had been purſued, the motives for it would not have exiſted.

Sir A. Welleſley was followed by Mr. Windham, in a ſpeech even more than uſually diſtinguiſhed by that cloſeneſs of reaſoning, fineneſs of diſtinction, and felicity of alluſion and illuſtration, which ſo eminently characteriſe almoſt all his parliamentary efforts. We regret that our limits forbid us to give any but a moſt imperfect ſketch of the line of argument which he purſued; it is almoſt peculiar to Mr. Windham's ſpeeches, that they do not bear abridgment, while thoſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his contemporaries rather gain than ſuffer by ſuch curtailment. He began by expreſſing his entire concurrence with the views and conduct of Sir A. Welleſley. It was impoſſible, he ſaid, not to diſcern, in the whole ſtyle of his operations, thoſe characteriſtic marks which have at all times, and not leaſt in thoſe in which we live, diſtinguiſhed the ſucceſsful from the unſucceſsful ſide, the victor from the vanquiſhed. But the

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ſtatement of the hon. general, while it juſtified his character, was the condemnation of miniſters. It was the glory of a military officer to achieve ſucceſs under great diſadvantages; but the glory of an adminiſtration conſiſted in placing their officers where their ſucceſs ſhould be eaſy, and of conſequence their glory but little; and in this reſpect, the merits of executive officers, and of thoſe who employ them, often moved exactly in a counter order. The circumſtances, therefore, which enhanced the merit of the gallant general, conſtituted the blame of the miniſters who produced them. As to the opinion expreſſed by the hon. general reſpecting the convention, he certainly differed with him on that point; but he admitted, that though a *primâ facie* reſponſibility attached to miniſters for every public meaſure, the convention was one, of which they ſtood perfectly clear. In allowing this, however, he did not mean that there was not matter of reſponſibility in their preceding conduct. The hon. general had indeed ſtated, that the want of cavalry would not have prevented him from following up his victory; but it certainly had produced that effect in others, and was the reaſon principally inſiſted upon by the members of the court of inquiry, why the generals, who refuſed to concur in that courſe, were to be juſtified in their refuſal. For himſelf, he confeſſed he could not but believe that Sir Arthur was right, and that, if left to himſelf, he would have accompliſhed all that he ſaid he could. Still the doubt was entertained, and it is this which, in point of fact, prevented the victory from being followed up. So that let who will be right, it was they who, for whatever reaſon, forbore to provide the army with a larger proportion of cavalry, that the victory of Vimiera fell ſo ſhort of what it might have done, and was productive of conſequences ſo inadequate. This was the great connecting link which made miniſters reſponſible for a meaſure, in which it is true they had directly no ſhare. They did not make the convention—No—but they made that which did make the convention, which rendered it neceſſary, as ſome ſay, but without which, it is agreed on all hands, that the convention would not have been made.

With reſpect to the argument which was urged in defence of that treaty, viz. that it had the effect of getting the French out of Portugal ſooner than could otherwiſe have been done, nothing could be more unfortunate; for, firſt, it was not true; the ſpeedieſt way would undoubtedly have been to have conquered them in the firſt inſtance, as Sir Arthur Welleſly would have done with the troops that he had, and as the other generals do not deny that they could have done with a ſufficiency of cavalry. Next, it was not at all clear that even when that opportunity was loſt, the expulſion of the enemy by ſubſequent operations would not have been quite as ſpeedy, and a good deal more ſatisfactory, than the method of convention; but laſtly, what advantage was it to miniſters thus to endeavour to accelerate the evacuation, when as it was, it came upon them before they were prepared for it? They are argu-

ing, therefore, againſt themſelves when they give as a reaſon for adopting the convention, that it ſooner left them at liberty to transfer the army to Spain. If this effect was of ſo much conſequence to them, why were they not prepared for it? or why make ſuch ſacrifices for an object which when they had got, they were not in a ſtate to make uſe of? It is indiſputable, therefore, 1ſt, that they are anſwerable for the convention, good or bad, as it was from want of means which they ought to have provided that it became, or was thought neceſſary; 2ndly, that when they had got this God-ſend, they were not at all prepared to profit by it; and that 3rdly, if Sir Arthur's ſucceſs had been completed in the way he originally propoſed, they would have been ſtill leſs prepared, and made it ſtill more evident that they had ſent the troops into Portugal in the moſt headlong blundering manner; without the leaſt idea of what they were to do, or what plan was to be purſued in the different reſults which might be expected. The noble lord, indeed, had attempted to juſtify the deficiency of cavalry by inſtancing victories which had been obtained without cavalry. Who had ever ſaid that battles might not be gained without cavalry? I wonder the noble lord when he was about it did not cite the victories of St. Vincent and Traſalgar; but the queſtion here is not about gaining victories, but improving them. The battle here was gained, perhaps, without any material uſe of cavalry; but for want of cavalry, produced nothing but the convention. Of the ſame nature was the argument, which had already been adverted to, as to the quality of the horſes ſent out. Leſs valuable horſes had been ſelected, in order, it was ſaid, that the loſs to the public might be lighter, in event of their being deſtroyed. Apply the ſame reaſoning to common life, and men would chuſe their poſſeſſions upon principles the very reverſe of thoſe commonly followed, and inſtead of the beſt of every thing would endeavour to get the worſt. This is not the common way; but, ſay miniſters, "this is a miſtake; it is the loſs, and not the uſe, that is to be conſidered; chuſe me that which I may part with without regret." I ſuppoſe it was upon this principle that the preſent adminiſtration was choſen. But does it eſcape the noble lord, that good things of their kind, are moreover leſs liable to be loſt, and that this is eminently the caſe with troops and armaments? The capture of good troops is, to be ſure, a greater evil than that of an equal number of bad ones; but then it muſt be allowed that good troops are leſs likely to be captured.

The noble lord had ſtated, that it would have been improper to ſend out a large army under an inferior general; that a large force required as it were a large general; but it ſurely did not follow from that poſition, that a ſmall army muſt be ſent out with a ſmall general. There was not the ſame danger in making the general too big, as in making him too little. Why, however, ſhould they not put their beſt foot forward at once, and have ſent out the proper general in the firſt inſtance?

ſtance? it was from neglect of this principle that all the calamitous conſequences of the campaign had ariſen. Sir Arthur had ſtated, that from the firſt moment of their arrival he perceived he could not flatter himſelf that he poſſeſſed the confidence of either of his ſucceſſors. This was the natural conſequence of the rapid ſucceſſion in which general ſucceeded general, wave ſucceeded wave, riſing ſome of them, as it were literally, out of the ſea; aſſembled upon the ſtage like perſons at the end of a comedy, with the happieſt effects of ſurpriſe, ſome from one part of the world, and ſome from another; one from Syracuſe, and another from Epheſus, bringing with them their various views and prejudices, and marring whatever was to be done by their total ignorance of all that had preceded.

It had been declared by the higheſt authority in the ſtate, that the convention had diſappointed the hopes of the nation. Had miniſters changed their mind? Did they entertain a different opinion reſpecting that tranſaction now, and at the time when they cauſed the guns to be fired? Did they at that moment really think the news good, or were they only endeavouring by noiſe and clamour, by firings at midnight and puffs in the morning, to confound the ſenſe of the country, and, as ſometimes happens in other theatres, to force as excellent down the throats of the public, what they knew in their own minds to be moſt execrable ſtuff. He ſhould really be curious to know which way the hon. gentleman meant to take it: whether to deſcribe themſelves as dupes upon that occaſion, or *only* intending to dupe the nation. Among their friends they will probably prefer the latter deſcription, but as they can hardly venture to profeſs this publicly, they muſt be content to be ſet down as perſons who were unable to diſcover, that this convention was a bad meaſure till it had received the comment of the public voice; till the knowledge of its merits was forced on them by the groans, and murmurs, and hiſſings, and cat-calls, and cries of "off, off," which aſſailed them on every ſide, and from every rank and order of people, from pit, boxes, and gallery. One merit, however, they had, they did not, like ſome authors, ſet themſelves to reſiſt the public judgment, but appeared willing to withdraw their piece, and to confeſs, it was, to be ſure, a moſt wretched performance." Mr. Windham then animadverted upon the total want of foreſight and plan, betrayed by miniſters, in all their military meaſures. Junot and his corps, he contended, could not be better placed than where they were; cut off from all communication with their countrymen, and preſſed on all ſides by the accumulating force of the Portugueze nation. In this ſtate of things the queſtion was, whether it was good policy to make any attack upon Junot with a view to deſtroy his force: but if that was not good policy, ſtill leſs was it ſo to attack him with a view to grant him ſuch terms as would ſend him into Spain, from which while in Portugal he was effectually cut off. Unleſs miniſters were prepared to ſay, they

had been ſucceſsful before their time, they had no way of accounting for the interval which elapſed before the army proceeded to Spain; and if they reſted their defence on that ground, they muſt ſtand convicted of a criminal want of foreſight, and were deeply reſponſible for all the loſſes which reſulted from that unfortunate expedition to Spain having been undertaken too late.

Mr. Windham was followed by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Canning; but there was little of novelty in the reaſonings they adduced. The line of defence adopted by Mr. Perceval, conſiſted in little elſe than recrimination upon his opponents. "Perhaps," he obſerved, "Mr. Windham might ſpeak feelingly on the ſubject of ſuperſeding officers, from having experienced the inconvenience of it in the caſe of Generals Crawfurd and Whitelocke in the expedition to Buenos Ayres;" and Lord Caſtlereagh had, in the ſame manner, contended, 'that the expedition to Sweden, and that preparing at Cork, were fully as beneficial to their country, as thoſe which had been ſent to Egypt, or the Dardanelles.'" Mr. Whitbread juſtly animadverted upon this mode of vindication, and aſked, "whether it was a juſtification for all the evils which the conduct of miniſters had occaſioned, that their opponents four years ago had evinced ſimilar if not greater imbecility and ignorance? Was that any apology to the country for the diſappointment of its hopes, and the degradation of its character? In the name of truth, if both had been proved guilty of blunders the moſt criminal, let that be a reaſon for puniſhing them both together; but never let it be advanced as an extenuation for every future act of diſgraceful miſmanagement.

Mr. Canning confeſſed, that upon the ſubject of the Cintra convention he differed in ſome meaſure from his colleagues. He objected in principle to the practice of ſtipulating conditions reſpecting which we had no right nor power to act: nor could he deny that it was the open undiſguiſed opinion of every man, that the convention had diſappointed the hopes and expectations of the country. But ſtill he thought it would have been an harſh meaſure to have ſent any officer to trial with the weight of that clamour on his head. Beſides, whom could they have ſelected for ſuch a trial? Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who might plead the neceſſarily ſcanty information of the ſtate of things in a country where he had juſt arrived? Sir Harry Burrard, who had had the command for 24 hours only? Or Sir Arthur Welleſly, who could only be accuſed of having excited thoſe proud hopes which were afterwards unfortunately diſappointed? Under ſuch circumſtances, when no ſpecific charge could be brought againſt any of the commanders, no other mode but that of an inquiry could have been adopted. With reſpect to the ſelection and ſucceſſion of the commanders, Mr. Canning obſerved, that the appointment of Sir Hugh Dalrymple was unanimouſly decided upon by the cabinet, on account of the confidence with which he had inſpired the Spaniards,

Spaniards, and the correſpondence he had kept up with them. The almoſt cotemporaneous arrival of Generals Burrard and Dalrymple was owing merely to the wind, and ſurely this was not a thing which a ſecretary at war could be expected to calculate. General Ferguſon who had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of Vimiera, ſupported the reſolutions. Mr. Yorke, after the deciſion of the court of inquiry, conſidered that there was no ground to diſapprove of the convention. Lord Henry Petty replied, and the debate cloſed at ſix in the morning, when, upon a diviſion, the numbers were found,

For the previous queſtion, 203; for Lord Henry Petty's motion, 153.

Three days after Mr. Ponſonby brought the conduct of affairs in Spain under the conſideration of the houſe, by moving a reſolution, importing, "that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to inquire into the cauſes, conduct, and events of the late campaign in Spain." This motion he prefaced by an elaborate ſpeech, in which he grounded his charge of miſmanagement in miniſters, principally, on the total want of information which they had betrayed reſpecting the ſpirit of the people in Spain, and of the internal condition, and reſources of that country; on the delay which took place in the movement of our troops from Portugal, ſubſequent to the convention of Cintra; on the want of all previous concert with the authorities in Spain as exemplified in the difficulties which attended the diſembarkation of Sir David Baird's diviſion, and all the ſubſequent movements of our armies; on the ſending Mr. Frere, inſtead of a perſon profeſſionally converſant with military affairs, as miniſter to the junta; on the want of money in the military cheſt; and on the circumſtances by which Sir John Moore was obliged to change his prediſpoſed movement of retreat from Salamanca.

Lord Caſtlereagh, on the part of miniſters, contended, that there was no *primâ facie* grounds for attributing to them the failure of the campaign; our army was intended only to act as an auxiliary force in aid of the Spaniſh armies, and ſurely government was not to be blamed becauſe the Spaniſh forces had not been able to hold out till the arrival of troops ſent to their aſſiſtance: eſpecially when it could be ſhown, that no avoidable delay had taken place in diſpatching them. At an early period of the campaign, a communication had been opened with General Caſtanos, on the ſubject of the co-operation of the Britiſh army in Spain, but circumſtances had delayed the receipt of the letter. On the 14th September, Lord William Bentinck was ſent to confer with the central junta on the ſame ſubject, and on the 25th Sir Hugh Dalrymple was ordered to move forward towards the north of Spain. On the ſame day Sir David Baird received orders to embark for Ferrol, or Corunna. On the 29th the firſt letter from Lord William was written, containing the anſwers of the ſupreme junta to certain queſtions that had beeu ſubmitted to them, and the plan which, in conſequence of their orders, he had

arranged with General Caſtanos. By this it was ſettled, that the army in Portugal ſhould make for Burgos by Salamanca, and Sir David Baird diſembark at Corunna. It was worthy of remark, that at the ſame time, in diſcuſſing the ſame queſtion at London with the Marqueſs Romana, the ſame deciſion was arrived at. On the 9th of October, ten days after the date of Lord William Bentinck's deſpatch, Sir David Baird ſailed, as on the 25th of September, eight days after the arrival of the intelligence of the Cintra convention, inſtructions had been ſent for the army in Portugal to march. He could here ſee no ſymptom of unneceſſary delay; nor had there been any remiſſneſs in making the neceſſary previous communications with the juntas in Gallicia and Leon. The proper orders had in fact been ſent out to Generals Leith and Broderick, who had accordingly communicated with the juntas, but he was ſorry to ſay they had neglected to act purſuantly.

Mr. Tierney obſerved, that the *primâ facie* caſe was this, we had ſent into Spain an army of 53,000 men, and they had returned again under the fire of French cannon. With reſpect to the conduct of miniſters, it was clear that Sir David Baird's forces were not ready till the end of September, and their ſubſequent arrangement of the campaign correſponded to their promptitude in preparing it. It was proper, he allowed, that the Britiſh army ſhould afford a ſhelter to Spaniards to fall back upon in caſe of defeat; but how had the noble lord ſet about this? General Baird was at Corunna, General Moore at Salamanca, General Hope at Aranjuez, the troops thus forming a central army, which had to occupy the ſpace of 300 miles. Mr. Tierney then dwelt on the loſſes in the retreat, and aſked, why the 16000 men which were embarking at the time, had been remanded, inſtead of being expedited to Corunna? He enumerated the ſucceſſes of Buonaparte, and contended that there had been nothing to obſtruct the plans of the noble lord, but what he might very well have foreſeen. Buonaparte had made no ſecret of the time of his marching. The ſun ſhone in October, the rain fell in November, and the ſnow in December, all of which were common things, and the noble lord might have learnt them from Moore's Almanac. An inquiry was indiſpenſable; it was uſeleſs to move for documents. What he wanted was *viva voce* evidence, to examine officers, to inveſtigate the equipments, to ſift the nature of the commiſſariat, and to know whether it was not ſo groſsly ignorant of the nature of ſupply, that the army were ſtarving in the midſt of plenty.

Mr. Canning affirmed, that it had been attempted to miſlead the judgment of the houſe by a ſeries of the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations he had ever witneſſed. The diviſion of the army in three ſeparate columns was ſolely the adoption of Sir John, to whom miniſters had left the option of proceeding to Spain by ſea or land. His advance from Salamanca, which it had been attempted to be inferred to have been againſt his will, was equally the reſult of his own deci-

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ſion, upon a view of exiſting circumſtances. With reſpect to the relanding of the troops intended for Corunna, the fact was true, but the right hon. gentleman's inference was wrong. They had been relanded in conſequence of a diſtinct requiſition from Sir David Beard, that he wanted a certain number of tranſports; and he could aſſure the houſe, that the ſending the tranſports empty from this country had coſt his Majeſty's miniſters a ſevere pang. They had, however, no choice; they were compelled to ſubmit to the hard neceſſity. Mr. Canning then explained and defended the ſyſtem upon which government had acted towards Spain from the beginning, and affirmed, in oppoſition to the deſponding tone of the other party, that though the military part of the tranſaction had diſappointed expectation, the cauſe was not deſperate. The ſpirit of the people was unſubdued, the boundaries of French power were confined within the limits of their uilitary poſts; and even ſhould Buonaparte ſucceed, he would have, inſtead of a yielding unreproaching ally, a turbulent, impatient, revolting nation to keep down. The object of the motion was obviouſly calculated to take the reins of government out of the hands of thoſe who at preſent held them. If a new courſe was to be adopted towards Spain, undoubtedly other miniſters muſt be ſought for. Was it then a ſettled opinion that there was ſomething fatal in the will and irreſiſtible in the power of Buonaparte; and was the world to ſubmit to his tyrannous reſolves as to a divine infliction? For himſelf, he ſaw no grounds for deſpondency about Spain. The enemy's fortune no doubt had been augmented; but ſtill it was fortune, not fate; therefore not to be conſidered unchangeable and fixed. There was ſomething unworthy in the ſentiment that would defer to this fortune as to the diſpenſations of Providence, looking upon it as immutable in its nature, and irreſiſtible by human means.

Mr. Windham obſerved, that it was an odd moment for the right hon. ſecretary to expreſs his hopes, when we had withdrawn our army, and left the Spaniards to fight their own battles; it reminded him of the very pleaſant lines—

> He fled full ſoon, on the firſt of June,
> And bade the reſt keep fighting.

Our expedition to Spain was managed in ſuch a manner as not only to do no good, but to do what was much worſe than nothing; we held out to Spain the diſheartening example of our beſt army retreating from the field without ſtriking a ſingle blow, on the mere rumour of the enemy's advaance. When we left the field in this manner, it was in vain to tell the Spaniards, "Do you go on, fighting, my brave fellows, and never mind us." If our beſt troops could do nothing, there was little chance for their undiſciplined peaſantry. Mr. Windham then entered at length into the queſtion of the plan of operations which ought to have been originally adopted. The more tempting courſe, and the one, for not purſuing which miniſters had been moſt blamed, was to have ſtruck a blow on the Ebro, and endeavoured to drive the enemy out of Spain by attacking him inſtantly, when his force was ſmall. Upon this ſcheme he ſhould give no opinion; the queſtion was

a very nice one, and few but thoſe in office could have the neceſſary means of judging. Undoubtedly there were difficulties in the caſe, but thoſe not inſuperable ones; and if the force ſent to the Ebro had conſiſted, as it ought to have done, chiefly of cavalry, it might ſtill, even if found inſufficient for its immediate object, have been able to take care of itſelf, and retired in ſafety to the ſouthern provinces, where at all events, and in every view, the great maſs of our force ſhould be collected. The inexhauſtible means of the enemy made the event at leaſt doubtful, and rendered it neceſſary, whatever army we ſent into Spain, that we ſhould think of the means, in caſe of extremity, of bringing them away. Now in the whole peninſula there are but two places, Cadiz and Gibraltar, from which a large body of troops, when preſſed by ſuperior forces, could hope to get away; and in that neighbourhood alone could any army, large enough to be of uſe, be truſted. There, therefore, he would have collected not only a large army, but the greateſt poſſible force which the mind and means of the country —then elevated above itſelf, and exalted to ſomething of preternatural greatneſs—could have furniſhed. There was no reaſon why we might not have had an army of 100,000 men, and ſuch a force, with Gibraltar to retreat upon, was a far leſs riſk than 30,000 in the ſituation in which miniſters had placed them. Our retreat would in every event have been aſſured, and we ſhould have given employment to at leaſt 200,000 of the enemy, to ſay nothing of the demand that would be made upon him by the large Spaniſh army that would be raiſed in that part of Spain to co-operate with the Britiſh. Buonaparte would have a whole kingdom to garriſon behind him; he muſt fight us at arm's length, while our ſtrength would be exerted within diſtance, with an impregnable fortreſs at hand, at once ſecuring our ſupplies and our retreat.

With all our talk about Spain, continued Mr. Windham, we did not ſet our ſhoulders to the wheel as people would do who felt they had nothing but their own exertions to truſt to, and who eſtimated truly what the exertions of this country could do when fairly put forth. But the great and pregnant ſource of error in the conduct of miniſters, beſide the fault of not knowing better, was that which they had in common with many other miniſters, and which he had equally witneſſed in ſome of his own time; of miſtaking buſtling for activity, and ſuppoſing that they were doing a great deal, when they were only making a great deal of noiſe, and ſpending a great deal of money. While miniſters were writing long deſpatches, iſſuing orders in all directions, keeping up the clerks to unuſual hours, covering the roads with meſſengers, and putting the whole country in a ferment, they were apt to think the public ſervice muſt be making prodigious advances: and their purpoſe might very poſſibly in the mean while be anſwered; for the error was not a diſintereſted one, and one without its deſign. It was thus, perhaps, that an adminiſtration was to acquire the character of vigour. Mr. Windham then adverted to the want of

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zeal and apathy, which had been attributed to the north of Spain, and contended that nothing could be more fallacious than to eſtimate the feelings of a country towards any cauſe, by the feelings excited in that part of it which ſhould be expoſed to the immediate preſſure of an army. But to talk of the Spaniards generally, as wanting in zeal or courage, was more than any one would venture, after ſuch an example as Sara goſſa

After a reply from Mr. Ponſonby, a diviſion took place, when the numbers were—for the motion, 127; againſt it, 220. Majority for miniſters, 93.

April 21. The conduct of the war in Spain was brought before the Houſe of Lords by Earl Grey, who moved a reſolution, ſtrongly cenſuring the whole management and arrangement of the campaign on the part of miniſters—it was negatived by a majority of 53.

May 9. The ſame ſubject was once more brought forward in the commons, by Earl Temple, in a motion ſimilar to that of Lord Grey, and which was alſo rejected by 230 votes to 111. In both theſe debates the ſame topics were, for the moſt part, inſiſted upon as before, but the conduct of Mr. Frere ſeems to have formed the point upon which the ſtreſs of the accuſation reſted. The letters of this miniſter to Sir John Moore, were among the papers laid before parliament, and the oppoſition aſſerted, without heſitation, that there could be no further doubt as the more immediate occaſion of the unhappy iſſue of the campaign. The ſpeech of Earl Grey, which was of great length, and in many reſpects of conſiderable ability, inſiſted chiefly upon this topic. Mr. Frere was therein deſignated as "a gentleman who, whatever may be his talents in other reſpects, was wholly diſqualified, by his folly, ignorance and preſumption, for the important ſtation which he then occupied. To prove his incompetence, it was only neceſſary to refer to his letter of the 27th November, in which, appearing to be ignorant of the arrival of the reinforcements to the French army, which had augmented it to 113,000 men, he mentions to Sir John Moore how deſirable it would be to attack them before they ſhould be reinforced! Another reaſon which he aſſigns for Sir John Moore's advance was, that France was always weak after a great effort; a ſentiment which reminds one of the caſe of thoſe who being in the conſtant habit of telling ſtories, come at length to believe them themſelves. The noble lord then endeavoured to ſhew that the advance from Salamanca was the work of this Mr. Frere, who by his warm, but as it afterwards appeared, wholly unfounded ſtatements, had in a manner compelled the general to ſuſpend his prudent intention to retreat, and, in fact, had very nearly brought about the entire deſtruction of the army.

In another part of his ſpeech, Earl Grey obſerved, that "even after all our loſſes in blood, in treaſure, in character, and in honour, I am perſuaded that, under a wiſe adminiſtration, the country poſſeſſes ample means to bring the conteſt in which it is engaged to an honourable concluſion. But, in order to maintain that conteſt, which is to decide for ever the power

power and independence of the country, the true policy of thoſe who govern it muſt be to pay a ſtrict attention to economy, to be actuated by a determination to concentrate your means, and to endanger them in no enterprize or ſpeculation in which the event is doubtful, by which ſyſtem alone will you enable yourſelves to continue a conflict, the ceſſation of which does not depend upon you, but upon the injuſtice of the enemy. "Durate et vosmet rebus servate ſecundis." Such is the policy I have before recommended, and notwithſtanding the ridicule which has been thrown upon it, I think the country will one day learn to appreciate its ſoundneſs. I do not ſay that the adoption of ſuch a policy ought to prevent our availing ourſelves of a good opportunity of applying our reſources upon occaſions which hold out a reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs; on the contrary, I think it the advantage of that ſyſtem, that while it enables you maintain a protracted conteſt, it alſo enables you to fight with effect the laſt battle which is to decide the fate of the country. I will not diſſemble that I am one of thoſe who thought ſuch an opportunity was afforded by the events which took place in Spain laſt year. In this opinion I depended neceſſarily upon the information of miniſters, to whom I gave credit for avoiding to do any thing to excite thoſe paſſions which it was neceſſary to reſtrain, or to hold out hopes which were not juſtified by facts. We all remember the magnificent accounts which were circulated at the time, of the reſources of Spain, of the enthuſiaſm of the people, of the vaſt armies they had collected, and with which it was expected that they would drive the French beyond the Pyrenees. We have all too ſeen the event, and the concluſion is irreſiſtible as to miniſters, that either they had information, or they had not. If they had not, they ſtand charged with culpable negligence; if they had information, and held out hopes which that information did not juſtify, they ſtand in a much higher degree reſponſible to the public for their conduct. It was not a ſudden ebullition that ſhould have led us to depart from thoſe principles of economy I have ſo often recommended. Miniſters ſhould have been ſatisfied, not only of the exiſtence of a proper ſpirit in the people, but that there was a government in that country which had acquired ſufficient authority to give it the neceſſary energy. If neither of theſe things exiſted, or one without the other, it was the very acme of madneſs in miniſters to laviſh, as they had done, the reſources of their country.

In replying to Lord Grey, the Earl of Liverpool obſerved, that it was a ſingular circumſtance, with reſpect to the conduct of miniſters in the affairs of Spain, that every individual who cenſured their plan had a plan of his own; but, unfortunately, none of thoſe plans had a ſingle principle of agreement with each other. This at leaſt ſhewed the difficulty under which miniſters had laboured in the formation of their own meaſures, although it afforded a facility in defending them. In embarking in the cauſe of Spain, his lordſhip continued, miniſters were not ſo weak, ſo improvident, as to expect that the firſt efforts of the

the Spaniſh people, contending with ſuch an enemy, would be crowned with unqualified ſucceſs; that no diſcomfitures, no checks, no reverſes, would retard and embarraſs the early and crude operations of undiſciplined bravery, when openly contending with the ſuperior diſcipline, ſtrength, and generalſhip of ſuch a power as France. No! weak as the noble lord might ſuppoſe miniſters, they were not yet guilty of calculating with certainty upon impoſſibilities; they did not expect that ſuch a cauſe, to be fought with ſuch an enemy, could poſſibly be determined in one campaign. Reverſes they had certainly met, but they had not been owing to the indifference or apathy of the Spaniards. They were to be imputed to their want of diſcipline, to an ill-judged contempt of their enemy; a ſentiment to be traced to any other feeling than that of apathy, and which, in the commencement was ſo much relied upon, that the Marquis Romana did not think it would be eventually neceſſary for our reinforcements to act in the interior of the peninſula. With reſpect to the advance from Salamanca, Lord Liverpool aſked, whether, when by the junction of Hope, the army had received its fair proportion of cavalry and artillery, and apprized, as the general then was, of the ſpirit which was manifeſting itſelf in Madrid, an opportunity did not exiſt which called for ſome effort on the part of the Britiſh forces ſituated as they then were? What would have been the general ſentiment in Spain, and in England, had the army retired without attempting any thing? If in that moſt intereſting criſis, when, after all their repeated diſaſters, the ſpirit of Spain was reviving, and her chief city bidding defiance to an immenſe army at her very gates; if in ſuch a moment a Britiſh army, after a long march to the aid of their ally, were in the hour of trial coldly to turn their backs upon his danger, what would have been thought of the ſincerity of the efforts of Britiſh co-operation? It had been aſſerted, that in making this advance Sir John Moore was influenced againſt his own judgment by the repreſentations of Mr. Frere. There was nothing in the correſpondence which ſupported ſuch an imputation; on the contrary, it there appeared that the general had refuſed to ſuffer Mr. Frere's judgment to influence his military movements, and in ſo doing there could be no doubt of the propriety of his conduct. As to Mr. Frere's requiſition that the meſſenger ſhould be examined before a council of war, he did not mean to vindicate it; at the ſame time he believed that too much juſtice could not be done Mr. Frere, as far as reſpected the purity of his motives, and his zeal for his country's intereſts.

Whatever, continued the noble lord, might be the ſentiments of other perſons on this ſubject, I, for my part, believe on my conſcience, that that forward movement of Sir John Moore ſaved Spain. After ſuch an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſſes on the part of the French ruler, what would have been the reſult had he at that criſis purſued his conqueſts, by puſhing into the ſouthern provinces? The Spaniſh armies could not poſſibly have rallied. The advance of the Britiſh afforded the moſt effectual diverſion;

diverſion; it compelled the enemy to abandon his projects on the ſouth, gave time for our allies to rally and to revive with increaſed vigour, reanimated the ſpirits of the people, and was, in fact, the main ſource of all the ſucceſſes which had ſince taken place in the peninſula. There is, indeed, nothing in the event of the campaign which ſhould call for deſpondency. By it we have gained poſſeſſion of the Ruſſian fleet, while our own has been relieved from the tedioufneſs of a blockade; we have materially aſſiſted the cauſe which we undertook to ſupport; and I maintain, that whatever may be the final reſult of the conteſt we are engaged in, France has not yet ſubdued Spain. I admit that Buonaparte has 200,000 men in that country; that his troops are of the braveſt, and his generals among the ableſt in the world; and, above all, that he has been himſelf at their head; and yet, with all this, he has not got poſſeſſion of more territory than he had laſt year; on the contrary, he holds only ſuch parts as in every war fall to the lot of which ever brought the largeſt army into the field. I am far from ſaying, regard being had to the man and to the circumſtances of the caſe, that the Spaniards muſt ultimately ſucceed; but looking to the ſpirit they have evinced, and the actions that have happened, I cannot feel lukewarm in my hope that their efforts will be crowned by final ſucceſs. Upon the whole, I have the ſatisfaction, in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's government, to reflect, that whatever may be the conſequences of the ſtruggle we are embarked in, we have not loſt the confidence of the Spaniſh people. Submiſſion may be the lot they are fated to endure in the end, but they do not impute to us the cauſe of their misfortunes. Whatever may be the reſult, we have done our duty; we have not deſpaired; we have perſevered, and will do ſo to the laſt, while there is any thing left to contend for with a proſpect of ſucceſs.

Lord Moira ſpoke at length in favour of the motion, which was alſo ſupported by Lords Erſkine and Sidmouth. It was oppoſed by Lord Mulgrave, and the debate was cloſed by an able ſpeech from Lord Grenville, enforcing the neceſſity of its adoption. On a diviſion, the numbers were, in its favour, 92; againſt it, 145. Majority for miniſters, 53.

In the diſcuſſion which took place upon the motion of Earl Temple, the ſame topics were urged on both ſides, and very nearly in the ſame order. From Lord Caſtlereagh's ſpeech it appeared that our loſs in the whole campaign, from the time that General Spencer left Gibraltar, amounted to not more than 7,000 men, including caſualties, (which, if the army had ſtaid at home, would have amounted to 3,000), and the conſequences of two general actions. Mr. Canning, after ſhewing that the correſpondence of Mr. Frere was not in fact, as had been aſſerted, the occaſion of Sir John Moore's forward movement; a meaſure which, however, he conceived to be in itſelf perfectly wiſe and judicious; went on to confeſs that there were parts in that miniſter's correſpondence which he did not approve, and of which he had not adviſed his ſovereign to expreſs his approbation. The ſpecific

cific point to which he alluded, was the demand by Mr. Frere, that the bearer of his letter ſhould be examined before a council of war. His duty was to convey to the general every information in his power; to tranſmit to him the communications of the various local governments; to accompany thoſe communications with his own honeſt opinion of their value, and to enforce that opinion with the beſt arguments that occurred to him; but there, he conceived that his province ended, and that he ought not to preſcribe that which depended on a mere military deciſion. With reſpect to the advance itſelf, he would ſay, that with all its conſequences and diſaſters, he preferred it to a retreat, at the moment of Mr. Frere's remonſtrance. Of thoſe diſaſters he would not ſay a word. The battle of Corunna covered every thing; but the retreat itſelf, and the precipitancy of it, he could never ceaſe to regret.

Mr. Tierney affirmed, that there was among miniſters ſomething like a diſpoſition to keep General Moore's merits from the public view; and he aſked, whether an order had not been ſent to the Drury-lane Company, by the lord chamberlain, to diſcontinue the recitation of a monody to the general's memory. The chancellor of the exchequer had heard of no ſuch order, and could not believe that any ſuch had been ſent. Mr. Bathurſt ſpoke in favour of the motion, as did Lord Henry Petty, who quoted an obſervation of the Cardinal du Retz, that men might be placed in ſituations in which, turn how they would, they muſt commit a fault; but that fortune never placed them in ſuch ſituations, which were only the effects of their own errors. In ſuch a poſition had Moore been placed by miniſters. Mr. Whitbread cloſed the debate, and a diviſion took place on the firſt reſolution moved by Lord Temple, which was negatived by 230 votes to 111. The others were then negatived without a diviſion.

CHAP. IV.

Syſtem of Calumny againſt the Duke of York. Celebrated Publication on the ſubject. Major Hogan's Pamphlet. Colonel Wardle moves an Inquiry reſpecting his Royal Highneſs's Conduct in the Diſtribution of Promotions. Statement of the Grounds of it. Speeches of Mr. Yorke, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Wilberforce, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Canning, Mr. Whitbread, and Lord Caſtlereagh. Motion for a Committee of the whole Houſe agreed to. Houſe forms itſelf into a Committee. Speech of Colonel Wardle. Caſe of Colonel Knight. Evidence of Dr. Thynne, Mr. Knight, Mrs. Clarke, and Colonel Gordon. Statement of Circumſtances reſpecting the Connection of the Duke of York with Mrs. Clarke. Levity with which ſhe gives her Evidence. Caſe of Colonel French's Levy. Teſtimony of Mr. Dowler reſpecting it, and concerning the Purchaſe of a Place in the Commiſſariat for himſelf. Evidence of Miſs Taylor. Croſs Examination to which ſhe is ſubjected. Nature of Mrs. Clarke's

Clarke's Eſtabliſhment in Glouceſter Place. Her Account of the Manner of her Applications to the Duke of York. Affair of Dr. O'Meara. Intrigues of Meſſrs. Maliby and Donovan. Evidence of Colonel Loraine as to the Levy. Caſe of Captain Tonyn. Captain Sandon's Evidence. Singular Circumſtance of the Note ſuppreſſed by Captain Sandon, who is committed to Newgate for Prevarication. Caſe of Colonel Shaw. Subſidiary Caſes of Captain Turner and Samuel Carter. Examination of General Clavering, who is afterwards committed for Prevarication. Circumſtances of the Negotiation of the Loan with Kenneth. Cloſe of the Examinations. Evidence of General Norton, General Fitzpatrick, Sir John Pulteney, and Sir Arthur Welleſley, as to the improved State of the Army under the Adminiſtration of the Duke of York. Strong Teſtimony of Sir Arthur Welleſley as to this Point. Strong Intereſt taken by the Public in the whole Progreſs of the Examination.

THE opinion of the public upon any ſubject in which its paſſions or intereſts are concerned, is not always, in the firſt inſtance, decided by the moſt deliberate conſideration of the reaſon of the caſe; and our failure in Spain had been ſo ſignal, that it is probable that none of the arguments adduced by miniſters in the parliamentary diſcuſſions reſpecting it, however concluſive they might be as far as concerned their own conduct, would have ſatisfied the people, had not a new ſubject of inveſtigation been brought before them, of an infinitely higher intereſt, and which for a time drew to itſelf the undivided attention of all ranks and claſſes of the nation.

For ſome time paſt a ſpecies of regular and ſyſtematic attack had been carried on through the medium of a certain portion of the public preſs againſt the Duke of York, in reſpect to his conduct as commander-in-chief; the ſpecific object of which did not appear very definite, although the calumnies themſelves betrayed every ſymptom of deſign and concert in the manner of their publication. In theſe, it was aſſerted, that a ſyſtem of the moſt ſhameful favouritiſm prevailed in the diſtribution of military promotions, that officers of long ſtanding and diſtinguiſhed ſervices, had daily the mortification of ſeeing mere children from ſchool, placed in command over them, and that the higheſt profeſſional claims to advancement, were invariably made to give way to parliamentary, perſonal, or family intereſt. Inſinuations of a darker nature were not forborne, and it was hinted that there exiſted other and ſurer channels to promotion, even than theſe, by means and through an organ equally degrading to the army, and derogatory from the character of him who commanded it.

The apparent impunity with which this ſyſtem of abuſe had been carried on, formed the leading ſubject of complaint in a pamphlet publiſhed in the Auguſt of the preceding year, under the title of a "Plain Statement of the Conduct of the Miniſtry and Oppoſition towards his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York." This ſingular production, which was commonly ſuppoſed to have been written under the eye of his royal highneſs,

neſs, and publiſhed with his ſanction, was chiefly remarkable for the open avowal and defence which it contained, of the exiſtence of a ſecret, or, as it was called, king's party, the operation and influence of which, had long been aſſerted, and frequently animadverted upon ſince the commencement of the preſent reign. Of this party, compoſed of thoſe ſtyled excluſively "the king's friends," the queen and the Duke of York were hereſaid to be the natural heads, and as ſuch unconnected with any of the other leading parties in the ſtate; and the object of the writer was to ſhew, that, from this circumſtance in his poſition, the commander-in-chief, was in fact not merely abandoned, but even perſecuted, both by the miniſtry and the oppoſition. A ſyſtem of anonymous attack was purſued againſt him, for protection againſt which he had in vain appealed to every ſucceeding adminiſtration: they had indeed referred him to the law, as the only poſſible method of controuling the preſs; but it was contended by the writer, to be notorious, that the preſs of the country, was for the moſt part divided between the two great parties in the ſtate, the influence and controul of which, over their reſpective papers, was unlimited; and it was further obſerved, that though the duke might have recourſe to legal meaſures, "yet there might be innumerable alluſions, inuendoes, and even aſſertions, which had ſubſtance enough to wound, and that moſt deeply, but were not palpable enough for the viſitation of the law; that the terms of theſe cold-blooded libels, were ſo ſtudiouſly picked and culled, as to elude the juſt vengeance of the law, and even were they not ſo, there were many ſubjects which, however groſsly offenſive to all honourable feeling, could not be laid open before a court of juſtice; for there was a neceſſary and indiſcriminative publicity in law, from which a mind of any delicacy could not but avert."

Among theſe libels was one which, from particular circumſtances, ſingularly attracted the public attention. About the cloſe of the year 1808, a Major Hogan publiſhed a pamphlet, in which after a detailed ſtatement of the repeated and unjuſtifiable diſappointments he had ſuffered in the continual denial of his promotion, he ſtates himſelf to have been at length driven to the reſolution of demanding an interview of the commander-in-chief, for the purpoſe of remonſtrating with his royal highneſs in perſon, on the ſubject of the injuſtice to which he conceived he had been ſubjected. This he affirms that he actually did, and that at the cloſe of his remonſtrance, he added, "my applications for promotion have been made in the manner preſcribed by the practice of the army and the king's regulations; unfortunately without ſucceſs. Other ways, pleaſe your royal highneſs, have been recommended to me, and frequent propoſitions have been made, by thoſe who affected to poſſeſs the means of ſecuring that object, that for 600l. I could obtain a majority without purchaſe, which is little more than half the ſum I had lodged to procure promotion in the regular courſe. But I rejected ſuch a propoſition, for even were ſuch a thing poſſible, I

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ſhould feel it unworthy of me as a Britiſh officer, to owe the king's commiſſion to low intrigue and petticoat influence." Inſtead of the immediate demand of explanation, which the major ſays he expected upon making ſuch an alluſion, the duke, he aſſerts, ſeemed confounded, and was ſilent. Nothing further paſſed at that time, but Hogan affirms, that he was ſhortly afterwards made to underſtand that he had given offence, and that, in all probability, his promotion would never take place. In his pamphlet, however, he ſtated his readineſs to ſubſtantiate what he had ſaid, by the moſt irrefragable evidence, and to furniſh to any member of parliament, who might be diſpoſed to take up the ſubject, facts ſuch as would convince the moſt incredulous.

It was, however, leſs this very improbable ſtory of the interview which gave intereſt to his pamphlet, than a circumſtance which was mentioned as attending its publication. Hogan had ſent in his reſignation, and was allowed the ſums which his commiſſions had coſt him. From ſome cauſe or other, he could ſhew no document reſpecting the purchaſe of his lieutenancy, and according to the regulations of the office, the 400l. which he had given for it, was withheld. But on the ſame day on which he advertiſed his "Appeal to the Public," a lady in a barouche attended by two footmen, called at the newſpaper office, to learn his addreſs, and next evening bills were left at his door to the amount of 400l. accompanied by a letter in which the hope was expreſſed, that the publication of his intended pamphlet would thus be prevented; in which caſe Hogan was aſſured, that he ſhould be provided for to his ſatisfaction. This letter Hogan added to his ſtatement, announcing at the ſame time, that the bills ſhould be returned to any perſon bringing an account of their numbers.

This extraordinary ſtory excited, in a conſiderable degree, the attention of the people, and opinions were various as to its foundation in fact. The leſs credulous called for the publication of the numbers of the notes, that they might be traced accordingly; and when no reply was made to this challenge, the general conviction naturally was, that the whole had been a concerted trick on the part of the major; of which, indeed, it bore every mark in itſelf. The circumſtance, however, and the controverſy which took place about it, contributed to give intereſt to the pamphlet, which became immediately the ſubject of a legal proſecution on the part of the attorney general, who commenced proceedings againſt Finnerty the publiſher, and no leſs than ſix and twenty other printers and publiſhers, who had either extracted from or commended it.

The public, therefore, were not altogether unprepared for the queſtion, when on the 27th of January, purſuant to the notice he had given Colonel Gwillym Lloyd Wardle, of the militia, ſubmitted to the houſe, a motion for the appointment of a committee, "to enquire into the conduct of his royal highneſs the commander-in-chief, with reſpect to the granting of commiſſions, the making exchanges, and the raiſing of levies for the army."

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The ground of the charge, as explained in the prefatory ſpeech of the hon. mover, was as follows. There is under the controul of the commander-in-chief, a fund called the half-pay fund, ariſing out of the ſale of commiſſions vacant by death, by the promotion of officers not allowed to ſell, or by diſmiſſion from the ſervice, and the produce of which is applied to the redemption of half-pay commiſſions, or to the compaſſionate fund. The diſcretion of the commander-in-chief extends to the appointment of meritorious officers to the commiſſions ſo vacant, or to ſale of ſuch commiſſions, applying the purchaſe money to the purpoſes deſcribed. But if theſe commiſſions were otherwiſe diſpoſed of, it became clearly an abuſe of authority in the commander-in-chief, and the objects of the fund were defeated. This then was the ſubject of the accuſation. Colonel Wardle contended that commiſſions had been otherwiſe diſpoſed of, through the agency and for the profit of a lady of the name of Clarke, who had for ſome time lived under the protection of the Duke of York, at the head of a ſplendid eſtabliſhment in Glouceſter-place.

In ſubſtantiation of theſe charges he alleged the following caſes, which he engaged to prove by witneſſes at the bar of the houſe: Captain Tonyn, of the 48th foot, was, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1804, promoted to a majority in the 31ſt regiment. However much this officer's ſervices might entitle him to this promotion, it was not upon a conſideration of them alone, that it was granted. He was introduced by Captain Huxley Sandon to Mrs. Clarke, and agreed to lodge in the hands of a Mr. Donovan 500l. to be paid to that lady, whenever his promotion was announced in the gazette. By this tranſaction, though Mrs. Clarke gained 500l. the half-pay fund loſt 1,100l. which was the regulated difference between a company and a majority. Mrs. Clarke paid the 500l. to Mr. Birkett the ſilverſmith, in part of payment for a ſervice of plate, and the balance of the bill was afterwards ſettled by His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.

The ſecond caſe was that of the exchange concluded on the 25th of July, 1805, between Lieut.-Colonel Brooke of the 56th foot, and Lieut.-Colonel Knight of the 5th dragoon guards, by the influence of the ſame Mrs. Clarke, who wanting ſome money for an excurſion into the country, requeſted of his royal highneſs that he would expedite the exchange, and intimated that ſhe would in conſequence receive 200l. Within a very few days after, the exchange appeared in the gazette, and the ſtipulated ſum was paid to the lady.

The third inſtance adduced was that of Major Shaw of the Ceylon regiment, who on the 3rd of April, 1806, was appointed barrack-maſter of the Cape of Good Hope, through the interference of Mrs. Clarke. It had been agreed that ſhe ſhould receive 1,000l. for the appointment, but of this only 500l. was paid, and Mrs. Clarke finding the remainder not forthcoming, complained to the Duke of York, who in conſequence put Major Shaw on half-pay. A meaſure which Colonel Wardle affirmed to be quite unprecedented,

cedented, as he had examined the half-pay liſt, and found no inſtance of any reduction ſimilar to that of Major Shaw, in the barrack department.

The laſt caſe was that of Colonel French. In the year 1805, this officer was appointed by His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, to conduct a levy, Mrs. Clarke having previouſly bargained with him to receive one guinea out of the bounty of each man raiſed, with a part of the ſale and patronage of a certain number of the commiſſions, and, accordingly, as the levy proceeded, the proportion agreed upon was paid to her. There was a circumſtance connected with this levy not unworthy of notice, but with which Mrs. Clarke had nothing to do. The Duke of York had required a loan of 5000l. from Colonel French; and Mr. Grant of Barnard's Inn, agent for the levy, had agreed to raiſe the ſum, provided his royal highneſs would obtain the payment to Colonel French of the balance due to him from government, on account of his levy. This was promiſed, but his royal highneſs failing in his application to government, the loan was not advanced. It was intended to be inferred from this circumſtance, that his royal highneſs was not unwilling to exert his influence with government, with a view to his own pecuniary accommodation, in caſes where a conſideration of the mere juſtice of the claim would hardly have availed to procure his interference.

Colonel Wardle brought forward another caſe, viz. that of a Captain Maling in Greenwood's office, but quite unconnected with the influence of Mrs. Clarke, or the imputation of any corrupt motive on the part of the Duke of York; and reſpecting which Colonel Wardle himſelf ſeems to have been altogether miſinformed. We ſhall therefore omit to take any further notice of it. In the concluſion of his ſpeech, he informed the houſe, as another inſtance of the corruption of the times, that there was actually at that moment an office in the city for the ſale of commiſſions, at the ſame reduced ſcale as that of Mrs. Clarke; that the perſons managing that office had ſtated in his preſence, that they were agents of the preſent favourite miſtreſs, Mrs. Carey; that they further declared themſelves to be enabled to diſpoſe of places, both in church and ſtate; and that they did not heſitate to ſay, that they were employed by two of the firſt officers in adminiſtration. With this portentous diſcloſure the hon. gentleman cloſed his ſpeech.

All parties concurred in the propriety of immediate inveſtigation, as not leſs neceſſary for the vindication of the character of the commander-in-chief, than indiſpenſible for the ſatisfaction of the nation. The friends of the duke in particular expreſſed their ſatisfaction, that the ſlanderous imputations upon his royal highneſs's conduct were at length brought forward, in a manner that afforded an opportunity for his vindication, and they ſpoke with every confidence of their expectation of the reſult of inquiry. Mr. Yorke obſerved, that he was glad the houſe at length came to ſome charges againſt the commander-in-chief in a queſtionable ſhape; that they could reach in a tangible form ſome of thoſe libels, which,

which, for ſome time paſt, had been more aſſiduouſly and pertinaciouſly circulated, than at any former period in this country, ſo prolific in libels. He truſted that the houſe would do its duty to itſelf, to the country, and to the royal houſe of Brunſwick; that blame might reſt where it ought to be fixed, and that if there was no ground for theſe accuſations, juſtice might be done to the commander-in-chief. If this ſhould turn out to be the caſe, he ſincerely wiſhed that the honourable gentleman who brought forward the accuſation, would be able to acquit himſelf, by ſhewing, at leaſt, that there exiſted ſome probable reaſons in ſupport of ſo heavy an accuſation. "For my own part," Mr. Yorke continued, "I believe that there exiſts a conſpiracy of the moſt atrocious and diabolical kind againſt his royal highneſs, founded upon the jacobinical ſpirit which appeared at the commencement of the French revolution; for though that ſpirit may not ſhew itſelf in the ſame form as at firſt, when once raiſed it is not eaſily quelled, and it never can promote its views with better hopes of ſucceſs, than by taking down illuſtrious perſons. The freedom of the preſs is juſtly conſidered as the palladium of liberty, but its licentiouſneſs is the deſtruction of civil ſociety. That licentiouſneſs has been actively directed againſt the illuſtrious perſon who is the object of the motion, and who from his ſtation and paſt ſervices, might be ſuppoſed ſecure from its attacks. Let blame fall where it ought; but the houſe ſhould have conſideration for the high rank of that perſon, and the eminent ſervices which he had performed for the country in the ſtate to which he brought the army. That a conſpiracy exiſts I firmly believe; and if the houſe will go with me, and ſuppoſe this actually to be the caſe, the beſt mode to do juſtice to the ſovereign, to the high character thus impeached, and to the country, would be to appoint a parliamentary commiſſion, with power to examine each party upon oath."

Sir Francis Burdett, who had ſeconded the motion of Colonel Wardle, obſerved, that in ſo doing he could have had no view, but what was entertained by Mr. Yorke himſelf, and he truſted with him, that the enquiry would terminate in the entire exculpation of his royal highneſs. There could be no other feeling in the houſe upon the ſubject. He thought the hon. mover entitled to the thanks of the houſe, for having brought forward this matter, when he heard of the facts he had detailed. Of the motion he had previouſly known nothing, but from the notice given; but the facts ſtated, appeared ſo ſerious, that he thought the houſe bound to enquire into the caſe, and with that feeling he had ſeconded the motion. Mr. Adam ſaid, that from the ſituation which, in the way of his profeſſion, he had for twenty years paſt gratuitouſly filled in the ſervice of the Duke of York, he could ſpeak with certainty reſpecting his revenues, and every circumſtance connected with them. In all that long experience, his royal highneſs had uniformly ſtated the ſituation of his affairs with a moſt extraordinary accuracy; nor had he ever heard of his procuring any accommodation or loans, on any

other terms than the Dukes of Bedford, or Northumberland, or Devonſhire would, if they had occaſion. Mr. Wilberforce agreed with Mr. Yorke, that the inveſtigation of the charges ought to be committed to a parliamentary commiſſion ſpecially delegated for that ſpecific purpoſe. Whoever, he obſerved, had attended to the conſequences of public examination at the bar of the houſe, could not be blind to the numerous and fatal inconveniences of ſuch a mode of proceeding. The very object for which it was propoſed, was too often defeated by the means. By the appointment of a commiſſion, the witneſſes would be examined upon oath; all party bias and perſonal altercation would be prevented, and a weight and confidence would be attached to the deciſion of thoſe delegated, and to the teſtimony of thoſe examined, which it was impoſſible to expect from any public diſcuſſion or examination at the bar. It was for the houſe to recollect, that, in the preſent unexampled and critical ſtate of the civilized world, all Europe looked with a vigilant and anxious attention to the deliberations of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. That houſe was now put upon its trial, before the tribunal of public opinion. It had to render juſtice both to the illuſtrious perſon whoſe character he expected would come clear and unſullied from the ordeal, and to the country which was equally intereſted in the reſult. The claims of the public demanded that the repreſentatives of the people ſhould look to ſubſtantial juſtice, however high the rank, eminent the ervices, or ſplendid the connections of the dignified perſonage againſt whom ſuch charges were preferred. That juſtice, he conceived, could be moſt ſatisfactorily obtained by an enquiry, private in its progreſs, but to be public in its reſult; particularly when he reflected on the deſcription of perſons likely to be examined, and the importance of the intereſts affected by the examination.

Mr. Perceval was in favour of enquiry by a committee of the whole houſe. He could ſtate, he ſaid, upon the authority of the illuſtrious perſon himſelf, given at the only opportunity he had had of conſulting with him upon the ſubject, that the moſt ready courſe of proſecuting the enquiry, would be the moſt agreeable to him, and that he deprecated nothing ſo much as a courſe which would impede the final reſult. That illuſtrious perſonage wiſhed, like any other ſubject to be put publicly upon his trial, and to ſtand convicted or acquitted upon the caſe that might be made out: at the ſame time that he had a thorough conviction that he ſhould exculpate himſelf from all charge. From the nature of the facts already ſtated, he would ſtake his reputation upon it, that it was impoſſible that after the reſult of the enquiry, any ſuſpicion even could attach to his royal highneſs. But he was ſure the houſe would pauſe before it would depart from its eſtabliſhed uſage, to adopt a parliamentary commiſſion. He felt the inconveniences of a parliamentary enquiry, but theſe inconveniences muſt be encountered on ſo important an occaſion. Mr. Perceval then adverted to the mention which Colonel Wardle had made of an office in

the city for the diſpoſal of patronage, in which it was ſtated, that two members of the king's cabinet were concerned. This was a topic on which he felt it due to himſelf to require the fulleſt information, and it was for the hon. gentleman to determine whether he would afford it in a public manner in that houſe, or by a private communication to ſome of the reſponſible ſervants of the crown. When in poſſeſſion of that information, he aſſured the houſe, that by him no meaſure would be left undone to unravel and elucidate the truth or falſehood of that allegation, nor any diligence omitted to bring the delinquents, if any there be, to juſtice. It was not for him to tell that houſe, that, in this great capital, there might be people fooliſh enough to be deceived by advertiſements in the public papers, announcing the diſpoſal of official patronage; and it might ſometimes happen, that theſe very perſons did ultimately obtain, by other means, the very appointments for which they had endeavoured to negotiate; but he was convinced, that as there was nothing more diſcreditable to government, ſo there was nothing more falſe, than the idea that money was paid to perſons high in office for ſuch tranſactions.

Colonel Wardle ſtated, that the office he had alluded to was in a court out of Threadneedle Street. The names of the agents were Heylop and Pullen. The houſe was not a little amuſed when he further proceeded to ſtate, that the two members of the cabinet for whom they acted in ſuch negotiations, were the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Portland.

The motion for the appointment of a committee was carried *nem con.* The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, that it ſhould be a committee of the whole houſe. Lord Folkſtone objected to the meaſure, both as leſs effectual in itſelf, and as interfering with the mode of proceeding which the honourable mover had adopted. Mr. Canning obſerved, that the interference of his right hon. friend was not to reſtrict, but to extend enquiry; not to narrow the means, but to enlarge the ſphere of deliberation. If the charges were proved, the iſſue might lead to a proceeding affecting the moſt valuable privileges of parliament, and the deareſt intereſts of the elevated perſonage affected by their deciſion. The hon. mover himſelf had ſhewn no unwillingneſs to ſubmit his charges to the houſe in its moſt extended capacity; that hon. gentleman had declared, that in calling the attention of the houſe to this ſubject, he was actuated ſolely by a ſenſe of public duty; that he was free from any hoſtile feeling to the illuſtrious perſonage whom his charges went ſo vitally to affect; he could not therefore be diſſatisfied with thoſe who placed him on the moſt commanding ſtage to reap the benefit of his patriotic labours. He ſurely muſt be aware, that having undertaken the reſponſible taſk of ſubmitting to a Britiſh Houſe of Commons ſo ſerious an accuſation, that whatever might be the iſſue of the inveſtigation, infamy muſt attach ſomewhere; either upon the accuſer or the accuſed. The Duke of York had been ſubjected to the ſyſtematic calumnies of a ſet of unprincipled

libellers; by whom he had been treated with a brutality of inſult which almoſt made good men heſitate in deciding whether the value of a free diſcuſſion was not conſiderably depreciated by the evils of its unbridled licentiouſneſs. For the laſt ſix months ſcarcely a day had elapſed without ſome freſh attack upon his honour, his character, and his feelings. There was a cowardlineſs, a baſeneſs, a wretchedneſs in the villanous libels againſt his royal highneſs, which far exceeded the calumnious profligacy of former times: a cowardice, too, of the baſeſt kind, participating in the moſt depraved and odious qualities, deſerving of that execration which the beſt feelings of humanity would pronounce on the baſe aſſailant of female weakneſs, becauſe to direct unfounded attacks againſt thoſe in high authority, was nearly ſimilar to an attack on an undefended woman.

Mr. Whitbread concurred in the opinion, that the enquiry ſhould be public. With reſpect to the libellous publications ſo ſtrongly animadverted upon by Mr. Canning, he would aſk why this brutality of inſult was ſo long permitted to continue? were the attorney and ſolicitor generals aſleep, or how was it that they neglected their duty? The right hon. ſecretary had aſſumed, that if the reſult ſhould, as he truſted, acquit his royal highneſs, Colonel Wardle would be infamous for having preferred the accuſation. Such a doctrine, he contended, was not ſupported either by the ſpirit, or uſage of the conſtitution. If there were juſtifiable grounds for his charge, or if informations of a ſtrong kind were laid before him, it was his bounden duty as an honeſt ſervant of the public, to act upon it in that houſe. Lord Caſtlereagh obſerved, in reply to Mr. Whitbread's queſtion, that the law officers had in fact inſtituted numerous proſecutions, but that their entire time would be taken up in proſecuting the libellers of the Duke of York, if every libel was to be proſecuted. Moreover, it required but ſome ingenuity, together with a moderate ſhare of legal knowledge, to render it extremely difficult to eſtabliſh the charge of libel; and even when the law was about to be put in force againſt them, the libellers often found means to eſcape juſtice by quitting the country. In the caſe of Major Hogan, the author had ſecured his paſſage to America even before the publication. Mr. Perceval's motion was carried, and it was reſolved, that on Wedneſday following, the houſe ſhould form itſelf into the committee.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, the caſe of the exchange between Colonels Brooke and Knight was examined. By the evidence of Mr. Knight, brother of the colonel, and of Dr. Thynne, Mrs. Clarke's medical attendant, it was proved, that the application had been made to Mrs. Clarke, who had promiſed her ſervices, and that upon the exchange appearing in the gazette, the 200l. were remitted to her. Mrs. Clarke herſelf was then called in, and ſhe affirmed, that, in the inſtance in queſtion, ſhe had perſonally applied to the Duke of York, ſtating to him the conſideration ſhe was to receive, and that in conſequence

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of her urgent requeſt, the exchange had been expedited within two or three days after the time of her firſt application. Colonel Gordon, military ſecretary to the commander-in-chief, was then examined. By the documents preſerved in his office, it appeared, that on the 21ſt of June, 1805, in reply to an application from Colonel Knight, that officer was informed, that the Duke of York had no objection to his exchanging into the infantry, when a ſuitable ſucceſſor ſhould be found. On the 1ſt of July, Colonel Brooke was propoſed as ſuch, and the progreſs of the affair was to be gathered from the following memorandums which were noted on the back of the ſtatement of Colonel Brooke's ſervices: "*Cannot be acceded to; his royal highneſs does not approve of the exchange propoſed.*" From this a reference was made by an aſteriſk to another, dated July 23rd, which ſaid, "*His royal highneſs does now approve of this exchange.*" On the 24th, it was ſubmitted to the approbation of his majeſty, and gazetted on Tueſday, July 30th. Colonel Gordon then obſerved, that the delay was not greater than occurs almoſt every week in ſimilar tranſactions, and that to the beſt of his recollection, it was in this inſtance occaſioned by the circumſtance of Colonel Brooke's having been for the laſt ſeven years upon half-pay, which made it neceſſary to make more than uſual inquiries reſpecting him. When thoſe inquiries were made, Colonel Gordon was ſatisfied as to his fitneſs for the ſituation propoſed, and reported him as ſuch to the duke, and he moſt firmly believed, that in acceding to the exchange, his royal highneſs was wholly guided by the report he had made to him.

From the examination of this day, and of the following, it appeared, that Mrs. Clarke's connection with the Duke of York, had commenced about the year 1803; but that early in 1806, his royal highneſs, from ſome intimation he had received of certain proceedings on her part, as having a tendency to prejudice, not his character in a public capacity, but his intereſts, and his name with regard to money, deſired Mr. Adam to make the requiſite enquiries into the matter. In conſequence of the reſult of that gentleman's inveſtigations, he was deſired by the duke to ſignify to Mrs. Clarke, that his royal highneſs found himſelf compelled to ſeparate from her, but that he would allow her an annuity of 400l. a year, to be paid quarterly, as long as her conduct was correct; without however entering into any obligation in writing, as it was to reſt entirely upon his word, to be performed according to her behaviour. The annuity, it appears, from whatever reaſon, was not paid beyond the two or three firſt quarters, as, in a letter from Mrs. Clarke to Mr. Adam, dated June, 1808, ſhe complains that the duke was already 500l. in arrears to her. In the ſame letter, ſhe inſiſts that the annuity be ſecured to her for life, and the arrears paid up; and in caſe this is refuſed to her, ſhe ſtates her reſolution to publiſh every circumſtance ever communicated to her by his royal highneſs, and every thing which had come under her knowledge

during their intimacy, together with all his letters. This letter, as well as a ſubſequent one in which ſhe repeated her threats, were ſhewn to the duke, who, it ſeems, betrayed not the ſlighteſt apprehenſion of her power, and took not any ſtep to divert the threatened expoſure.

Mrs. Clarke's evidence was given upon this occaſion, and indeed invariably throughout the enquiry, with a readineſs and apparent openneſs, which conſiderably prepoſſeſſed the byſtanders with a perſuaſion of the accuracy of her ſtatements, even where theſe ſtatements bore in themſelves the character of the moſt revolting improbabilities. We ſhall venture to give an extract of her examination, as a ſample of the light and flippant tone in which ſhe commonly indulged in her anſwers, and in which, however improperly and indecorouſly, ſhe was in great meaſure encouraged by the amuſement which it evidently afforded to the houſe. The attorney-general aſked her, whether the account ſhe had given of Colonel Knight's affair was the ſame with that ſhe had given Colonel Wardle? She anſwered, No, it was not. Which then, it was aſked, was the true account? She ſaid both. Being aſked in what the two accounts differed, ſhe replied, that ſhe did not ſee that they differed at all; ſhe had not entered ſo much into detail before. Soon after ſhe was aſked, whether ſhe had not any end to accompliſh in making known theſe circumſtances to Colonel Wardle? and ſhe denied that ſhe had any. Had ſhe not ſtated, that ſhe had ground of complaint againſt his royal highneſs, and that if he did not comply with her demands, ſhe would expoſe him? Never, ſhe replied: ſhe had only written to Mr. Adam, intimating that unleſs her annuity was paid, ſhe ſhould be obliged to publiſh the duke's letters. That was the worſt ſhe had ſaid; ſhe was then very angry, and it was only with great unwillingneſs that ſhe came forward now. Had ſhe not ſaid as much to Mr. Knight? No, never: ſhe had told him ſhe was going to publiſh the duke's letters to pay the creditors, which his royal highneſs had refuſed to do. He had inſiſted that ſhe ſhould plead her marriage to avoid the debts, or that ſhe might go to priſon. That was his laſt meſſage to her. "You are then a married woman?" ſaid the attorney-general. "You have no reaſon to doubt it," ſhe replied; but the queſtion being repeated, ſhe acknowledged ſhe was married. "Have you not ſworn yourſelf to be a widow?" "The duke a ſhort time ſince, when I ſent to aſk him for a few hundred pounds, ſent me word, that if I dared ſpeak or write againſt him, he would put me in the pillory: he fancies I ſwore myſelf to be a widow woman at a court-martial; but I only ſaid it out of court by the permiſſion of the judge-advocate, thinking that it would be improper to ſay I was a married woman, when I was known to have been living with the Duke of York." "Who brought that meſſage from the duke to you?" "A very particular friend of the Duke of York's." "Who?" "One Taylor, a ſhoemaker, in Bond Street, very well known to Mr. Adam." "By whom did you ſend this requeſt

to

to the duke?" "By this ambaſſador of Morocco." "Whom do you mean?" "The ladies' ſhoemaker."

She was aſked by Mr. Croker, when it was ſhe knew of Colonel Wardle's having mentioned this affair in the houſe, and of his intention of calling her as a witneſs? She replied, that ſhe knew it only by the newſpaper, that Colonel Wardle had called upon her ſoon afterwards, and that ſhe was very angry with him, particularly for having made free with the name of Mr. Donovan, a friend of hers. She added, that one morning Colonel Wardle had taken from her table, without her leave, a parcel of her letters, which ſhe believed had led more to this buſineſs than any thing elſe; and that ſhe had never been able to get them back. When aſked whether the letters were taken ſeriouſly againſt her will, ſhe affirmed that they were.

Colonel French's levy next came before the houſe. The principal witneſs in this caſe was Captain Huxley Sandon, to whom, together with Colonel French, the letter of the ſervice had been iſſued. The circumſtances of the application to Mrs. Clarke, of the bargain agreed upon, and of the ſubſequent payment of the money, was equally proved in this as in the former caſes; but the fact of her interceſſion with the Duke of York reſted as before, upon her own aſſertion; and Sandon affirmed, that he had always doubted whether, in reality, ſhe poſſeſſed the influence ſhe aſcribed to herſelf. In ſupport of her teſtimony, however, a Mr. Dowler was called in. This perſon, it appears, had been an intimate acquaintance of Mrs. Clarke's, and much in the habit of frequenting her houſe, where he often ſaw Colonel French, and he ſtated, that one day, in anſwer to his inquiries about that officer, ſhe had explained to him the nature of his buſineſs with her, and the terms upon which ſhe had agreed to further it. Mr. Dowler further affirmed, that the place which he himſelf then held in the commiſſariat had been purchaſed of Mrs. Clarke for 1,000*l.* who had engaged for that ſum to procure it of the duke. There was a circumſtance connected with this gentleman's evidence, by which it was attempted to diſcredit it. Both Dowler and Mrs. Clarke, when aſked how often they had ſeen each other ſince his (Dowler's) arrival laſt week from Portugal, anſwered, "once only, for a ſhort time, a few mornings before." It was proved, however, that they had met on the firſt evening of his arrival in town, and had paſſed the night together at Reid's hotel, in St. Martin's-lane. Another witneſs in this caſe was Miss Mary Ann Taylor, who had alſo been long upon terms of the greateſt intimacy with Mrs. Clarke, her brother having married Mrs. Clarke's ſiſter. This perſon ſtated, that ſhe had been frequently in the habit of viſiting Mrs. Clarke at Glouceſter-place, where upon one occaſion ſhe heard the Duke of York expreſs himſelf in words to this effect: "I am continually worried by Colonel French: he worries me continually about the levy buſineſs, and is always wanting ſomething more in his own favour." Then turning to Mrs. Clarke, he ſaid, "How does he behave to you, darling?" She replied, "Middling; not very well;" and the duke ſaid, "Maſ-

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ter French muſt mind what he is about, or I ſhall cut up him and his levy too." Miſs Taylor underwent a long and painful examination, in the courſe of which it was endeavoured to elicit ſomething which might tend to diſqualify her as a credible witneſs; but nothing elſe was diſcovered than that ſhe was poor, and that her parents were not married*.

Mrs. Clarke confirmed all theſe ſtatements, both with reſpect to Dowler and French, and affirmed that ſhe was ſo teaſed by continual notes about the levy, that ſhe commonly gave them to the duke unopened. She was then queſtioned about the nature and extent of her eſtabliſhment in Glouceſter-place, which it appeared had commenced only in 1804. There, ſhe ſaid, ſhe always kept two carriages, from ſix to eight horſes, and from ſeven to nine men ſervants. The duke's allowance to her for all expences, was 1,000*l.* a year, paid monthly, beſides ſome further occaſional aſſiſtance, when particularly preſſed; and ſhe was convinced that the ſums ſhe received from him were not more than enough to cover the expences of the ſervants wages and liveries. She had frequently ſtated as much to the duke, who, after they had been intimate ſome time, had told her that "if ſhe was clever, ſhe would never aſk him for money;" and "that ſhe had more influence than the queen." The applications to her for promotion, ſhe ſaid, were extremely numerous. She always laid them before the duke, who told her which were proper and which were not; and in this laſt caſe ſhe was inſtructed to ſay, that ſhe could not interfere, without intimating that ſhe had mentioned the matter to him. When aſked whether ſhe had ever negotiated any other promotions unconnected with the military department, ſhe replied that ſhe had not, but that a Dr. O'Meara had applied to her to get made a biſhop; ſhe had communicated his offers and documents to the duke, who procured him an opportunity of preaching before the king, but his Majeſty had ſaid, that he did not like the great "O" in the doctor's name †. She further allowed, that very lately, and long after ſhe had ceaſed

* It appears that Miſs Taylor, with the aſſiſtance of her ſiſter, kept a ſchool for girls; and as ſoon as her connection and intimacy with Mrs. Clarke was known by the publication of her examination, ſhe naturally loſt all her ſcholars. This ſchool was the ſole ſupport of herſelf and her parents, and the loſs of it brought about their ruin. Their creditors became clamorous, and they were threatened with a gaol for debts amounting to 130*l.* beyond their means of payment. A ſubſcription was propoſed by Cobbett, and ſufficient was quickly raiſed to pay off their debts, and to ſecure to them an annuity for their joint lives. This ſubſcription itſelf became a vehicle of inſult to the Duke of York, in the names and devices affixed to the donations, and which were for ſome time regularly publiſhed in the newſpapers.

† This ſtory, although at firſt ridiculed for its abſurd improbability, ſhe afterwards made good, by producing a letter from the Duke of York, dated Weymouth, in which occurs the following paſſage: "Dr. O'Meara called upon me yeſterday morning and delivered your letter; he wiſhes much to preach before royalty, and if I can put him in the way of it I will." The doctor was afterwards gratified in this deſire, as appears from the following paſſage in the Morning Poſt, under the date Weymouth, Oct. 3. "The Rev. Dr. O'Meara preached on Sunday an excellent ſer-

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ceaſed to have any connection with the Duke of York, applications for the exertion of her ſuppoſed influence, both with his royal highneſs and other diſtinguiſhed perſons, had been made to her; and it appears that ſhe had encouraged them, though with what motive it was not eaſy to underſtand. The parties chiefly concerned in this affair were the Mr. Donovan, before mentioned, and Mr. R. Maltby, ſolicitor, who ſeem to have been perfectly perſuaded by her aſſertions, of the reality of the influence ſhe aſcribed to herſelf. From what came out in the courſe of their examinations reſpecting the brokerage of offices, &c. Mr. Perceval intimated his intention to introduce a bill to prevent ſuch abuſes, and a committee was appointed to inquire particularly into thoſe connected with the diſtribution of Eaſt India patronage.

By the evidence of Colonel Loraine, aſſiſtant military ſecretary to the duke at the time, it was ſhewn that the propoſals for the levy had gone regularly through the offices, and received the commander-in-chief's approbation in the accuſtomed manner. On the other hand, the moſt ſcandalous ſyſtem of abuſe was proved to have exiſted on the part of Colonel French, in the whole management of the levy; complaints had repeatedly been made to the Horſe Guards, by the inſpecting general, Taylor, on the ſubject, but for a long while without the expected effect; and it was attempted to be inferred that this indulgence on the part of the Duke of York, could only be accounted for, by ſuppoſing his royal highneſs to feel ſome intereſt in the caſe, other than that legitimately ariſing from his connection with it in a public or military capacity.

On the caſe of Captain Tonyn, the principal witneſs was the ſame Captain Huxley Sandon, who ſtated that he had introduced that officer to Mrs. Clarke, and that a memorandum had been depoſited with a third perſon, promiſing the payment of 500 guineas whenever Captain Tonyn ſhould appear gazetted as major. The buſineſs went on for eight or ten weeks, when Captain Tonyn became impatient,

mon, from Rom. chap xii. ver. 5. on univerſal benevolence. He expatiated with great eloquence on the relation which the public and private affections bear to each other, and their uſe in the moral ſyſtem. He inveighed with peculiar energy againſt the ſavage philoſophy of the French Deiſts. We wiſh our young eccleſiaſtics would arouſe themſelves, and ſhake off that mental languor which oppreſſes them in the pulpit, and ſhew themſelves in earneſt. Sacred eloquence in this country is certainly feeble and unimpreſſive. No other excellence can ſupply the want of animation. That ſweet charm, that celeſtial unction, which Chriſtian oratory demands, this gentleman certainly poſſeſſes in an eminent degree. *His lips are touched with the live coal from the altar.* The king was very attentive, and ſtood for the moſt part for nearly the whole of the ſermon, which we never before obſerved, and expreſſed his high approbation to the Earl of Uxbridge and others, while the queen and princeſſes, and the whole audience, were melted into tears." From the examination of Mr. Donovan, it appears that that gentleman had been very lately endeavouring to intereſt the exertions of Mrs. Clarke in favour of Mr. Glaſſe, rector of Hanwell, but altogether, as he aſſerted, without the knowledge of Mr. G. himſelf; and, at the very time of the inquiry, a certain Mr. Beazley thought proper to write direct to the Duke of Portland, offering him 3,000l. for the deanery of Saliſbury.

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expreſſed his doubt of Mrs. Clarke's ability to ſerve him, and ſtated, that as his father, General Tonyn, had ſpoken to his royal highneſs, who had promiſed for him the firſt majority which ſhould become vacant, he had every proſpect of promotion, independent of Mrs. Clarke's influence; and under theſe circumſtances he was deſirous of withdrawing his memorandum. Mrs. Clarke, however, ſent Sandon to pacify him, and he was perſuaded to let the matter ſtand over for two or three gazettes more. This was on Wedneſday, and on the Saturday or Tueſday following he was in the gazette as major. Mrs. Clarke, as uſual, affirmed that that the promotion was the reſult of a direct application on her part to the Duke of York. By Colonel Gordon's account, it appeared that the caſe had gone regularly through the office, upon the earneſt recommendation of General Tonyn, and the conſideration of twenty-four years meritorious ſervice on the part of Captain Tonyn himſelf. It was further ſhewn, that in the ſame gazette with that officer there were fifty-three others appointed to majorities.

A ſingular circumſtance, connected with this caſe, came out ſubſequently. Captain Sandon had arrived from Portugal only a few days before he was examined. On his arrival he had ſpoken to Colonel Digby Hamilton of his own corps, upon the ſubject of the inquiry before the houſe, and ſtated, among other things, with reference to Captain Tonyn's affair, that when that officer became impatient of the delay which had taken place, Mrs. Clarke, as has been already deſcribed, ſent Sandon to quiet him; and that at the ſame time, to give aſſurance as to the reality of her power, ſhe gave Sandon a note to be ſhewn to Tonyn, purporting to come from the Duke of York, and containing theſe words, "I have juſt received your note, and Tonyn's buſineſs ſhall remain as it is. God bleſs you." The addreſs was to G. Farquhar, Eſq., the duke's uſual direction to Mrs. Clarke. Upon ſeeing this Captain Tonyn conſented to let his ſecurity remain. After he was gazetted another note was ſhewn to him, purporting alſo to be written by the duke, and ſtating that he would be gazetted that night. This note was given to the major, who did not return it; the other Captain Sandon had kept, and he ſhewed it to Colonel Hamilton, who immediately communicated the circumſtance to Mr. Perceval, Mr. Adam, and others of the duke's friends. When the duke heard of it, he declared his poſitive conviction that it was a forgery. With reſpect to the latter note, he could not ſpeak ſo peremptorily, as he thought it poſſible that, in reply to ſome inquiry, he might have ſent ſuch a paper to Mrs. Clarke. Colonel Hamilton was ſent back to take a copy of the note, and at the ſame time to injoin Sandon to preſerve it carefully. The next time they met, however, Sandon told him that he had deſtroyed it; upon this all further communication was broken off with him, and he was left to come to the bar, to tell his ſtory as he pleaſed. In his evidence he ſuppreſſed all alluſion to the note, and it was not till ſome days after that Mr. Perceval ſtated the

the circumſtance to the houſe, and Sandon was immediately called to the bar, and queſtioned on the ſubject. After a ſeries of ſhifts and evaſions he was brought to acknowledge both that there had been ſuch a note, and that it was ſtill in exiſtence; and he was deſpatched directly, under the care of a meſſenger, to his lodgings, to procure that as well as every other paper which might be connected with the affair. In the meanwhile Mrs. Clarke was called in, and interrogated on the ſubject: ſhe had evidently no recollection of it whatever, and ſhe utterly denied that ſhe had ever given any part of the duke's writing either to Sandon, or to any one elſe. The note, however, was procured and ſhewn to her, when ſhe allowed that it was the duke's writing, and that of courſe it muſt have gone through her hands to thoſe of Captain Sandon. Several perſons were called to ſpeak to the hand, and the greater part allowed that it bore the ſtrongeſt ſimiliarity to that of the Duke of York: two or three ſeemed to trace in it the appearance of a copy, but the general opinion was in favour of its authenticity; and was ſtrongly confirmed by the obſervation of Mr. Bathurſt, that the name of Tonyn in it was rightly written, whereas in all Mrs. Clarke's letters, which were found among Sandon's papers, both before and after the date of Tonyn's promotion, it was invariably miſſpelt. Captain Sandon himſelf was, by the unanimous vote of the houſe, committed to Newgate for prevarication.

Colonel Shaw's caſe was the laſt. Mrs. Clarke affirmed that ſhe had bargained with that officer to procure him, for a certain pecuniary conſideration, ſome ſituation on the ſtaff; that accordingly, in conſequence of her ſolicitation, the commander-in-chief had appointed him deputy barrack-maſter at the Cape of Good Hope, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; the ſum which had been agreed upon, ſhe believed, to have been 1,000*l.* of this, however, only 500*l.* was paid; and finding that the remainder was withheld, ſhe complained to the Duke of York of Shaw's breach of agreement, and he was in conſequence immediately put upon half-pay. In corroboration of this account, a letter from Colonel Shaw to Mrs. Clarke was produced and read. In this he complained bitterly of the injuſtice and cruelty of his reduction, and earneſtly intreated her good offices to get it reſcinded; in caſe ſhe ſhould ſucceed in which, he engaged annually to remit to her three hundred pounds; but he made no alluſion whatever to the original ſtipulation, for the non-performance of which Mrs. Clarke had aſſerted that his reduction had originally taken place. From the documents relating to this matter, which Colonel Gordon produced, it appeared that Sir H. Burrard had for a long time been moſt warmly intereſting himſelf in favour of Colonel Shaw, and that in fact the appointment of barrack-maſter had been negotiated through his interceceſſion, upon the expreſs condition of Shaw's being put upon half-pay. With reſpect to this laſt mentioned condition, Colonel Gordon ſhewed that, although there were exceptions, it was the general rule of the army, that a field-officer

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upon accepting a permanent ſtaff appointment abroad, ſhould be placed on the half pay.

Here the examinations of the original charges concluded, and had the attention of the committee been confined to theſe alone, and to the evidence bearing directly upon them, the ſubject would ſcarcely have required any great length of inveſtigation. In the courſe of the inquiry, however, much matter was incidentally introduced, relating, more or leſs—immediately to the great buſineſs before the houſe, and it was not until the 22nd of February that the committee concluded their ſittings.

Among the caſes of this kind, was that of a Captain Turner, who had applied for leave to ſell out, but the acceptance of whoſe reſignation was for a ſhort time ſuſpended, upon the receipt of a letter from a Mrs. Sinclair Sutherland, ſtating, that the officer in queſtion had behaved in a manner ſuch as to render him unworthy of any favour. The lady, it ſeems, had formerly been a miſtreſs of the Duke of York's; and it was inſiſted, that the application of a gallant officer ought not to have been affected by the ſtatement of a perſon, reſpecting the nature of whoſe reſpectability the duke could have wanted no information.

The affair of General Clavering was more important. This officer, who it ſeems, had been acquainted with Mrs. Clarke, had, early in the courſe of the inquiry, thought proper to intrude himſelf on the committee, as qualified to diſcredit her teſtimony; which he attempted to do in a manner that, in fact, diſcredited only the ſoundneſs of his own underſtanding. It would have been well had his officiousneſs done him no farther harm; but in the courſe of his examination he was aſked, whether he himſelf had ever had any communication on the ſubject of army promotions with Mrs. Clarke? to which he replied, "Certainly not, as being the ſubject of converſation." He was then aſked, whether he knew, of his own knowledge, of any perſon that had aſked Mrs. Clarke to uſe her influence with the Duke of York upon that ſubject? and he poſitively affirmed, that he knew of no tranſaction of that nature. On the next day, however, Mrs. Clarke produced a letter from the duke, dated Auguſt, 1804, in which was the following paſſage: "Clavering is miſtaken in thinking that any new regiments are to be raiſed, it is not intended, only ſecond battalions; you had better, therefore, tell him ſo, and that you were ſure that there would be no uſe in applying for him." Whatever conſtruction theſe words might be ſuppoſed to bear, with reſpect to the meaning of the writer, they were deciſive as far as concerned the applications of General Clavering, the inaccuracy of whoſe recollection was placed beyond doubt by ſome letters of his own to Mrs. Clarke, which were almoſt accidentally diſcovered, among ſome papers left behind in a lodging ſhe had occupied at Hampſtead. All this, however, did not content the gallant general,

ral. He was ill-adviſed enough to come forward again for the purpoſe of explaining the evidence he had given, and the reſult of this ſecond examination was his committal, by the ſide of Captain Sandon, to Newgate for prevarication.

A caſe of leſs importance, as involving no imputation of any corrupt motive on the part of the duke, was that of Samuel Carter, a young man, the reputed natural ſon of a Captain Sutton, who, on his father's deceaſe, was taken under the protection of Mrs. Clarke, and for ſome ſhort time paſt acted as a domeſtic in her houſe. Mrs. Clarke, however, who felt intereſted in the lad, both from his own merits, and her acquaintance with his father, procured for him a commiſſion from the commander-in-chief, and he had ſince conducted himſelf in every reſpect as a man of honour and a good officer. The circumſtances of this caſe were drawn out by Colonel Wardle, much againſt the inclination of Mrs. Clarke, and in violation of the ſtipulation, by which, as ſhe ſaid, he had previouſly agreed to make no mention of it; and the cruelty of the proceeding, as far as reſpected Captain Carter, was equalled by its wantonneſs; for it was juſtly obſerved, that this was one of the few caſes which came out in the evidence, the circumſtances of which were equally honourable to all parties.

There were one or two more caſes, which attracted the attention of the committee, and about which was employed a length and minuteneſs of inveſtigation utterly diſproportionate to the importance of the facts themſelves. One Kennett, a man of notoriouſly bad character, and who, in fact, had ſince ſtood in the pillory for an attempt to cheat his creditors, had it ſeems written to Colonel Taylor, then private ſecretary to the Duke of York, offering to procure for his royal highneſs a loan of 30 or 40,000*l.* The duke referred the buſineſs to Mr. Adam and Mr. Grenwood; ſome conferences were held, and in this ſtage of the matter Kennett told Colonel Taylor that Sir Horace Mann was his friend, and would feel obliged if the colonel would uſe his influence with the duke in procuring for him a place. The duke, who does not appear to have known any thing of the profligacy of the perſons applying, ordered Colonel Taylor to inform him that he would endeavour to procure for him the ſituation of aſſiſtant commiſſary-general for priſoners at Surinam; but that his application would be more effectual if Kennett could procure a letter of recommendation from Sir Horace Mann. It turned out that there was no ſuch ſituation as the one in queſtion. The collectorſhip of the cuſtoms at Surinam was then aſked for, but was found to be engaged. Kennett was then offered the appointment of army agent at the ſame place, but this was rejected, as not of adequate emolument, and at length it was agreed that the ſituation of vendue-maſter, at a per centage, upon the ſame footing as at Demerara, ſhould be applied for. In the mean while, however, the loan was not forthcoming, and Colonel Taylor happening to hear ſomething of the character of Kennett, he was ordered by the duke to drop all further communica i n

cation with him. There was little or no attempt on the part of the duke's friends to contradict or explain away any of the facts in this caſe; but, in reality, nothing but the peculiar irritability of the public mind, at that time, on the ſubject of official abuſes, could have given it a character of any importance. There was undoubtedly ſome irregularity in the caſe, and in particular there ſeems to have been an improper remiſſneſs in inquiry concerning the character of the perſon applying for a ſituation of ſome reſponſibility; but we believe there are very few public men who could venture to acquit themſelves to their conſcience, of any abuſe—of patronage, of a kind and degree equally unjuſtifiable with that, the imputation of which it was attempted, in this inſtance, to faſten upon the Duke of York.

On the cloſe of the examinations, the ſeveral general officers, members of the houſe, were queſtioned reſpecting the preſent ſtate of the army, as compared with that it was in when the Duke of York firſt took the command of it. General Norton, General Fitzpatrick, Sir J. Pulteney, Sir Arthur Welleſley, unanimouſly teſtified to the very great and ſignal improvement which the army had derived in every reſpect from his royal highneſs's management, particularly with reſpect to the mode in which promotions and commiſſions were carried on. Formerly inſtances were common, in which officers obtained the rank of major, or lieutenant-colonel, in one or two years, but ſhortly after his royal highneſs had aſſumed the command, a regulation was eſtabliſhed, and had ſince been rigidly adhered to, by which no officer could attain the rank of captain before he had ſerved two years, nor that of field-officer before he had ſerved ſix. The teſtimony of Sir Arthur Welleſley, in particular, was remarkably ſtrong and deciſive, and he affirmed that he could ſtate, from an intimate knowledge of the army ever ſince the Duke of York was appointed to the command of it, that ſince that period both the diſcipline of the ſoldiers and the ſcience of the officers was materially improved; that the ſtaff of the army was much better and more complete than before; that the ſyſtem of ſubordination among the officers was better, as well as the whole ſyſtem of the cloathing. Moreover the interior economy of the regiments, and every thing that related to the military efficiency of the army had been greatly improved; and this improvement he attributed immediately to the regulations of his royal highneſs, and his perſonal ſuperintendence over thoſe who were to ſee them carried into execution.

The whole courſe of theſe examinations excited in the public a degree of intereſt and curioſity before unexampled. The avenues to the galleries were daily thronged in a manner beyond all former inſtances, and the attendance of members throughout was moſt unuſually numerous and aſſiduous. The ſubject of the inquiry itſelf was of a nature ſufficiently calculated to awaken this feeling; and the almoſt dramatic air of its progreſs, the new witneſſes which were bringing forward, and the new matter which was continually elicited, by which the inveſtigation

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ſeemed to extend its ramifications into every department, and, in fact, became nightly of increaſed and more comprehenſive importance; above all, the attractions of the chief actreſs in the ſcene, Mrs. Clarke; her quickneſs, her dexterity, her pleaſantry, even the comelineſs of her perſon, and the elegance of her attire, contributed to give an intereſt to the affair, of the intenſity of which it will, perhaps, be difficult for others but contemporaries to form an adequate idea.

CHAP. V.

Letter from the Duke of York to the Speaker. Speech of Colonel Wardle. Summing up the Evidence given at the Bar. He moves an Addreſs, praying the King to deprive the Duke of York of the Command of the Army. Lord Folkſtone ſeconds the Motion. Speech of Mr. Burton in favour of the Duke. Admirable Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the ſame Side of the Queſtion. He diſapproves ſtrongly of the Wording of the Addreſs moved. Propoſes his own Courſe of Proceeding by which the Houſe ſhould firſt diſpoſe of the Queſtion of the Duke's Guilt or Innocence, by a Reſolution. He then enters at Length into the whole Evidence. Notices the many Preſumptions againſt Mrs. Clarke's Credibility, and the contradictory Character of her Evidence. Mentions the Amount of the Duke's pecuniary Advances to Mrs. Clarke. Concludes by moving a Reſolution, ſtating that there appeared no Ground for charging His Royal Highneſs with the Corruption or Connivance alleged againſt Him. Mr. Bathurſt propoſes an Amendment. Mr. Bankes moves another Addreſs, acquitting the Duke of Perſonal Corruption, but intimating the Impropriety of any longer continuing His Royal Highneſs in the Command of the Army. Debate of unexampled Length enſues, and continues for ſeveral Days. Speech of Mr. Whitbread in Favor of the original Addreſs. Defends the Credibility of Mrs. Clarke and Miſs Taylor. Alluſion to the Duke de Berri's Plate. Mr. Yorke defends the Duke; and Lord Folkſtone declares his decided Conviction of his Guilt. Sir Francis Burdett, and Sir Samuel Romilly ſpeak on the ſame Side. Admirable Speech of Mr. Windham, who Votes for the Amendment propoſed by Mr. Bankes. Mr. Croker, Mr. Roſe, Mr. Stewart Wortley, and Lord Caſtlereagh oppoſe it. Lords Milton, Stanley, and Temple, and Mr. Ponſonby ſupport the Amendment on the following Day, and are replied to by Mr. Canning. On a Diviſion the Amendment is rejected, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion carried. Next Evening Mr. Perceval moves a Reſolution acquitting the Duke. Sir Thomas Turton moves an Amendment, which is rejected, and after an animated Debate, the original Reſolution is carried. The Conſideration of Mr. Bathurſt's Meaſure poſtponed. Chancellor of the Exchequer informs the Houſe that the Duke of York has reſigned his Office. Lord Althorpe then moves that it is no

longer Neceſſary to purſue the Charges, which, after an Alteration in the wording, is carried. Mr. Bathurſt's Reſolution is negatived without a Diviſion, and the Proceedings cloſe. Popularity of Colonel Wardle and Mrs. Clarke. Suppreſſion of her propoſed Publication.

THE committee concluded their ſittings on the 22nd February. On the following day the ſpeaker aunounced to the houſe, that he had received a letter from the Duke of York, which, if it was their pleaſure, he would read. The contents were as follows:

"Sir, I have waited with the greateſt anxiety, until the committee, appointed by the Houſe of Commons to inquire into my conduct as commander-in-chief of his Majeſty's army, had cloſed its examinations; and, I now hope, that it will not be deemed improper to addreſs this letter through you to the Houſe of Commons.

"I obſerve, with the deepeſt concern, that in the courſe of this inquiry, my name has been coupled with tranſactions the moſt criminal and diſgraceful; and I muſt ever regret and lament that a connection ſhould have exiſted, which has thus expoſed my character to animadverſion.

"With reſpect to any alleged offences connected with the diſcharge of my official duties, I do, in the moſt ſolemn manner, upon my honour as a prince, diſtinctly aſſert my innocence; not only by denying all corrupt participation in any of the infamous tranſactions which have appeared in evidence at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, or any connivance at their exiſtence, but alſo the ſlighteſt knowledge or ſuſpicion that they exiſted at all.

"My conſciouſneſs of innocence leads me confidently to hope, that the Houſe of Commons will not, upon ſuch evidence as they have heard, adopt any proceedings prejudicial to my honour and character; but if upon ſuch teſtimony as has been adduced againſt me, the Houſe of Commons can think my innocence queſtionable, I claim of their juſtice, that I ſhall not be condemned without trial, nor be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every Britiſh ſubject, by thoſe ſanctions, under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary adminiſtration of the law.

"I am, Sir, your's,

"FREDERIC."

Upon the ſuggeſtion of the ſpeaker, the letter was ordered to be immediately copied into the votes and journals, that no delay might occur in placing it in the poſſeſſion of every member of the houſe.

On the 8th of March, Colonel Wardle aroſe, and after a long and elaborate ſpeech, in the courſe of which he went through the whole of the evidence, and pointed out its bearing upon the ſeveral caſes, he concluded by moving an addreſs to his majeſty, in words to the following purport—"That information has been communicated to this houſe, and evidence to ſupport it, of various corrupt practices and abuſes having prevailed for ſome years paſt in the diſpoſal of commiſſions and promotions in the army, and that it is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and

and concern his Majeſty's faithful commons find themſelves obliged to inform his Majeſty, that the reſult of their diligent inquiries into the facts, by the examination of perſons concerned, has been ſuch as to ſatisfy his faithful commons, that the exiſtence of ſuch corrupt practices and abuſes is ſubſtantially true.—That they are reſtrained by motives of perſonal reſpect and attachment to his Majeſty, from entering into a detail of theſe tranſactions; but their proceedings have been public, and the evidence brought before them is recorded in the proceedings of parliament.—That, without entering into any other of the many obvious conſequences which may be expected to follow, from the belief once generally eſtabliſhed of the prevalence of ſuch abuſes in the military department, there is one great and eſſential conſideration inſeparable from the preſent ſubject, which they humbly beg leave to ſubmit to his Majeſty's conſideration; that if an opinion ſhould prevail among his Majeſty's land-forces; that promotion may be obtained by other means, than by merit and ſervice, by means at once unjuſt to the army, and diſgraceful to the authority placed over it, the effect of ſuch an opinion muſt neceſſarily be to wound the feelings and abate the zeal of all ranks and deſcriptions of his Majeſty's army.—That it is the opinion of this houſe, that theſe abuſes could not have prevailed to the extent in which they had been proved to exiſt, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief; and that even if upon any principle of reaſon or probability it could be preſumed, that abuſes ſo various and ſo long continued could, in fact, have prevailed without his knowledge, ſuch a preſumption in his favour would not warrant the concluſion, that the command of the army could with ſafety, or ought in prudence to be continued in his hands.—That on theſe grounds his Majeſty's faithful commons moſt humbly ſubmit their opinion to his Majeſty's conſideration, that his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York ought to be deprived of the command of the army."

Lord Folkſtone ſeconded the motion, which was oppoſed by Mr. Burton, one of the Welſh judges, in a ſpeech, to which the blindneſs and very advanced age of the ſpeaker, attracted throughout the moſt reſpectful attention. It was, however, the ſpeech rather of a lawyer than a ſtateſman, and indicated more particularly his familiarity with the routine of legal maxims and diſtinction, than any ſkill in comparing the probabilities of the caſe, as founded upon a general calculation of the ordinary motives of human action. The ſpeech of Mr. Perceval, on the ſame ſide, was of a much higher character; it combined, with all the acuteneſs of the pleader in examining details, an enlarged and comprehenſive view of the general features of the inquiry, and was, moreover, enlivened throughout by a ſpirit of animation and eloquence, which the houſe was hardly prepared to meet with in the oratorical efforts of that gentleman. He began by condemning in ſtrong terms the addreſs propoſed by Colonel Wardle, as

utterly inconclufive, as to the real queſtion before the houſe. The charges brought againſt the Duke of York were opened, as charges of *baſe, perſonal corruption.* Not that his royal highneſs had been guilty of any neglect of his official duties, or of any moral irregularities, or offences of a more private nature; but the charge was one of *corruption*—corruption baſe and infamous in any man, doubly baſe and infamous in one of ſo exalted a character, and ſo eminent a ſtation. Upon ſuch a charge, when once made againſt ſuch a character, it could not be doubted, but that the houſe would feel it their duty to pronounce a direct, a decided opinion; it was due to the Duke of York, it was eſſential to the character of the houſe, that having once entertained ſuch an accuſation, they ſhould diſtinctly and unequivocally diſpoſe of it. But what was the courſe preſcribed by the hon. gentleman? Could it be gravely propoſed, that the houſe ſhould conclude its long and laborious inquiry, with an opinion which it affirmed with heſitation, and almoſt retracted as ſoon as it affirmed it? Could it be ſeriouſly intended, that they ſhould ſtate, not in plain language, that the accuſation of corruption was ſpecifically eſtabliſhed; not that it was impoſſible theſe corrupt practices could have exiſted without the knowledge of the Duke of York; but, as if the truth or falſehood of the allegation was a matter of indifference, that whether they exiſted without his knowledge or with it, it amounted practically to the ſame thing; the concluſion muſt ſtill be the ſame; and the houſe muſt, equally, in either caſe, addreſs the king to remove him. He was ſure there was not an honeſt or juſt feeling in the houſe, which would not reprobate ſuch an evaſion of their duty, by ſo mean an endeavour to diſpoſe of it by a meaſure framed with complicated ambiguity, or rather with an inſidious alternative, as if for the mere purpoſe of picking up ſome of the ſtraggling votes of thoſe, who not agreeing with the accuſer as to the nature and extent of the offence, might yet concur from any other motives, public or perſonal, in deſiring the removal of the Duke from office. Had the hon. gentlemen continued to be actuated by that feeling which originally impelled him to come forward in this buſineſs, he would never have propoſed ſuch an addreſs: but he had yielded to other counſels, he had adviſed with cooler heads; heads that meant more than he meant, and more than they would let him know.

Mr. Perceval then proceeded to deſcribe the courſe which he himſelf intended to purſue. He ſhould propoſe an amendment, converting the addreſs of Colonel Wardle into a reſolution, decidedly declaring the ſenſe of the houſe upon the queſtion of guilt. The ſubſequent proceedings of the houſe would be guided by the fate of that reſolution. Should they think the Duke of York guilty of corruption, he conceived it would be neceſſary to impeach him. But though they ſhould not think him thus far guilty, there might ſtill be other matter diſcovered in the evidence, which would call for notice and animadverſion,

madverſion; and, perhaps, in the opinion of ſome, for puniſhment.

In his judgment, however, Mr. Perceval continued, the Duke of York was *not* guilty of corruption or connivance: but before he proceeded to explain to the houſe the grounds upon which that opinion was founded, he would confeſs that he had come to the inquiry with every prejudice againſt the truth of the accuſation. He had long cheriſhed the opinion, that whatever might be the opinion of perſons out of doors, whatever might be the language of libels circulated with ſuch malicious induſtry, that there never was a period in which there was leſs ground for the ſuſpicion of perſonal corruption, in perſons, either illuſtrious by birth, or exalted by rank, office, or ſtation, than the preſent moment. Whatever was the vice of the age, that of pecuniary corruption in the higher ranks of ſociety, was not, on his conſcience he ſtated it, the vice of the preſent day. With prejudices thus ſtrong, generally in favour of any public men, it did appear more particularly improbable that ſuch charges ſhould apply to one in ſo peculiarly elevated a ſituation as the Duke of York. "I never," ſaid Mr. Perceval, "could bring my mind to believe, that for ſo mean and deſpicable a conſideration, (for the whole amount of Mrs. Clarke's iniquitous gains, does not, by her own evidence, much exceed 2 or 3,000*l.*) his Royal Highneſs could have lent himſelf to this baſe conſpiracy againſt the intereſt of the army and the public; that he ſhould have become a partner in her infamous deſigns; that he ſhould have ſo humbled and degraded himſelf as to render his rank, and influence, and authority, ſubſervient to her deſigns, and that he ſhould ſo far have forgotten what was due to his birth, his own character, and the public, as to have told this abandoned woman, pointing out to her thoſe practices as the ſource of pecuniary ſupply, that 'if ſhe was clever ſhe could never want money;' and that he ſhould have done this for the purpoſe of feeding and ſupporting the expence of their adulterous connection." [Reiterated acclamations of Hear, Hear.] "Sir, I hardly underſtand that cry.—Is it, that any one imagines, that in uſing an epithet to characterize the connexion of his royal highneſs with Mrs. Clarke, in appropriate language, I have inadvertently ſlipped into a cenſure, which I ſhould wiſh to retract? Or, that becauſe I am defending his royal highneſs from a charge which I feel to be falſe, I am, therefore, here to defend vice, or to palliate it with epithets which may diſguiſe its character? Nothing can be farther from my intention. I lament, I deplore as deeply as any one, the moral guilt into which, in an evil hour, his royal highneſs has ſuffered himſelf to be plunged; but ſurely it is not inconſiſtent with that ſentiment to ſuppoſe, that he cannot ſo far have forgotten the conſideration of every thing dear and valuable to a perſon of his exalted birth, as to have ſo degraded, ſo debaſed himſelf, as to have become the willing inſtrument of Mrs. Clarke and her aſſociates."

Reverting to the charges themſelves,

ſelves, Mr. Perceval obſerved, that the fact of the duke's connection's with Mrs. Clarke, and of that woman's concern in the moſt corrupt tranſactions was indiſputably proved; the queſtion was, whether his royal highneſs was privy to theſe tranſactions? Did he authorize them? Did he countenance them? Did he connive at them? Now, if Mrs. Clarke's evidence was to be believed, there could be no doubt upon the ſubject; the caſe was eſtabliſhed in all its deepeſt aggravation, and it was a caſe not of neglect, or even connivance, on the part of the Duke of York, but of the baſeſt corruption in his own perſon; the point therefore with which the examination muſt open was the degree of credit due to Mrs. Clarke.

With reſpect to this, the firſt thing to be obſerved was, that ſhe came forward in the character of an accomplice: upon this point Mr. Burton had juſtly obſerved, that a perſon appearing in that character was entitled to credit only in ſo far as her evidence was confirmed by that of other witneſſes, whoſe characters were not open to the ſuſpicion of falſehood which muſt neceſſarily attach upon her. Now with regard to the degree of confirmation which on certain points Mrs. Clarke's ſtory would ſeem to have received, it was to be obſerved that, as far as it concerned her own corrupt practices, it was admitted to be true, and thoſe parts might be confirmed without difficulty, but ſuch confirmation could not advance the caſe one ſtep againſt the Duke of York. The points on which confirmation was wanting, and on which it muſt be had before they could convict the duke, were thoſe which he contended remained to that moment unconfirmed—that the Duke of York authorized, or knew of her practices.

An accomplice ſometimes is actuated by a ſenſe of remorſe, by a deſire to atone by his evidence for the crime he confeſſes and detects; but Mrs. Clarke came here as no penitent. On the contrary, urged by ſentiments of rancour and reſentment, with no other object than to diſgrace the duke, at the expenſe even of herſelf, ſhe diſcloſes a ſcene of corrupt practices which it evidently appears ſhe had continued to carry on up to the very time of this inquiry. There was abundant ground of caution againſt implicitly relying on the evidence of a witneſs impelled by ſuch motives, and to ſuch an object; but that was not all—there was the ſtrongeſt preſumption in favour of the perſon accuſed, ariſing out of conduct which might not be entirely approved, but which was unaccountable upon any other ſuppoſition than that of his innocence of the charges preferred againſt him. It was to be lamented that his royal highneſs had not ſettled, and that unconditionally, a larger annuity upon Mrs. Clarke; but objectionable as his conduct in this reſpect might appear, it afforded a great and inſurmountable preſumption in his favour: for could any thing be more inconſiſtent with common ſenſe, than that any man in parting with a woman who had been a participator with him in ſuch deep guilt, ſhould diſmiſs her in a manner which muſt have ſent her forth with every ſentiment of reſentment and indignation againſt him? After the letter addreſſed to Mr. Adam

Adam by Mrs. Clarke, in which ſhe threatens to expoſe the duke unleſs he accedes to her requiſitions, it was quite impoſſible for his royal highneſs to yield to her demands, if he felt innocent, and equally ſo that he ſhould not have yielded to them if guilty. Had he been conſcious that this woman was poſſeſſed of theſe ſecrets, the expoſure of which would neceſſarily involve his ruin, could he poſſibly have diſcarded her without making ſome attempt to ſecure her ſilence? She tells him plainly, that unleſs he gives her the annuity, ſhe will publiſh every circumſtance that was ever communicated to her by him, and every thing that has come under her knowledge during their intimacy. Could the Duke of York, with the ſmalleſt particle of common ſenſe, have reſiſted her demands, unleſs he had felt ſecure in the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence? He braves the charge, he defies the utmoſt effects of her malice and reſentment, rather than do that, by which, if he had done it, he would indeed have put himſelf completly in her power.

Mr. Perceval then alluded to the arts and pleaſantry, the cleverneſs and verſatility, which Mrs. Clarke had diſplayed throughout her whole examination, and grounded upon theſe another preſumption in favour of the Duke of York. How eaſy muſt it have been for ſuch a woman, under ſuch circumſtances, to impoſe upon the unſuſpecting generoſity of his royal highneſs? Could any one ſuppoſe, that if at any time it was her object to obtain a knowledge of any military matter, which there was no public reaſon to conceal, that ſhe would not, by exertion of a little art and dexterity, obtain the information ſhe wanted? For what were the facts, the diſcloſure of which was to convict the Duke of York with connivance at her practices? The time when Major Tonyn was to be gazetted; whether his buſineſs was to go on; whether ſecond battalions were to be raiſed inſtead of new regiments —when the evidence of the caſe was well underſtood, it would be ſeen that this ſort of communication was the whole of the caſe againſt the Duke of York, and if the houſe ſhould feel that ſuch communication was no more than the neceſſary and inevitable conſequence from the exiſtence of the unfortunate connection with Mrs. Clarke, the whole offence of his royal highneſs would reſolve itſelf into that connection; in ſaying this, he did not mean to palliate the moral guilt of that connection.

Mr. Perceval then adverted to the falſehoods and contradictions with which the evidence of Mrs. Clarke abounded. Among theſe, he particularly dwelt upon the fact of her having conſtantly enjoined to thoſe who applied for promotion the neceſſity of keeping the tranſaction ſecret from the Duke of York; of her informing Mr. Knight of her intention to expoſe the duke; of her denial that her huſband had been in trade; of her having gone under the name of Mrs. Dowler; of her interview with Dowler the night of his arrival in London, all which ſhe had ſeverally denied in the moſt poſitive manner, but which had been inconteſtibly ſhewn to be true. Mr. Perceval particularly dwelt on the laſt mentioned circumſtance, re-

ſpecting her meeting with Dowler, as equally affecting the credibility of that perſon's own evidence, and affording every preſumption of previous concert and conſpiracy between them.

Mr. Perceval, at great length, then went through the whole evidence that had been given at the bar, analyſing and examining it, to the minuteſt details, with all his accuſtomed acuteneſs and ingenuity. It would be altogether incompatible with our limits to follow him through all the details of this portion of his ſpeech, nor is it, after the abſtract which we have endeavoured to give of the evidence, quite indiſpenſable for the proper underſtanding of the caſe. The fault of Mr. Perceval's ſpeech, and indeed of those of all who ſpoke on the miniſterial ſide on this queſtion, was the apparent prevalence of a tone of decided prejudication in favour of the innocence of the Duke of York, ſuch as to give to their ſpeeches the character rather of the pleadings of an advocate, than of that declaration of deliberate and impartial opinion which became their functions as judges. A tone of greater candour would have been not merely more appropriate, but more politic; eſpecially under the exiſting circumſtances of the public feeling on the ſubject. For the people in general were as violently prejudiced againſt the Duke of York, as they imagined his ſupporters to have ſhewn themſelves in his favour; and indeed the more violent oppugners of his royal highneſs's innocence in the Houſe of Commons betrayed an equally unreaſonable and unqualified bias in condemning him; nd it is perhaps in the ranks of the regular oppoſition that we find, on this occaſion, the moſt candid and liberal ſpirit of judgment upon the facts and circumſtances which came out in the evidence. The royal family in general could not but be offended by the whole inquiry, and the Prince of Wales in particular, though at variance with his father, was known to take the ſtrongeſt intereſt in favour of his royal brother. It is not, we truſt, uncharitable to ſurmiſe that this circumſtance, among others, would have its effect on the party, both in indiſpoſing them to countenance the inveſtigation when firſt brought forward, and ſubſequently giving to their conduct and opinions a tone of moderation and impartiality, not perhaps quite conſiſtent with their ordinary habits of uncompromiſing oppoſition. There are one or two points dwelt upon by Mr. Perceval, in this part of his ſpeech, as particularly militating againſt Mrs. Clarke's credibility, which we think neceſſary to notice. In the caſe of Colonel Shaw, he contended, that the letter ſhe had produced from that officer was utterly inconſiſtent with the ſtory ſhe had told of the manner of his promotion. Was it poſſible that this letter, if written to appeaſe her reſentment, to implore her forgiveneſs, and a renewal of her kindneſs, would take no notice of his offence; would make no alluſion to the obligation, for the non-performance of which he had forfeited her favour? It cannot be ſaid that he could not afford to perform his engagement; inſtead of a payment of 500*l.* he here offers her 300*l.* per annum, during his ſtay at the Cape. How

was

was it that Mrs. Clarke was not tempted by ſuch an offer as this to an exertion of that influence which ſhe ſays was ſo unlimited? Her whole account of the matter was, in fact, refuted by this letter, which does not advert to any one thing conſiſtent with it. Colonel Shaw complains of his having been put upon half-pay, and he excepts againſt it, not as an act of her's, but upon the ground that the practice aud cuſtom of the army did not warrant ſuch a reduction. But how, it might be aſked, were we to account for his applying to Mrs. Clarke at all? or for his applying to get rid of the condition under which he had conſented to accept his office? The thing was perfectly explicable. Shaw was no doubt impoſed upon by Mrs. Clarke, to believe ſhe had intereſted herſelf for him, and that ſhe had influence with the duke; and having accepted of the office upon the terms of being put upon half-pay, ſecure of the office, he wiſhed to be releaſed from the condition.

In the caſe of French's levy, Mr. Perceval admitted that there exiſted a circumſtance of confirmation from Miſs Taylor's evidence. After adverting to the equivocal character of this perſon, as a connection of Mrs. Clarke's, he obſerved, that nothing could be more ſuſpicious than her teſtimony, which was preciſely what we might expect to hear from a witneſs who comes to ſpeak to a particular fact, with reſpect to which ſhe had been tutored and prepared; ſhe ſtated the dry fact to which ſhe is particularly interrogated, and knows nothing more. She tells you, that about four years ago ſhe was preſent at a converſation, in which the Duke of York made uſe of the words ſhe attributes to him: ſhe recollects nothing elſe of their converſation; ſhe never mentioned it from that time till within three weeks before ſhe was examined, when ſhe was aſked about it by Mrs. Clarke. She forgets how Mrs. Clarke introduced the ſubject, or whether any one was preſent, though it was but the other day. Was it poſſible that any thing could be leſs credible, or could the houſe feel juſtified in fixing the charge of corruption upon his royal highness upon ſuch evidence, from a witneſs connected with Mrs. Clarke, and, in fact, dependant upon her?

With reſpect to the expenditure of the eſtabliſhment, Mr. Perceval ſhewed that the actual amount of the ſums advanced by the duke, during his connection with Mrs. Clarke, was about 20,000*l.* in the courſe of two years and a half. There was therefore no ſuch diſproportion of the ſupply to the expenſe as would neceſſarily lead his royal highneſs to ſuſpect ſhe had other than the obvious reſources. Mrs. Clarke had ſaid, that in one inſtance the duke had told her, that, "if ſhe was clever ſhe would never come to him for money;" but how inconſiſtent was the evidence of Mrs. Clarke herſelf upon this very point! She did not inſinuate that his royal highness had ever anſwered her ſubſequent applications in this manner, and yet it appeared that ſhe was daily preſſing him over and over again for money, and, according to her ſtatement, in vain. During the time

time ſhe lived with the duke, there could not have been leſs than ten thouſand military commiſſions paſs through his office. Could ſhe, if ſhe had poſſeſſed his authority to make money by her cleverneſs out of theſe commiſſions, have ever been in want of 100*l.* or even 1000*l.*? It was impoſſible; and the inadequacy of his royal highneſs's allowance to her eſtabliſhment, coupled with her repeated applications to him for money, ſo far from affording an inference againſt the Duke of York, was ſtrong and concluſive for him.

Having finiſhed his analyſis of the evidence, Mr. Perceval reverted to the mode of proceeding to be adopted by the houſe, and expreſſed his opinion, that when they had diſpoſed of the firſt great queſtion of public and official guilt, a queſtion purely judicial, and to be determined on judicial principles, according to the evidence adduced, they ſhould then conſider the remaining queſtion as no longer a judicial one, but to be diſpoſed of on principles of general policy and expediency. He ended by reprobating in a ſtrain of eloquent indignation, the alluſion which Mr. Wardle had made to the judgment which the country would paſs upon the conduct of the houſe, as implying a principle at all times moſt unconſtitutional, but in the preſent inſtance, when they were ſitting in a judicial character to decide upon the honour and intereſts of an individual, moſt unjuſt. Undoubtedly, ſaid Mr. Perceval, it is our duty to keep in view the public opinion, and ſo to conduct ourſelves, that our conduct may be approved by our conſtituents and the country; but if to flatter the people, or baſely to court their favour, we ſurrender our correcter judgments to their miſguided and inflamed impreſſions, we deſert our duty, we abandon our truſt; our place, our function in the conſtitution is gone. It were better there ſhould be no Houſe of Commons at all; it were better at once to accept as our conſtitution, a wild unrepreſented democracy, without the controul of the Houſe of Commons or parliament, than to degrade ourſelves by conſenting to become the mere inſtruments of that democracy, to adopt its opinions, and to regiſter its laws."

Mr. Perceval concluded a ſpeech of moſt diſtinguiſhed ability by moving a reſolution, declaring "that the houſe after the fulleſt conſideration of the evidence, had found no ground for charging his royal highneſs with the perſonal corruption alleged againſt him in that evidence, or with any connivance at the infamous practices therein diſcloſed," and he ſtated his intention, in caſe the houſe ſhould agree to that reſolution, further to move an addreſs to the king, in which they ſhould lay the reſolution before his majeſty, and at the ſame time expreſs their regret, that a connexion ſhould have exiſted, under the cover of which, tranſactions of a highly criminal and diſgraceful nature had been carried on, ſtating however that it was a ſubject of conſolation to the houſe, to obſerve the deep regret expreſſed by the duke reſpecting that connexion, and expreſſing the confident hope, that his royal highneſs would in future invariably keep in view, that bright example of virtuous conduct which

which the uniform tenor of his majeſty's life, had afforded to his family and his ſubjects."

Mar. 9th

It was not until the ſecond day, that Mr. Perceval finiſhed his ſpeech, which was of almoſt unprecedented length. Mr. Bathurſt who roſe after him, expreſſed his diſſent from both the courſes propoſed to be adopted, by Colonel Wardle and Mr. Perceval. He agreed, that he ſaw no ground for charging the duke with corruption, but he was ſtill of opinion, that his royal highneſs had expoſed himſelf to undue influence in the diſcharge of his official duties; and the preferable mode of proceeding, he thought, would be to frame a reſolution acquitting him of corruption, but at the ſame time ſo clearly intimating the opinion of the houſe in other reſpects, that his royal highneſs ſhould feel the neceſſity of preventing, by his own reſignation, an addreſs to his majeſty for his removal. For this purpoſe, he ſuggeſted a reſolution worded to that effect, but without, at that time, preſſing upon the houſe his propoſition, which, however, formed the baſis of an amendment moved the ſame evening by Mr. Bankes. The purport of this was in ſubſtance, "a humble addreſs, to ſtate to his majeſty, that information had been communicated to the houſe of various corrupt practices having prevailed in the diſtribution of military commiſſions, and that it appeared from the evidence and documents adduced, that ſuch practices and abuſes had unqueſtionably exiſted. That it was highly ſatisfactory to the houſe, to find no ground in any of theſe proceedings, for charging his royal highneſs the commander-in-chief with perſonal corruption, but that they could not but expreſs their opinion, that ſuch abuſes could not have prevailed to ſuch an extent, without having excited the ſuſpicion of the commander-in-chief, and they ſubmitted to his majeſty whether, even if abuſes ſo various, and ſo long continued, could have prevailed without the knowledge of his royal highneſs, the command of the army could with propriety be continued any longer in his hands. The addreſs concluded by animadverting upon the courſe of conduct diſcloſed in the examination, as of the worſt example to public morals, and tending, if not diſcountenanced by his majeſty, to affect injurioufly the main ſprings of ſocial order and well regulated ſociety.

There were now four propoſitions before the houſe; viz. the original motion of Colonel Wardle's, and the ſubſequent amendments moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Bathurſt, and Mr. Bankes. A debate of not leſs than ſix days' duration took place on the ſubject of theſe ſeveral propoſitions, in the courſe of which almoſt every member, who was in the habit of ſpeaking upon any occaſion, took an opportunity of delivering his ſentiments: it will not of courſe be expected, that, in a work like the preſent, we ſhould attempt to give any thing like a detailed account of the arguments and opinions of the various ſpeakers, an enumeration of their names, and a mention of the ſide they ſeverally took in the debate, is, for the moſt part, all that is in any degree compatible with the nature of our limits. Mr. Whitbread roſe after

after Mr. Bathurſt, and his ſpeech was by much the moſt powerful and argumentative of any delivered in ſupport of the original addreſs of Colonel Wardle. He entered upon the examination of the caſe, at great length, defending the general credibility of the witneſſes Mrs. Clarke, Miſs Taylor, and Dowler, from the imputations of the chancellor of the exchequer, and dwelling particularly on the paſſage reſpecting Clavering in the duke's letter, and the note about Tonyn, as irreſiſtibly confirming their teſtimony. Alluding to an inſinuation of Mr. Perceval's, he obſerved, that if by mixing in counſel with cooler heads, it was meant that Colonel Wardle had, in a matter of ſuch difficulty and importance, conſulted men on whoſe ability and judgment he had reliance; it charged him with no more than his duty, and might be received as a compliment. With reſpect to his own conduct in the buſineſs, he allowed that at its commencement he had thought that the whole of the charges would ultimately amount to nothing. Before Colonel Wardle had given notice of his intended motion, he had called upon him, (Mr. Whitbread) and ſtated the charges he purpoſed to introduce, and the evidence by which they were to be ſupported. Mr. Whitbread had frankly ſtated to him his opinion, as well as to the incredibility of the charges, and the apparent deficiency of the teſtimony alleged, as to the perilous and critical nature of the attempt itſelf; but finding him determined to go forward, he had promiſed him his ſupport for the appointment of a committee to inveſtigate the affair. This was the whole hiſtory of their previous communications on the ſubject. The chancellor of the exchequer had aſked, "if it were poſſible that the Duke of York could have ſo conducted himſelf? The time was," ſaid Mr. Whitbread, "that *I* ſhould have aſked that queſtion. But we have here (holding up the evidence), with ſorrow and deep regret I ſay it, damning proof of the fact. Let me not be miſunderſtood. I do not believe that the Duke of York was guilty of ſo baſe and foul a crime, as that he pocketed or coarſely partook of the wages of iniquity; but I cannot diſbelieve his privity to the exiſtence of corruption. It has been aſked, if it be poſſible that the Duke of York could have defied her, if he had not been conſcious of his innocence? So ſhould *I* have ſaid heretofore. Extraordinary proofs of blindneſs have been ſince developed. In 1808, Mrs. Clarke wrote to a friend of the Duke of York's ſoliciting the payment of her annuity, and declaring that in default ſhe muſt publiſh. Who that had committed even the follies proved, would not have thought an oblivion of them was cheaply purchaſed, by the payment of a ſtipulated annuity of 400 l. a year? Yet the Duke of York defied this publicity. A volume of nonſenſical letters might have been put forth, which he and his friends would afterwards have given the world to have retracted. The Duke of York, had he been well adviſed would have complied with her juſt requeſt. The pledge of his word could alone be redeemed by his ſo doing; but I cannot agree his refuſing to do ſo, is a concluſive proof of his innocence. The

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proof goes too far. He who would riſk ſuch an expoſure, might, in my opinion, poſſibly have riſked much more from negligence, inattention, or in the confidence that ſhe would not have the courage to publiſh."

The moſt powerful part of Mr. Whitbread's ſpeech, was towards its cloſe. It appears, that the plate which Mrs. Clarke purchaſed of Birkett the ſilverſmith, and the joint payment for which, by Mrs. Clarke and the Duke of York, was ſaid to form one of the incidental preſumptions againſt him, had formerly belonged to the Duke de Berri. Mr. Whitbread eloquently ſeized hold of this circumſtance, to remark "how deeply nations are concerned in the private conduct of thoſe, connected with the monarchs appointed to rule over them. The laſt unhappy ſovereigns of the once mighty and illuſtrious family of Bourbon, were murdered by their own ſubjects, and the few of its members who ſurvived the promiſcuous carnage of thoſe bloody days, were wanderers upon the earth, affording a melancholy but inſtructive leſſon of the near connection ſubſiſting between the private lives of princes and the fate of nations. It might have been expected, that the Duke of York would have ſtarted at the name of the Duke de Berri. He might have reflected on the ſtate to which a man of ſuch high deſcent was reduced; on the ſurpriſing viciſſitude of human affairs which had driven to ſuch expedients for ſupport, in the metropolis of the kingdom which had been for centuries contending againſt the ambition of his family, a near relation of the ruined throne of France. He might have accepted the warning thus offered. A man of ſound underſtanding could hardly have overlooked it. Tracing effects to their true cauſes, he might have ſeen that the revolution of which that royal houſe and its appendages have been the peculiar victims, was brought about, not by the theories of ſpeculative men, but by the vices of individuals, and the foul corruptions of the ſtate; and this magnificent monument of fallen pomp and greatneſs, might have ſerved for the remainder of his life, as a beacon to direct his courſe.

Unhappily this effect was not produced, and after what has been ſhewn, there is no way left for the reſtoration of the character of the Duke of York, than by his ſubmiſſion to the cenſure of the Houſe of Commons. Through that ordeal he muſt paſs. Then, indeed, if an event, which has been alluded to, ſhould take place, the clouds of theſe days, ſo far from obſcuring, may add luſtre to his reign. He who aſcended the throne, after having incurred the cenſure of the repreſentatives of the people, would by his ſubmiſſion to that cenſure, have recognized the power of that tribunal, to which the people of the Britiſh empire can appeal in any caſe of emergency; he would have felt, that in England all that is connected with royalty, is ſubject to the law, and not above it; that the eventual heir to the throne has no exemption from thoſe penalties which attach upon him, as upon the moſt obſcure inhabitant of the realm; and he may riſe, as many have done before him, purified and greater by misfortune; better qualified for the diſcharge of the important

portant duties impoſed upon him." Mr. Whitbread concluded with an animated call upon the houſe, to enter boldly and earneſtly upon the immediate reform of all abuſes, the favourers and abetters of which were alone, he contended, the true jacobins, and the moſt dangerous adverſaries to the government and the king. He was replied to by the attorney general, and the debate that evening was cloſed by Mr. Bankes, with the propoſal of the amendment before mentioned.

Mar. 10th. On the following day, Mr. Yorke ſpoke warmly and decidedly in favour of the duke; the moſt remarkable paſſage in his ſpeech, was that in which he declared, that if his royal highneſs were criminal, it would be the duty of parliament to bring in a bill for his excluſion from the throne. This, he ſaid, was the conſtitutional law of the land. The brilliancy of the crown would be tarniſhed, if a prince ſo diſgraced, was ever ſuffered to wear it. He was followed on the ſame ſide by Mr. Leach and Mr. Adam who ſifted with great and ingenious minuteneſs, the details of the evidence. On the other hand, Lord Folkſtone ſpoke in ſupport of Colonel Wardle's addreſs, and Mr. William Smith declared his preference of the one moved by Mr. Bankes.

Mar. 13th. The debate on the Monday following, was opened by the ſecretary at war. Sir Francis Burdett ſucceeded, and in a ſpeech of conſiderable force and animation, but of a tone rather declamatory than argumentative, profeſſed his entire conviction of the guilt of the Duke of York, to the full extent attempted to be eſtabliſhed in the original charges. He animadverted particularly upon the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters throughout the whole courſe of the enquiry. The charges, he ſaid, had ſcarcely been made, when all his majeſty's public officers volunteered themſelves as advocates. They had forgot they were members of parliament; they forgot they were judges, and the country could not expect that thoſe who refuſed to hear with patience, would determine with juſtice; it would rather ſuſpect that they had prejudged the cauſe, and entered into the inveſtigation of it with a ſtubborn reſolution, to ſhut their ears againſt conviction. With reſpect to Mrs. Clarke's evidence, he ſhould as ſoon expect her to be the author of the tragedy of Macbeth, as to ſuppoſe ſhe could have fabricated ſuch a ſtory, and ſupported it in the manner ſhe had done, againſt the embodied efforts of all the legal ability of the country. The maſter of the rolls and the ſolicitor general ſpoke in reply to the hon. baronet, and Sir Samuel Romilly ſupported the original addreſs. His ſpeech was remarkable, not merely for its ability, but as being the only one delivered by a member of the legal profeſſion, on that ſide of the queſtion. With reſpect to the rule of evidence in caſes of accomplices, he obſerved, that in a capital caſe, an accomplice was a competent witneſs, and as ſuch might convict a priſoner, but it was for the jury to determine the degree of credit to be due to ſuch evidence, which was always ſuſpicious, and ſhould ſeldom be reſorted to. On the ſubject of the

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contradictions which had been pointed out in Mrs. Clarke's evidence, he remarked, that they did not impair her credit in the degree which they would do, if delivered under oath in a court of juſtice, much leſs did they go to ſet aſide her evidence altogether; they were he thought all immaterial, not undoubtedly as to her credit, but as to the charges againſt the Duke of York. He dwelt particularly upon Miſs Taylor's evidence, contending that nothing had been ſhewn to invalidate her credit as a witneſs, and that ſhe could have no conceivable motive or intereſt to induce her to pervert the truth. It was impoſſible to ſuppoſe ſhe had been bribed, or to imagine her to be ſo hardened in guilt, ſo ſteeled againſt remorſe, as to come before the aſſembled repreſentatives of the nation, and deliberately to bear falſe teſtimony againſt the ſon of her king.

Mar. 14th. On the following day, Mr. Croker diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the ſpeakers who advocated the cauſe of the Duke of York. The moſt ſtriking feature of his ſpeech, was the tone of acrimony, and even virulence, with which he condeſcended to animadvert upon the character and conduct of Mrs. Clarke. "I own," ſaid he, "I have not ſeen without deep indignation, the credit and applauſe which this woman has received; the praiſes we have heard of her talents and her wit. Her talents are audacity, and her wit falſehood; and any other perſon who would equally dare to caſt modeſty and truth as far aſide, would merit the ſame eulogium. I ſpeak ſtrong language, and uſe no reſtrained expreſſion in ſpeaking of this woman, not merely becauſe ſhe has put herſelf out of the pale of the reſpect due to the delicacy of her ſex, but becauſe I conceive that the applauſe with which ſhe has been encouraged, is poiſon to ſociety, and warrants, nay, requires the adminiſtration of the ſtrongeſt antidote. Much as I lament the calumnies, the trials to which the Duke of York, if innocent, has been expoſed, yet I know that the ſtream of time will waſh away the tranſient ſtains of falſe accuſation: truth, however clouded, will at laſt be clear; and reparation, late perhaps, but ample, awaits the innocent: but to applaud depravity, is to abet it; it is to encourage an evil, whoſe extent is indefinite, whoſe progreſs is uncontroulable." Mr. Roſe, Mr. Stewart Wortley, and Lord Caſtlereagh, ſpoke on the ſame ſide. Mr. William Wynn declared himſelf in favour of Mr. Bankes's amendment, which, upon the whole, Mr. Windham alſo expreſſed himſelf inclined to ſupport, at the cloſe of a ſpeech by far the ableſt, the faireſt, and beſt reaſoned, which had been delivered in the whole courſe of theſe debates.

In conſidering the caſe, Mr. Windham obſerved, that Mrs. Clarke is evidently the life and ſoul of the whole; her teſtimony, if it is to be received implicitly, is at once concluſive. We are to conſider what there may be to render any part of it doubtful.

Now her general ſituation in the cauſe, is certainly ſuch as to expoſe her to great ſuſpicion. She is ſo circumſtanced as to be open to ſtrong temptations to falſehood, both on the ſide of intereſt and of paſſion;

paſſion; and what ground of aſſurance is there that theſe motives will have been reſiſted? She is, in the firſt place, a woman without that virtue, which, in the univerſal eſtimation of mankind, is the great foundation and pledge of all others in her ſex. She is moreover a woman too, who is not merely unchaſte, but publicly known to be ſo, that is, who is not only without virtue, but without ſhame; who has long incurred and become familiar with the opprobrium of the world, and has therefore ſet herſelf free from another ſecurity for right conduct, and one which is hardly leſs ſtrong than virtue itſelf. She appears beſides in the character of an accomplice, and on that as well as various other accounts, is to be heard with great miſtruſt; but ſtill her evidence is not to be rejected nor diſregarded. Though we cannot ſay that ſhe is generally an unwilling witneſs, yet we know, of our own knowledge, that ſhe has been ſo in ſome inſtances, (in that of Colonel Tonyn and General Clavering for example,) and muſt fairly be ſaid to have given proofs of a great degree of moderation and forbearance. She evidently cannot be treated as a woman who is borne away by a ſpirit of reſentment which knows no bounds, becauſe ſhe has ſhown that ſhe is not ſo borne away, but is reſtrained by conſiderations which we cannot aſſume to be ſtronger, than ſuch as even in a mind as little principled as hers, might prevent the production of evidence known not to be true: various attempts have been made to entrap her in her anſwers, but I muſt fairly confeſs, that as far as I can recollect, they did not in any inſtance appear to be ſucceſsful. The inaccuracies or inconſiſtencies ſuppoſed to be diſcovered in her evidence, were many of them upon points which ſhe had no intereſt in repreſenting one way more than another, and in general were of that ſort, which inſtead of detracting from the authority of her evidence, only gave it in my eyes a greater character of genuineneſs and authenticity. It was impoſſible, indeed, not to be ſtruck with the general air of frankneſs and facility with which her evidence was characterized throughout: ſhe wrote a running hand; there was nothing of ſtiffneſs or preparation about it.

With this deſcription of the general character of Mrs. Clarke's evidence, on what grounds it will be aſked, do I reject the truth of it, or reſiſt the concluſion that the Duke of York is guilty to the full? The anſwer is, that I do admit the truth of it, in all the parts to which that deſcription will apply; but that the deſcription does not, nor by its nature can apply to thoſe parts, by which alone the Duke of York can ſtand convicted. The evidence of Mrs. Clarke, it ſhould be obſerved, muſt be divided into two great heads, very unequal both in bulk and conſequence. In all that part of the cauſe, being ninety-nine hundredths of the whole, which related to the exiſtence of a corrupt traffic for the diſpoſal of commiſſions, her evidence deſerved the character he had given of it, and was he believed true. But all this without further aid, tells nothing to the object of the proſecution, viz. the guilt of the Duke of York. This forms the ſecond part of

of Mrs. Clarke's teſtimony, to the truth of which no inference can be drawn from the truth of the firſt, for it is ſubject to none of the ſame conſtraints, nor can it be judged of by any of the ſame criteria. It conſiſts of half a dozen ſentences, in which ſhe ſpeaks without the poſſibility of detection, or indeed even of contradiction, except from the perſon himſelf. She delivers her evidence throughout with the confidence and facility of a perſon who is ſpeaking truth, but the preſumption thence ariſing as to the actual truth, is not the ſame in all parts of her evidence. Where it relates to matter falling within the cognizance of others, ſhe proceeds fearleſsly, ſhe ſpeaks confidently, becauſe, in fact, ſhe is ſpeaking truth; but in other parts, far more material, ſhe may ſpeak with confidence, only becauſe ſhe knows, that whether truly or falſely, ſhe is ſafe from detection. No one can ever convict her as to the truth or falſehood of declarations, ſaid to have paſſed only between her and the Duke of York; the proof of the knowledge which the duke had of the criminal parts of theſe tranſactions, reſts entirely upon Mrs. Clarke, with no other ſupport than what ſhe can derive from Miſs Taylor."

"With reſpect to the attempts that had been made to diſcredit and diſparage this laſt mentioned perſon, I am far from approving them, or from thinking that they have been at all ſucceſsful. Indeed their ſucceſs would have been in a great meaſure their juſtification. But neither did the attempts ſucceed, nor did they ſeem, many of them, to have been fairly directed to their object. What idea could we entertain of Miſs Taylor's credit being deſtroyed as a witneſs, becauſe ſhe had not the virtue to break off all communication with Mrs. Clarke, her relation and benefactreſs, the moment ſhe found ſhe had formed an improper connection with the Duke of York? This might have been right, but it was a ſtricter right than we were accuſtomed to exact from perſons from whom it might be more fairly looked for. The fact is, the caſe here is the very reverſe of the former. Mrs. Clarke is a bad witneſs, giving a good teſtimony; Miſs Taylor a good witneſs, giving a teſtimony liable to conſiderable ſuſpicion. The moſt unpleaſant part of it is the expreſſion, "how does he behave to you Darling?" Some have thought that this might be explained to mean, what is his general conduct to you in reſpect of being troubleſome, but I confeſs it was difficult not to underſtand the word "behave" in a more reſtricted and technical ſenſe, and I cannot ſatisfy myſelf at all, that if this expreſſion was truly cited, it did not ſignify all that was meant to be imputed to it. Not but I may eaſily doubt whether the expreſſion was truly cited, and whether in the recollection of a converſation not very recent, and having nothing at the time as far as appeared, to impreſs that particular part immediately on the mind of the witneſs, a little change may not have been introduced inſenſibly at the moment, but ſo eſtabliſhing itſelf after a few repetitions, as to reſiſt any ſubſequent effort of recollection to ſet it right. With reſpect to the circumſtance that

Miſs Taylor ſhould have recollected ſo accurately the particulars of this converſation, and have forgotten ſo much of what had paſſed at later periods, no one can fail to find in himſelf, every day, examples of irregularities of this ſort. The real ground of ſurpriſe and ſuſpicion, is—that ſhe ſhould have ſo little recollection of what had been ſaid to her ſubſequently with reſpect to this very converſation. She comes here with her ſtory evidently cut and dry; ſhe is brought to tell this very thing, which muſt therefore have been the ſubject of previous converſation, and then ſeems to recollect nothing of what had at any time paſſed upon it. It is impoſſible not to regard a teſtimony ſo circumſtanced with ſome degree of ſuſpicion, and to ſuſpect here, is to ſuſpect the whole foundation of the queſtion. The perſons who look at this cauſe in the way in which it is looked at by ninety-nine parts out of a hundred, of what are called the publie, never perceive upon what a ſlender foundation the whole reſts; they ſee a vaſt deal of charge, a vaſt deal of ſuſpicion, a great maſs of abuſive practices, a great variety of facts much the greater part of them proved, and they conclude from thence, that a great portion of the charge is proved. But when the matter comes to be examined, as it ought to be, it is found, that the only two points in which this bulky and impoſing maſs, is made to touch the Duke of York, are in the evidence of Mrs. Clarke and Miſs Taylor; Mrs. Clarke ſpeaking to communications made to the duke when no one was preſent, and Miſs Taylor coming in ſupport of her friend in a ſolitary inſtance, where the whole force of her teſtimony depends upon her correctneſs in the report of a particular expreſſion. The note about Tonyn, and the mention of Clavering in the duke's letter, prove nothing but what has been proved over and over, and need not be diſputed; namely, that Mrs. Clarke made applications to the duke for objects of this ſort, and that the duke did not always prevent her, as indeed it would have been difficult for him to do, from talking to him upon ſuch ſubjects. What is wanted is a direct proof, or adequate preſumption, that the duke accepted her recommendations, knowing them to have been obtained corruptly; and evidence to this effect, we have none, except in the declarations of Mrs. Clarke, and the ſtory of Miſs Taylor."

"But there was, it was urged, the general preſumption ariſing from the rate of expence, at which the duke ſaw his miſtreſs live, compared with the money which he allowed her. Knowing that the one was inadequate to the other, he muſt have been ſatisfied, it is ſaid, that ſhe had indirect means of profit, and theſe could be no other than bribes received for the exertion of her influence. It may be true, that the duke ought to have made this calculation; but nothing appears to me more natural and likely, than that, in point of fact, he did not. Perſons bred to ſmall fortunes and economical habits, may find a difficulty in believing, how any one could much miſtake in the proportion between his income and expenditure; yet ſurely examples of ſuch miſtakes are not wanting, nor fail to occur daily, even in the lower ranks

ranks of life; and much more may they be expected in perſons placed from their infancy above the want of money, and whoſe minds have been directed to any thing, rather than to the management of their own affairs. The duke had, in fact, not only his habits of idleneſs, but his habits of diligence to contend with, and any one acquainted with the buſineſs which a commander-in-chief has to go through every day of his life, and which the Duke of York did go through, would not much wonder, nor perhaps blame any inſtance of ignorance or inattention, that might occur in the management of his private affairs."

With reſpect to what was called the moral part of the queſtion, Mr. Windham obſerved, that he did not mean to juſtify the duke's conduct in this reſpect, but he feared that the preſent ſtate of manners in this country, would not well admit of a ſolemn reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, to cenſure the commander-in-chief for keeping a miſtreſs. In fact, the topic ſeemed to be conſidered by the bulk of the houſe, as a ſubject of animadverſion only, in as far as it had practically led to conſequences injurious to the public ſervice.

"Many gentlemen," he continued, "had thought a diſtinction could be taken between connivance and criminal connivance; the word, by its ordinary acceptation, however, was commonly made to include in it the idea of criminality, and the diſtinction, therefore, was properly impoſſible. If, indeed, nothing more was meant, than that men turned their eyes unwillingly to facts, the exiſtence of which would give them pain, that they were ſlow to admit unwelcome truths, there was nothing more familiar to every man's obſervation; not in caſes only where criminality exiſted, but where, from the nature of the thing, none could poſſibly be ſuſpected: a blindneſs of this kind was very likely to have exiſted in the inſtance in queſtion, and may account for much of that with which gentlemen ſeem to have been ſo much embarraſſed, between the unwillingneſs of imputing to the royal perſon, any thing ſo ſhocking as a wilful tolerance of ſuch abuſes, and the difficulty of believing that no ſuſpicion of their exiſtence ever entered his mind. A ſuſpicion might very poſſibly have entered it, as ſuch ſuſpicions often do, without leaving any trace behind, or have been diſmiſſed, as men do ſubjects that they are afraid to contemplate. We might ſurely allow the Duke of York as much incredulity about Mrs. Clarke's infidelities with reſpect to bribes, as about her infidelities of another ſort. If he could be ſo blind as not to ſuſpect her with Dowler, we have no right to preſume that he muſt have been ſo vigilant and clear ſighted with reſpect to her tranſactions with Donovan and Sandon."

For himſelf, therefore, Mr. Windham obſerved, he ſhould give a decided negative to the charges of participation or connivance. It ſtill remained to be conſidered what it was fit for the houſe to do, in reſpect to the continuance of his royal highneſs in his office. Nothing was more clear, than that the degree of proof neceſſary to

convict a perſon of a crime, was far different from that which was ſufficient for the removal of him from a ſituation of truſt and confidence. Such removal was often a matter merely optional, and required no reaſon to be aſſigned; and it was certain that miniſters, with all the merit that men could poſſeſs, might become unfit for their offices, merely becauſe the country, on the grounds the moſt erroneous, had choſen to conſider them ſo. But however hard it was, that any one ſhould fall a ſacrifice to unjuſt ſuſpicion, the hardſhip was leſs when the ſuſpicion was grounded on the acts of the party, and thoſe acts ſuch as were in their own nature culpable. No one could claim from ſociety the ſame protection againſt the conſequences of his own miſconduct, as was due to a perſon, who, if not wholly guilty, was wholly innocent. The royal perſonage muſt abide the conſequences of ſuch a connection as he had formed. While he was anxious, therefore, that the houſe ſhould declare emphatically, its diſbelief of the accuſations brought againſt his royal highneſs, he ſhould hear, he confeſſed, with great delight, that no neceſſity exiſted for any further opinion, but that his royal highneſs had of himſelf decided to quit a ſituation, which he could not hold with ſatisfaction to himſelf, longer than he could hold it to the general ſatisfaction of the country. Mr. Windham concluded by obſerving, that if the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer was preſſed, and that no other alternative was offered, he muſt perforce, though by no means ſatisfactorily to himſelf, vote for the addreſs of Mr. Bankes.

On the following evening the debate was reſumed. The ſpeakers in favour of Colonel Wardle's or Mr. Bankes' addreſs, were Lords Milton, Stanley, and Temple, Sir Thomas Turton, and Mr. Ponſonby. Mr. Wilberforce alſo ſpoke very ably, and at conſiderable length, on the ſame ſide, and was replied to by Mr. Canning, who cloſed the defence of the duke, in a ſpeech of great pleaſantry and acuteneſs. His reaſonings, however, related chiefly to the mode of proceeding to be adopted, and went little into the merits of the caſe, as founded upon a conſideration of the evidence. With reſpect to the merit of the hon. mover of the inquiry, he obſerved, that he could not concur in the opinion, that he had done a great national good. "Looking to the conſequences of this inquiry, which may be ſuch as to ſhake this great empire to its foundation, and comparing the poſſible danger with the degree of good, which the moſt ſanguine moraliſt can conceive to ariſe from the abſtract conſideration of puniſhment inflicted, and miſconduct expoſed to no viſible practical purpoſe, I cannot help obſerving, that, willing as I am to do juſtice to the hon. gentleman's motives, I cannot conſider him as a great public benefactor. I muſt add, that if thanks ſhall be propoſed to him, as I underſtand is in the contemplation of ſome perſons, I ſhall ſtand forward, and I truſt not alone, to endeavour to induce this houſe to reject ſuch a propoſition." At ſix o'clock Mar. 15.

o'clock in the morning a diviſion took place. For Mr. Bankes' amendment, 199; againſt it, 294. Majority againſt the amendment, 95. A ſecond diviſion afterwards took place, on the chancellor of the exchequer's amendment, which was carried by 364 votes, againſt 123, who ſupported Colonel Wardle's addreſs. By this the original motion was diſpoſed of, and it was determined that the houſe ſhould proceed by reſolution, and not by addreſs; but the conſideration of the reſolution itſelf, was poſtponed to another evening. Accordingly, on the following Friday, Mr. Perceval propoſed to withdraw his original reſolution, and to move that "the evidence afforded no foundation for imputing perſonal corruption, or criminal connivance, to the Duke of York." He ſtated, at the ſame time, that the adoption of this reſolution, would, in no degree, preclude the recommending by addreſs, of any ulterior meaſure, reſpecting the continuance of the duke in office, which the houſe might think it right to ſuggeſt, though he admitted, that, for himſelf, he diſagreed with thoſe, who thought there was any reaſon to remove his royal highneſs from his ſituation.

Upon this Sir Thomas Turton moved an amendment, reſolving "that the evidence *did* afford grounds for charging his royal highneſs, with having knowledge of the corruption, which had been therein diſcloſed." A long and animated debate enſued, in which Mr. Tierney, Mr. W. H. Lyttelton, Lord Morpeth, and Lord H. Petty, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſition to the chancellor of the exchequer's reſolution. Upon a diviſion, 135 voted in favour of the amendment; and 334 againſt it. It yet remained to decide upon the motion of Mr. Perceval; ſeveral members explained, that, in negativing this reſolution, they in fact gave themſelves the only opportunity which they could have of amending it, and when the houſe divided, there were found to be 278 votes in its favour, and 196 againſt it. After this ſecond diviſion, a warm diſcuſſion took place, whether Mr. Bathurſt's reſolution ſhould be immediately proceeded upon. It was then, however, five o'clock in the morning, and Mr. Bathurſt expreſſed himſelf willing to poſtpone the conſideration of it till Monday.

On Monday, however, when the order of the day for reſuming the debate had been read, the chancellor of the exchequer aroſe, and ſtated, that he had a communication to make, which he truſted Mr. Bathurſt might think was of a nature to render any further proceeding unneceſſary. On Saturday morning, when the deciſion of the houſe was known, the Duke of York had waited upon the king and tendered his reſignation, which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to accept. The motives of this act were expreſſed to the king in a paper, which Mr. Perceval read in part to the houſe, and which purported, in ſubſtance, that the Houſe of Commons having paſſed a reſolution of his innocence, his royal highneſs might now venture to tender to his Majeſty his reſignation, as he could no longer be ſuſpected of acting from any appre- Mar. 20.

henſion of the reſult, nor accuſed of having ſhrunk from any extent of inquiry, however painful. Notwithſtanding this communication, Mr. Bathurſt perſiſted in urging his reſolution, which went to ſtate that, "in conſequence of a connection the moſt immoral and unbecoming, a communication on official ſubjects, and an interference in the diſtribution of military appointments, had been allowed to exiſt, which could not but tend to diſcredit the official adminiſtration of the Duke of York, and to give colour and effect, as they had actually done, to tranſactions the moſt criminal and diſgraceful." Upon this Lord Althorpe, after a ſhort and animated ſpeech, moved as an amendment, that "the Duke of York having reſigned the command of the army, the houſe does not now think it neceſſary to proceed any further in the conſideration of the evidence before the committee." The chancellor of the exchequer objected to the amendment, in the ſenſe which he underſtood Lord Althorpe to aſcribe to it, namely, of excluding any poſſibility of the future return of the duke to office, by reſerving to the houſe in ſuch an event, the right of reſuming the diſcuſſion then pending; and, to obviate ſuch a conſtruction, he moved that the word "now" be omitted in the reſolution propoſed by the noble lord. Upon a diviſion the chancellor of the exhequer's amendment was carried by a majority of 235 to 112; Mr. Bathurſt's reſolution having been previouſly negatived without a diviſion.

Thus ended this extraordinary inquiry. Notwithſtanding the acquittal of the duke in the Houſe of Commons, by the reſignation of his royal highneſs the triumph of the popular party was thought to be complete, and their exultation knew no bounds. Colonel Wardle was raiſed to a heighth of popularity unexampled ſince the days of Sacheverel. The city of London voted him its freedom, and the example was followed by almoſt all the conſiderable towns in the kingdom. Addreſſes were ſhowered upon him from all parts, expreſſive of the public gratitude for his exertions, and accompanied with reſolutions aſſerting the neceſſity of a general and radical reform in the whole ſyſtem of the adminiſtration of government. Among theſe addreſſes, the moſt ſingular was tranſmitted from Sheffield, the ſignatures to which occupied forty ſkins of parchment, and extended thirty-five yards and a quarter in length.

The glory of Mrs. Clarke was, if poſſible, ſtill more conſummate. As the chief inſtrument in the late glorious work of inveſtigation of abuſes, ſhe participated in no ſmall degree in the honourable colonel's popularity, and in fact was commonly conſidered as meriting all the reſpect and gratitude due to the moſt important and diſintereſted public ſervices. Towards the Duke of York, the gratification of her perſonal feelings was complete. Her revenge was fated to the utmoſt, and ſhe had moreover the triumph of, after all, extorting that which, to ſay the truth, ought to have been done before; and which, if done, would have ſpared both the government and the country the pain and ſcandal of this lamentable inquiry. Soon after the cloſe of the inveſtigation,

it was announced that Mrs. Clarke was about to publiſh Memoirs of her Life, which would include the whole hiſtory of her connection with the royal duke, together with many of his letters. The threatened publication, however, was diverted by the payment, as it is affirmed, of 7,000*l.* to Mrs. Clarke, and the aſſuring to her and her children of an annuity of 400*l.* a year. Ten thouſand copies of the work, which had been already ſtruck off, were deſtroyed, and all the parties concerned declared, upon oath, that no trace of the work remained, either in print or manuſcript, with the exception of a ſingle copy, ſecured under ſeven ſeals, which was probably preſerved with the view of detecting, by the identification of the ſuppreſſed work, any ſubſequent infraction of the agreement.

CHAP. VI.

General Obſervations on the Conduct of Parties in the progreſs of the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Duke of York. Popular Sentiment upon the ſubject. Miſconceptions prevalent as to the Merits of the Caſe. Sir Francis Burdett brings before the Houſe the Conſideration of a late Grant to Colonel Gordon of a Piece of Ground belonging to Chelſea Hoſpital. Mr. Huſkiſſon's Explanation of the buſineſs. Matter is inquired into, and the Grant recalled. Popularity of all projects tending to Reform. Lord Folkeſtone's Motion for a Committee to inquire into all corrupt practices in any Department of the State. Supported by Mr. Whitbread, and oppoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Ponſonby, and Mr. Canning. Negatived by a large Majority. Bill brought in by Mr. Perceval, and paſſed, making it Penal to traffic in Public Offices. Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Diſtribution of Eaſt India Patronage. Caſe of Lord Caſtlereagh and the Writerſhip. Lord Archibald Hamilton moves a Vote of Cenſure upon him. Defence of Lord Caſtlereagh. Lord Binning moves the Order of the Day, which is oppoſed by Mr. William Wynn and Mr. Ponſonby. Mr. Windham propoſes a middle courſe, and deprecates the proceedings of the Reformers. Mr. Whitbread ſupports the Reſolutions. Mr. Canning propoſes an Amendment, which is carried upon a Diviſion. Mr. Madock's Motion reſpecting the Conduct of Mr. Perceval and Lord Caſtlereagh in the Affair of Mr. Quintin Dick. Unprecedented manner in which it is firſt brought forward. Renewed on a ſubſequent occaſion. Speech of Mr. Perceval. Mr. Cartwright oppoſes it. Supported by Mr. Tierney. Mr. Ponſonby, and Mr. Windham diſapprove of it, and it is rejected. Mr. Curwen's Bill for the Prevention of the Sale of Seats in Parliament. Oppoſed by Mr. Windham upon its firſt Introduction. The Houſe go into a Committee upon it. Able Speech of Mr. G. Johnſton upon the Subject of Reform. Sir Francis Burdett oppoſes the Bill, as inadequate and deluſive. Mr. Wilberforce ſupports it. Admirable Speech of Mr. Windham upon the general Queſtion of Reform. Speech of the Speaker. Alterations introduced by Mr. Perceval. Mr. Curwen continues to ſupport it. Singular Title propoſed by Lord

Folkeſtone. The Bill is ſent to the Lords, and paſſed. Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Reform. Negatived. Mr. Wardle explains his Plan of Economical Reform. Action brought againſt him by an Upholſterer, for the furniſhing of Mrs. Clarke's Houſe. He indicts Mrs. Clarke and Wright for Perjury. Verdict againſt him. Subſcription to indemnify his loſſes.

THE inquiry reſpecting the conduct of the Duke of York, abſorbed, throughout the whole of its duration, the undivided attention of the country, in a manner and to a degree unparalleled in the inſtance of any other public affair ſince the time of the revolution. This feeling extended to all claſſes of the community, down even to the very loweſt; and it was obſerved, that the many who in general took little or no part in matters of political intereſt, on this occaſion participated in the common concern and curioſity.

This diſpoſition of the public was foſtered by the efforts of a certain portion of the daily and weekly preſs, in a manner ſufficiently inconſiſtent with the purpoſes of impartial juſtice. From the very beginning of the inquiry, a ſtrong and unqualified prejudication of the whole merits of the caſe had been inſtilled into the bulk of the people by the aſſiduous and malignant induſtry of theſe journaliſts; and the ſame groſs miſconception of the ſubject continued to prevail for ſome time after the cloſe of the inveſtigation. In no inſtance whatever, had the ſubſtantial independance of parliament the juſt weight of the popular ſentiment, or the irreſiſtible force of public juſtice, (as grounded upon and guaranteed by the inſtitutions of the country,) to overcome every poſſible combination of influence, or power, or intereſt, on the part of the government, been more ſtrikingly manifeſted than in the conduct and event of this inquiry; and yet that conduct and that event was, at the moment, conſidered by a very large portion of the people as the moſt unequivocal evidence of the exiſtence of ſyſtematic corruption in the government. The miſapprehenſion was in fact twofold. The evidence againſt the duke, in no ſingle point, amounted to any thing like proof, and, in reality, from the nature of it, would ſcarcely have been liſtened to in a court of juſtice. That there was ground of doubt it would not be eaſy to deny, and undoubtedly the preſumptions connected with that evidence would aſſume a greater or leſs appearance of cogency as contemplated by different minds, under various points of view. But had the grounds of theſe preſumptions been much ſtronger than we confeſs to us they appear to have been, the deciſion of acquittal on the part of the Houſe of Commons, when acting in a judicial capacity, would have been perfectly juſtifiable upon every principle of legal deciſion; at the ſame time that the exiſtence of matter for ſuſpicion, leſs plauſible even than that which was actually adduced, would have more than ſufficed to render the removal of the duke from an office ſo important, not merely adviſable, but neceſſary. The conduct of the houſe, therefore, throughout the whole

whole progreſs of the affair, appears to us to leave nothing to be deſired; but the general conviction was, that the teſtimony againſt the duke was irreſiſtible, and that its concluſiveneſs, as to the guilt of his royal highneſs, could not be honeſtly miſtaken. Although, therefore, the ſubſequent reſignation of his royal highneſs ſatisfied the objects of the people, as far as he was concerned, and, in fact, by its appearance of voluntary ſubmiſſion to the popular ſentiment, went far to diſarm it of its reſentment, yet, as it did not ſeem to be immediately connected with the deciſion of the Houſe of Commons, which had reſolved his acquittal, that acquittal was thought to have been given in the face of evidence the moſt unimpeachably concluſive, and to afford of itſelf a deciſive proof of the operation of undue or corrupt influence upon the minds of thoſe who had pronounced it.

The conduct of the ſeveral parties in the houſe upon the occaſion, contributed further to favour this conſtruction; and, in fact, gave it ſome colouring of probability. The miniſtry, from the commencement of the inquiry, had arranged themſelves as a body in ſupport of the Duke of York, and, by the predetermined and ſyſtematic air of their defence, in ſome meaſure detracted from its efficiency. On the other hand, the chiefs of the whig party had in the firſt inſtance hung back, they even ſeemed to diſcountenance the inquiry upon its firſt propoſition, and throughout the whole of its continuance ſtudiouſly kept aloof from any immediate interference in the furtherance or management of its progreſs; and this behaviour, though perfectly juſtifiable in itſelf, from the circumſtances of the caſe, yet ſeemed ſo little in keeping with the uſual ſpirit of their oppoſition, that it was almoſt univerſally attributed to the operation of certain prudential conſiderations, the admiſſion of which was ſcarcely to be reconciled to their general profeſſions of public ſpirit and independence. It was not obſerved, that whatever might be objected to the conduct of the leaders of the various parties, the houſe itſelf, on this occaſion, had for moſt part ſhewn itſelf ſufficiently independent of party motives; a diſtruſt of all parties became general; and the reformers, who had all along diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a prepoſſeſſion againſt the innocence of the Duke of York, much more violent and unjuſtifiable than any which they could reproach his friends as having ſhewn in his favour, became for a moment almoſt the ſole depoſitaries of the popular confidence and eſteem.

Nothing can better illuſtrate the ſingular ſuſceptibility upon the ſubject of government abuſes, which the agitation of this inquiry had produced in the public mind, than an affair which occurred ſhortly after, and which, except for the purpoſe of thus illuſtrating the ſtate of the popular feeling, we ſhould ſcarcely have thought worthy of mentioning in a work like the preſent. On the 13th of April, Sir Francis Burdett inquired of miniſters whether what he had underſtood was true, that a portion of the ground belonging to Chelſea Hoſpital, lying along the banks of the River Thames, and particularly calculated for the air and exerciſe of the penſioners, had lately

lately been configned over to the uſe and poſſeſſion of Colonel Gordon. Mr. Huſkiſſon admitted, that it had been thought proper that the ground belonging to the hoſpital, which could not be better diſpoſed of, ſhould be let for building, and that Colonel Gordon had thus become a holder of that part of the ground. On the following day, Sir Francis recurred to the ſubject, and ſtated, that having perſonally examined the ſite of the intended building, he was convinced that ſuch an erection ſhould not be permitted, but that the whole bargain ſhould be revoked. Mr. Long explained, that an infirmary being wanted, the ground in queſtion was purchaſed, and the portion deemed neceſſary for that purpoſe being ſet apart, the reſt was valued by the ſurveyors, according to the act for the diſpoſal of the crown lands. Colonel Gordon offered himſelf as a purchaſer, and better terms he was perſuaded could not have been obtained, had the ground been put up at a public auction. Every proviſion had been made that the leſſee ſhould not by his building, in any degree, incommode the infirmary; and he was convinced, that when the neceſſary papers were before the houſe, the hon. baronet would himſelf ſee the propriety of declining to take any further proceeding in the matter. Sir Francis, however, perſiſted that the whole affair bore a very ſuſpicious aſpect; and the facts admitted by miniſters, that the whole ground had been valued on oath by the ſurveyors, at 6,000*l.* and, on the ſame oath, the land let to Colonel Gordon eſtimated at 52*l.* a year, ſeemed in ſome meaſure to confirm the hon. baronet's opinion, when he further explained to the houſe that the whole land in queſtion conſiſted of four acres and a quarter, of which the quarter acre was ſet apart for the infirmary, and the remainder let out to Colonel Gordon upon the terms above mentioned.

Shortly after Mr. Huſkiſſon took occaſion to inform the houſe, that having, in conſequence of the diſcuſſion which had taken place, examined in perſon the place of the propoſed erection, he felt diſſatisfied with it, as being very inconvenient for the infirmary, and that in conſequence, after a conſultation with the governors of the hoſpital, the ſite of the intended houſe was removed. But he wiſhed it to be underſtood, that this removal did not take place on account of any change of opinion on the part of the treaſury, with regard to the grounds originally laid before them. Sir Francis Burdett, from indiſpoſition, was not preſent upon this occaſion. He was, however ſufficiently recovered to attend when about a fortnight afterwards, Sir Oſwald Moſeley moved for a committee, to inveſtigate the whole tranſaction, and propoſed that the medical men, ſurveyors and architects, who had been conſulted, ſhould be examined at the bar. April 20. May 5.

The chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, that he could ſcarcely think gentlemen ſerious in propoſing to call witneſſes to the bar, and conſume ſo much of the time of the houſe, on a buſineſs of this nature, but ſtill leſs would it appear neceſſary when they had heard the ſtatement he was about to make. The caſe had been ſince inquired into

into both by the governors of Chelſea Hoſpital and the treaſury, and, on a communication with Colonel Gordon, he expreſſed himſelf very ready to extend the ſpace toward the infirmary. The governors had ſince thought it would be adviſeable to make other additions to the infirmary, and that perhaps they might want the whole of the ground, and they therefore wrote to the treaſury to know whether the contract with Colonel Gordon was ſo concluded as to prevent this: it was replied, that the treaſury conceived the contract to be in ſuch a ſtage that Colonel Gordon had an equitable title to a leaſe from them; that it was intended that other ſurveyors and phyſicians ſhould make their report, and if it ſhould be found that the grounds were neceſſary for the infirmary, government would certainly endeavour to prevail on Colonel Gordon to give them up. There could, however, be no ſort of blame attached to miniſters for judging, not with their own eyes, but thoſe of men who knew the value of lands, and were ſworn ſurveyors. Sir Francis Burdett was of a different opinion. He inſiſted that the bargain, ſo far as it affected the public, was an abſolute job—the job of all jobs, and one which ought to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *the job*. This was the only ſpot in England fit for the purpoſe of an infirmary for the hoſpital, and he would be happy to give double the ſum Colonel Gordon was to pay for it, and ſecure it on any of his eſtates, for the ſole purpoſe of giving it up to the hoſpital, rather than this monument of national magnificence ſhould be diſfigured. For himſelf, he could not ſee ſuch tranſactions going forward without taking notice of them, though he had no doubt but that in theſe demure times the cry would be raiſed againſt him. He knew not by what name he ſhould be aſſailed; jacobin, he ſuppoſed, was grown too ſtale and worn out, and gentlemen began to be aſhamed of it; but it ſignified not to him what it was; he would wear any name that went along with the reformation of abuſes.

Mr. William Smith could not believe that miniſters were capable of making ſuch a diſpoſition as to give it the colour of a job, and yet it ſeemed ſtrange that the houſe which was to be converted into an infirmary, with the ſmall piece of land adjoining, was valued at 6,380*l.* and remainder, conſiſting of four acres, let at 52*l.* a year. Mr. Long obſerved, that the board of treaſury had never heard a word of complaint on the ſubject until the morning of the very day on which Sir Francis Burdett had firſt mentioned it in the houſe, and they immediately began an inveſtigation of the matter, and had continued it ever ſince. He wiſhed the minutes of evidence taken before the board, ſince the 13th of April, ſhould be laid before the houſe, and it would be then ſeen what had been done. Mr. Stuart Wortly remarked, that in characteriſing this affair as the worſt of all jobs, as by excellence *the job*, the hon. baronet had given us grounds to take credit to ourſelves for a more than ordinary ſhare of virtue. On a diviſion the motion was rejected by a majority of 170 to 73.

It was to be expected that ſo favourable

favourable a diſpoſition of the public mind, for the promotion of their projects of national amelioration, would not be overlooked by the reformers. Accordingly, ſhortly after the cloſe of the inveſtigation, Lord Folkeſtone moved for the appointment of a committee, to inquire into the exiſtence of any corrupt practices, with regard, both to the diſpoſal of offices in any department of the ſtate, and to the purchaſe and ſale of commiſſions in the army. Lord A. Hamilton and Mr. Whitbread ſupported the motion, which was oppoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Wynn, on the ground of the vague and indefinite nature of its operation, which went to an inquiry into all corrupt practices and abuſes, without any reſtriction as to time, place, or circumſtance.

April 17.

Mr. Tierney obſerved, with warmth, that the object of the motion was no leſs than to araign the whole ſyſtem of the government of the country, to embody, as it were, ſuſpicion againſt it; to impute corrupt practices to the admiralty and every other department, without the ſhadow of evidence, and put them all upon their trial without the allegation of a ſpecific charge. Doubts were undoubtedly entertained of the purity of ſome parts of the government; public opinion was ſtrongly excited on the ſubject of theſe abuſes; but however anxious he might be to oppoſe corrupt practices, and to puniſh the delinquents, no popular cry ſhould make him vote for a motion of this nature. Mr. Ponſonby declared that it was impoſſible that on ſuch grounds only, the Houſe of Commons would adopt a reſolution, which tended, in fact and in ſubſtance, to criminate every man in every department of the ſtate. This, he continued, is a moſt ſerious charge, particularly when it is conſidered with what avidity every thing alleged againſt this houſe is received out of doors. The people are induſtriouſly told, that there is no diſtinction whatever in this houſe; that we are all rogues and knaves alike; that it does not ſignify in what hands the government is placed, for provided they are parliamentary, the country can expect nothing but corruption." Theſe, he affirmed, to be moſt foul and infamous calumnies, and he maintained, there were men in that houſe at leaſt as honeſt, as upright, and as uncorrupt, as thoſe who made theſe groſs and unfounded charges. Mr. Canning could conceive no rational or practical purpoſe for which this motion was brought forward. It gave no hope of immediate advantage to the people; but it held out the whole caſte and claſs of public men to ſuſpicion. They were all repreſented as ſtruggling for places and power; as having nothing in view but the emoluments of office. The emoluments of office! if there was a man who conſidered the labours of an official ſituation, the anxieties that were undergone, the warfare which a public man had to ſupport, not only in that houſe, but from the malignity which aſſailed him out of it, and could think that theſe things were to be compenſated for money, he did not envy him his feelings, or the frame of his mind. The noble lord might ſucceed in fixing this imputation

imputation upon public men, and in driving them from power; in rendering them a degraded claſs, that he, and thoſe who ſupported him, might ſucceed to that ruin and that degradation. Upon a diviſion, only 30 members were found to ſupport the motion, againſt 178 who voted for its rejection.

In conſequence of the diſcloſures which had taken place in the courſe of the late inquiries, a proſecution had been commenced againſt certain perſons in the city for trafficking in public offices; and a bill was brought in by Mr. Perceval and paſſed, making it highly penal to ſolicit money for the procuring of offices, or to circulate any advertiſement with that view. While it was yet under diſcuſſion, a caſe of political jobbing was reported to the houſe, by the committee which had been appointed to inquire into the mode of diſtribution of Eaſt India patronage. It appeared from the confeſſions of the parties themſelves, that Lord Caſtlereagh, being at that time preſident of the board of controul, had placed at the diſpoſal of Lord Clancarty a writerſhip, to be given to a Mr. Reding, as the price of a ſeat in parliament. The ſame Mr. Reding purpoſing to diſpoſe of this appointment for 3,000 guineas. Soon after this diſcloſure, Lord Archibald Hamilton brought the facts under the conſideration of the houſe, and moved, that Lord Caſtlereagh had been guilty of a violation of his duty, an abuſe of his official influence and authority, and an attack upon the purity and conſtitution of the houſe. Lord Caſtlereagh, in a tone of ſubmiſſive apology for, rather than defence of his conduct, urged, that in this tranſaction he had no ſuſpicion of the improper motives from which Mr. Reding was acting; he had thought it perfectly fair for one friend to ſerve another at an election, and with that view had felt no heſitation in giving a writerſhip to any reſpectable gentleman's ſon or nephew, who could promote Lord Clancarty's intereſt; particularly as he had eſpecially reſerved to himſelf the diſcretion of determining whether the party recommended was properly eligible. Lord Binning allowed, that he could not defend his noble friend upon principle, yet, as he could ſee no corrupt deſign in the tranſaction, he ſhould move the order of the day. This was objected to, on the ground, that whatever might be the degree of criminality in the conduct of the noble lord, or whatever palliation it might admit, it was impoſſible, conſiſtently with the courſe preſcribed by act of parliament, to paſs it over unnoticed. Mr. Wynn obſerved, that a negociation, upon a corrupt principle, had been intended to be carried into effect, and that although the intention might not be equally criminal with the completion, it was not to be inferred that it implied no offence at all. However familiar ſuch tranſactions may have been, in a caſe like the preſent there was no option for their deciſion. Their duty was chalked out. He knew there was many who were diſpoſed to maintain, that the influence over electors was not injurious, and that little diſadvantage reſulted from the practice of bribery; but when

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April 25.

a caſe

a caſe of this kind was made out, they were bound in duty to purſue the courſe preſcribed by law, and by act of parliament. Had the act been carried into effect, expulſion would have been, in his opinion, the leaſt penalty that could have been applied to the offence. He did not wiſh to puniſh the intention with the ſame ſeverity; but ſtill leſs did he agree that it ſhould be paſſed over without notice.

Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. William Smith ſupported the reſolutions, and enforced the neceſſity of a general reform. Mr. Windham could approve neither of the original reſolutions, nor of the propoſition of Lord Binning. The latter, he thought, would expoſe them to miſconſtruction; the former were too ſtrong for the offence. He admitted, that any attack upon the privileges of that houſe, or the freedom and purity of elections, was a very fair and fit object for parliamentary cognizance. But, he aſked, whether it was meant to apply to any man influencing, or endeavouring to influence a vote, or procure a ſeat under any circumſtances; or whether it was meant to limit it to miniſters. If ſo, there was not a place in the kingdom that ſent members to parliament, with, perhaps, the exception of Old Sarum, to which it would not apply. When they were called upon ſo violently to condemn the noble lord, they would do well to aſk themſelves, whether they would heſitate, for the purpoſe of ſecuring an election, to recommend a friend to government? With reſpect to the cry which was raiſed about reform, he obſerved, that it was notorious that there were hundreds, and he feared, thouſands, and tens of thouſands, who ſpeculated upon a change. Some might, no doubt, be influenced by worthy motives. Others, with different views, wiſhed to throw all into confuſion, and take their chance as it is called. But he truſted, that whatever government was in the country, would be ſtrong and firm enough to reſiſt. The moment a ſingle brick was taken out of the edifice, on this principle, its entire ruin muſt follow. Such reform would inevitably end in revolution. As to parliamentary reform, he never ſaw any change propoſed that had either common ſenſe or practicability to recommend it.

Mr. Whitbread did not believe there were any conſiderable body of men in the country hoſtile to the conſtitution. The people collectively were attached to the crown, and to the perſon of the reigning monarch, and nothing but the egregious folly of miniſters could alter that attachment. Reform, however, had become neceſſary. The unyielding ſpirit of oppoſition to reform had been the principal cauſe of the ruin of the continent. States had fallen, when a trifling conceſſion might have preſerved them. With reſpect to the caſe before them, he thought it was impoſſible to paſs it over, and he ſhould, therefore, ſupport the reſolution of his noble friend.

After ſome diſcuſſion, Mr. Canning moved an amendment, that "it was the duty of this houſe to maintain a jealous guard over the purity and independence of

of parliament; but, that this houſe duly weighing all the circumſtances of the caſe, and conſidering that the intention referred to was not carried into effect, does not think it neceſſary to come to a criminatory reſolution upon the ſame." Upon a diviſion the original motion was rejected by 216 to 167, and Mr. Canning's amendment carried by 214 to 167.

Shortly after Mr. Madocks called the attention of the houſe to certain charges, which May 5. he was about to bring forward againſt Mr. Perceval and Lord Caſtlereagh, for having been guilty of corrupt and criminal practices, in order to procure members to be elected into parliament; and he moved, that theſe charges be heard at the bar on the following Tueſday. Lord Caſtlereagh happened to be abſent, but Mr. Perceval roſe, under evident agitation, and obſerved, that in the whole of his acquaintance with the proceedings of that houſe, he had never known any inſtance when an accuſation was brought forward againſt a member, the ſubſtance of which was not previouſly communicated to him, and that through the common courteſy of the houſe, he was not allowed to be heard in his defence. The hon. member, however, was the beſt judge of the courſe he meant to purſue; and it only remained to him (Mr. Perceval) to make his bow and withdraw. The general ſenſe of the houſe was entirely with the chancellor of the exchequer; the offer of Mr. Madocks to withdraw his motion was refuſed, and it was negatived without a diviſion.

On the 11th, however, that gentleman renewed his charges in a more regular form. He firſt moved, that the reſolution of 1779 be read, declaring it to be "highly criminal for any ſervant of the crown, to make uſe, directly or indirectly, of the power of his office, in order to influence the election of members of parliament," and after ſome preliminary obſervations on the exiſting corruptions, he proceeded to affirm, that Mr. Quintin Dick had purchaſed a ſeat for the borough of Caſhel, through the agency of the Hon. H. Welleſley, who acted on behalf of the treaſury; that upon a recent occaſion, of the laſt importance, (the inquiry reſpecting the Duke of York) when Mr. Dick had reſolved to vote according to his conſcience, Lord Caſtlereagh had intimated to him the neceſſity, either of his voting with government, or reſigning his ſeat in that houſe, and that Mr. Dick had in conſequence vacated his ſeat; and this tranſaction, to which he charged Mr. Perceval with being privy, he engaged to prove by witneſſes at the bar.

Mr. Perceval obſerved, that from the tone and ſubſtance of the hon. gentleman's ſpeech, it did not appear, that the vindication of the honour of the houſe was ſo much the object, as the purſuit of what was denominated "a certain ſyſtem." They lived in a time in which the popular appetite fed upon attacks upon public men. The favourite doctrine was, that public men muſt neceſſarily be

be corrupt, and they were the pureſt patriots who, no matter by what means, proſecuted the moſt charges againſt them. Whether, at ſuch a time, it would be wiſe to warrant ſuch ſpecies of charges, as merely introductory to the great queſtion of reform, he left it to the houſe to determine. Perhaps they would feel it to be their indiſpenſible duty not to eſtabliſh a precedent, that would introduce a ſyſtem of inquiſitorial proceedings, fraught with violent inroads upon all ſpecies of private and ſocial confidence. For himſelf, he thought it would be more conſiſtent with what he owed the public, if he declined putting the plea he could ſo conſcientiouſly put in, until the houſe had come to a determination on the propriety of entertaining the charge or not. He ſhould then come forward prepared and authoriſed to meet that charge, and he did not deſpair of his explanation proving ſatisfactory to the houſe, and vindicatory of his own honour. After this ſtatement, in which Lord Caſtlereagh expreſſed his entire concurrence, they both withdrew; and Mr. Madocks begged leave to move "that the matter of the charge be heard at the bar of the houſe." Mr. Cartwright oppoſed the motion, and deprecated any meaſure tending to what was called reform. He thought ſuch innovation, both unneceſſary in itſelf, and ill-timed at the preſent moment, when we were engaged in a ſerious conteſt with the moſt formidable enemy that had ever menaced the country: and he denied, what was ſo often aſſerted, that the general ſenſe of the country was in favour of any ſuch proceeding. Mr. Tierney approved of the motion, which he thought had no immediate connection with the queſtion of parliamentary reform. Upon this ſubject his opinions were what they always had been, but he did not think, that the ſenſe either of the country or of parliament was decidedly in uniſon with them. The queſtion had been raiſed merely by the buſineſs of the Duke of York; and, he believed, there were many who ſupported the cry for parliamentary reform, who had no ſpecific view of the ſubject which they themſelves deſired to attain. What many underſtood by a parliamentary reform, was a relief from the weight of taxes; and hence the facility with which, without any wiſh to overturn the eſtabliſhments of the conſtitution, they liſtened to any project that ſeemed to encourage the hope of ſuch alleviation. Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Wilberforce ſupported the motion, which was oppoſed by Mr. Windham, who obſerved, that no one could have compelled Mr. Quintin Dick to vacate his ſeat. He had, probably, gone to miniſters to conſult them as to the line which he ought to purſue, and finding he could not conſcientiouſly vote with them, he might have tendered his ſeat again to thoſe from whom he had received it. Mr. Ponſonby obſerved, that no one had a ſtronger claim upon his reſentment than Lord Caſtlereagh, ſtill he could not think it proper to puniſh individuals for what had been ſo generally practiſed by

by others. This seems to have been the general feeling of the house, for on a division, Mr. Madock's motion was lost by a majority of 225 over the 85 who supported it.

Previous to the agitation of this question, Mr. Curwen had obtained leave to introduce a bill, for the better security of the independence of parliament. The principal provisions proposed were, that the oaths against bribery should be administered to the elected, that penalties should be imposed on the sale of a seat in parliament, or the contracting for one, and that the bribery laws should be extended to agents, or other persons, attempting to corrupt electors during the whole period of the parliament, with the view of precluding their receiving a corrupt consideration for their votes at any after time. This measure was opposed by Mr. Windham *in limine*. He said he had long been of opinion, that the house ought strenuously to oppose, as dangerous and mad, any proposal for parliamentary reform: every system and every feature of which that had hitherto been produced, was, in his mind, extravagantly, and even ludicrously wrong; and when Mr. Curwen inferred, that the unanimity of the people was to be obtained by this measure, he was totally at a loss to understand his meaning: it would be impossible to produce a plan, at which one party or the other would not snap their fingers. One set of reformers say, we will go so far; another set say, you shall go further; so that once permitted to begin, there was no knowing where, or at what they would stop. It was blindness, infatuation, and madness, in the people to think of relieving themselves by pulling the government to pieces.

May 4.

Mr. Perceval observed, that he could not, at that time, form an opinion on the grounds on which Mr. Curwen meant to obtain his object. To him it appeared impracticable; but he should not oppose the bringing in of the bill, in order that the house might be enabled to judge of its merits or demerits.

Upon the motion, that the house do go into a committee upon the bill, Mr. George Johnstone rose, and in a speech of great clearness and ability, opposed it, not merely as unnecessary, but as likely to lead to greater evils than those which it sought to cure. In refutation of the cant of the day, he vindicated the present comparative purity of public men and public bodies, and shewed, by instances, that so far were we from having degenerated from that unbending integrity of conduct ascribed to our ancestors, there was, on the contrary, in the habitual practice of the legislature, proofs of a degree of independance, of public spirit and virtue, not to be found in the history of any nation, or the proceedings of parliament in any former age. In illustration of this, he instanced the conduct of ministers in receiving bribes during the boasted era of King William; the confessed embezzlements of Walpole and Stanhope in the succeeding reign; the abuses practised by members of the house, in respect of the South

May 26.

Sea bubble, and the corporation for the poor. With reſpect to the independence of parliament, he obſerved, that no longer ago than 1769, when it was propoſed to pay the debts of the civil liſt, parliament voted the money required; and yet miniſters refuſed to produce the accounts by which alone the propriety and neceſſity of the grant could be judged. In theſe times would any miniſter dare thus to conduct himſelf? With reſpect to the abuſes ſaid to exiſt in the expenditure of the public reſources, when the prodigious magnitude of the ſervices carried on were conſidered, it was only to be wondered at that theſe abuſes were not greater. A revenue, exceeding 60,000,000*l.* was collected at no greater expence than 2,700,000*l.*; a leſs rate than is paid by many individuals for the ſale of their ſugars, or is allowed by the chancellor to the receiver of any landed eſtate under his authority. The fact was, that the conſtitution had been, and was in a progreſſive ſtate of amendment. Parliament was, in effect, reforming itſelf, and every borough in the kingdom was attempting to free itſelf from the controul of the patron by which it had hitherto been ruled. The natural operation of this feeling, if left to itſelf, would anſwer every reaſonable purpoſe that could be ſtated; and he implored the houſe to pauſe, before it gave countenance to innovations, the effect of which no human wiſdom could foreſee.

Sir John Newport and Mr. William Smith ſupported the motion, which was objected to by Mr. Davies Giddy, who obſerved, that corruption, influence, and property, were as cloſely connected as uſury and money. Property muſt neceſſarily give a perſon influence, which would naturally tend to procure the returns of members to parliament. Sir Francis Burdett alſo oppoſed the meaſure, but upon very different grounds. He particularly adverted to the doctrines promulgated by Mr. Johnſtone; doctrines ſo ſubverſive of every ſound principle of the conſtitution of parliament, that he was at a loſs how to diſcuſs them. It had been ſaid, in defence of the boroughs, that they brought adventurers, and men of talent into parliament. But they wanted no adventurers; what was required, was a check upon government, and for this purpoſe a Houſe of Commons, properly conſtituted, might very well anſwer, without being made a kind of theatre for the exerciſe of debating powers and political talents. With reſpect to the bill before them, it would only aggravate the evil. As the laws againſt uſury gave the monopoly to the worſt deſcription of people, ſo this bill would give the monopoly of the ſeat-trade to the treaſury. Unleſs you ſtopped the market altogether, you only did injury by preventing a free traffic. If the houſe was not to be compoſed of the repreſentatives of the people, it would be infinitely better to have an auction of ſeats; to have a public mart, where all might go and conduct matters openly. The barter might then be turned to ſome advantage. In the firſt place the money might be applied to public purpoſes. We might then get rid of the delicacy

cacy which ſtill remained upon theſe ſubjects, and ſpeak openly what every one knew; although he ſaw no reaſon why the ears of gentlemen ſhould be more delicate than their conſciences. Another advantage would be, that the man who purchaſed with his money, would, in all probability, be more independant than placemen, and thoſe who repreſented their patrons. Sir Francis then alluded to the reproach which had been caſt againſt his friends, for not deſiring a change of miniſters. But why ſhould they deſire any change? They did not ſee that miniſters conducted matters in at all a worſe way than their predeceſſors, who taunted him for being of no party. The only return he could make to the great body who had ſent him there, was to refrain from tormenting miniſters, and to ſtand up only on great conſtitutional points, as a guardian of the rights and privileges of the people.

Mr. Wilberforce profeſſed himſelf in favour of the meaſure, which was decidedly oppoſed by Mr. Windham, in a ſpeech of long and elaborate argument; in the courſe of which he diſcuſſed and analyzed the whole queſtion of reform, with the moſt profound and diſtinguiſhed ability. He deprecated the meaſure as ill-timed, injudicious, founded upon falſe views, and falſe facts; the whole meaſure reſting upon an aſſumption, which, in the ſenſe in which it was uſed, he utterly denied; namely, that the tranſactions in queſtion were corrupt, or acts of that ſort which thoſe who commit them know at the time to be wrong, which degrade the perſon in his own opinion, and would, if known, degrade him in that of others; which are attended in the firſt inſtance with injury to others, or at leaſt tend to weaken the authority and obſervance of ſome rule which the intereſts of ſociety require to be upheld.

"Is it meant," ſaid Mr. Windham, "to be ſtated generally, that the ſale of a place of truſt and confidence is, in all circumſtances, and in every inſtance, a corrupt and criminal tranſaction? If it is, then does both the law and practice of various countries, and of this among others, authoriſe tranſactions the moſt corrupt and criminal. I would quote, in the firſt inſtance, the whole of the parliaments under the old monarchy of France; parliaments of a nature to make the diſpoſal of ſeats in them for money, a proceeding, if it were wrong at all, infinitely more wrong than the ſame proceeding would be here, inaſmuch as they were judicial tribunals, in which the whole civil and criminal juſtice of that enlightened kingdom was adminiſtered, and for the moſt part, I believe, moſt ably and uprightly; and yet were all the ſeats of thoſe aſſemblies regularly, publicly, and avowedly, bought and ſold. That theſe tribunals could not be ſuch as our coarſe and narrow prejudices, or our haſty and inconſiderate theories would repreſent them, is demonſtrable from the fact, for no country would conſent for ages together, that the whole ſource of its juſtice ſhould be polluted and corrupt. To look at home, the integrity and purity of our judges is the conſtant ſubject of our boaſt, and yet is it notorious,

that a part of their ſalary, or emolument, ariſes from the ſale of places having duties belonging to them connected with the buſineſs of their courts. The church furniſhes examples, likewiſe, which equally, in fact, contradict the poſition above ſuppoſed. For what does any man do who purchaſes or ſells the advowſon of a living? Does he not, both in effect and intentionally, purchaſe or ſell the nomination to an office of the higheſt truſt and confidence? It is impoſſible, therefore, to maintain ſuch a principle, when the authoriſed and avowed practice of our own country, in departments the moſt exempt from any ſuſpicion of impurity, is in direct contradiction to it.

"In fact, if ſuch a proceeding be corrupt, it will be quite impoſſible to ſtop here, and not to declare corrupt the very influence itſelf which is the ſubject of it. If the buying and ſelling be corrupt, it can only be for reaſons which will make it corrupt, to have the commodity which is capable of being ſo bought and ſold. This is the true ſeat of the grievance, and the true place to which to apply the remedy. So long as there are perſons in a ſituation to ſay, I can make an offer of a ſeat in parliament, ſo long will there be perſons to treat with them for that object; and the only effectual way will be to get rid of the influence altogether. I know how prompt the anſwer will be to this, that no two things can be more remote from each other than the juſt and wholeſome influence of property, and the ſale of ſeats. But recollect that we are here arguing upon principle, the nature of which is to unite things the moſt various and oppoſite in their individual forms and circumſtances, and the queſtion is, not how far things may be diſtinguiſhed, but how far thoſe which are naturally diſtinguiſhed, may be aſſimilated and made one. I am aware that there is much influence, which though ultimately to be traced to property, is ſo remote from its primary ſource, as to retain little or nothing of its original character: inſtances in which all that property may have done, is to have given to virtue the means of acting, and the opportunity of diſplaying herſelf. I am under no apprehenſion for the fate of influence of this ſort. My honourable friend and others, notwithſtanding the operation of this bill, will be at full liberty to lay out their thouſands in acts of beneficence and bounty, in building bridges or endowing hoſpitals, in relieving the wants or advancing the fortunes of the indigent or meritorious. But is this the only way in which property exerts its powers? It is here that the compariſon will begin, and that the queſtion will be aſked, How, if the ſale of a ſeat, or any commutation of ſervices connected with ſuch an object, be groſs corruption, can we tolerate the influence which property gives in biaſſing the minds of thoſe who are to give their vote? How a landlord, for inſtance, ſhould have more influence over his own tenants than thoſe of another man? How a large manufacturer ſhould be able to bring to the poll more of his own workmen than of thoſe of his neighbour? How an opulent man, of any deſcription,

ſcription, ſpending his fortune in a borough-town ſhould be able to talk of his influence among the ſmaller tradeſmen; or to hint to his baker or his butcher, that laying out every week ſuch a ſum with them as he does, he expects that they ſhould oblige him by voting for his friend at the next election. If this is not corrupt in the principles upon which we are now arguing, I know not what is. What has money ſpent with tradeſmen, or work given to manufacturers, or farms let to tenants, to do with the independent and conſcientious diſcharge of their duty in the election of a member to ſerve them in parliament? Or how will thoſe who will hear of nothing but ſtrict principle, attempt to diſtinguiſh between the influence which engages a man's vote by the offer of a ſum of money, and that which forbids the refuſal of it under the penalty of loſs of cuſtom, or leſs of work? I ſhall be curious to hear how the advocates for the principles on which this bill is enforced, will be able to ſhew, that while it is groſs corruption, groſs moral depravity in any one who poſſeſſes ſuch influence, to connect his own intereſt with the uſe of it, even though he ſhould not uſe it improperly, it is perfectly innocent to create that influence by the means juſt deſcribed? Or, on the other hand, if ſuch means are not lawful, how the influence of property is to continue ſuch as has hitherto been practiſed and allowed of?

"When I look, therefore, to the moral qualities of theſe acts, as antecedent to, and independent of, poſitive law, I am at a loſs to find what it is, either upon the ſcore of principle, or authority, that determines them to be corrupt, or diſtinguiſhed from that influence which has hitherto been ſuppoſed to be legitimately attached to property. But, whatever be the moral conſtitution of theſe acts, there is no doubt that the law may render corrupt any act which it pleaſes; and we have to inquire in what degree theſe acts, which generally ſpeaking, are not corrupt, have been rendered ſo by poſitive enactment. It has been ſaid, that the corruption follows of neceſſity, from the laws reſpecting bribery in individual voters; for that it is abſurd to ſuſpect the law of ſuch flagrant inconſiſtency and injuſtice, as to puniſh the poor for bribery in retail, while they ſuffer it to be practiſed with impunity by the rich in wholeſale. There is ſomething ſo wildly inconcluſive in this argument, as to make it difficult to ſet about formally to confute it. There are, or have been, I believe, laws to reſtrain the retail ſale of ſpirits. Should we think that a man argued very wiſely, or concluſively, who ſhould harangue at the door of an alehouſe againſt the juſtice of laws, which could puniſh a publican for ſelling a dram to a poor wretch, while the ſame law did not ſcruple to permit the ſale of theſe ſpirits by wholeſale on the part of the opulent merchant or planter, and ſhould thence take occaſion to aſk, if ſuch was the puniſhment for ſelling a dram, what did they deſerve who ſold theſe ſpirits by whole puncheons and ſhip-loads? The anſwer would be, that theſe acts do not ſtand to each other in the relation of more or leſs, but

are perfectly disparate and dissimilar; are productive of different consequences, and to be regulated by different provisions; and the inference is equally false by which it is concluded, that the sale of a seat must be deemed corrupt because there are laws which prohibit the gift of money to individual voters. Both may be corrupt, and both may require to be prohibited, but not the one on account of the other.

It was our business, then, Mr. W. continued, to ascertain what it was right for us to do, with respect to an object on which neither morals nor law presented to us any certain mode of action. It might be that what was proposed to be suppressed was a political evil, tending to render parliament a less fit instrument for promoting the general welfare. If so, in God's name, let us seriously set about devising the means of suppressing it; taking care that eradicating what is bad we do not injure what is good; that in removing one evil we do not introduce others far greater; above all, that in attempting change in matter so delicate, we are not acting rather in compliance with the clamour of persons out of doors, than in conformity to our own sober, deliberate, and unbiassed judgment.

"The fact was, that the measure could not be considered otherwise than as arising from the innovating temper of the times; as one of the small leading steps which it is hoped may in time be made introductory to the purpose of destroying the government; an object which there were thousands and thousands among us who were labouring night and day to effect. This, it was said, is to libel the nation; but why more so, he would ask, than to say, there are among the people, robbers, and murderers, and offenders, of all descriptions, who, numerous as they are, would show themselves much more so, if the fear of the law did not keep them down? Are there not as powerful motives, passions as strong, and interests as urgent to arm men for the overthrow of all government, as there are to excite them to any other act of violence? There is no government, good or bad, which could boast of owing its stability, (or quiet, at least) to any other cause than the difficulty and danger of any attempt to subvert it. Let but hopes be entertained of the success of the project, and thousands will be found, who, from different motives, some from folly, and some from wickedness; some as knaves, and more as dupes; many from motives of interest, and more from motives of passion; some as fanatics, others from mere restlessness; but far the greater part from some species of bad passion or other, are desirous of seeing some great change in the order of things as established. The means, indeed, may vary. Formerly the attempt was made through the medium of abstract reasoning, and in the case of the French revolution, succeeded. This mode, however, has lost much of its efficacy. In seeking to embody the natural and unavoidable discontents of mankind for the purpose of overturning governments, which is the general description of what I should understand by jacobinism,

jacobiniſm, it has become neceſſary to have recourſe to ſomething more ſolid and ſubſtantial than mere grievances of theory, and to take diſcontents, whether reaſonable or not, ariſing from real cauſes, and then to connect theſe with ſomething, either in the practice, or frame of the government. The diſcontents you are always ſure of. They can never be wanting as long as men are men. In a country like this, eſpecially, where a great portion of our immenſe riches is paid in contribution to the public ſervice, no man will ever think himſelf as rich as he ought to be; and there will ever remain in the feeling excited by the payment of taxes, an inexhauſtible fund of diſcontent, of force ſufficient to produce any effect, provided means can be found to give it proper direction. Theſe burthens, the artificers of revolution, in the preſent day, tell the people, are mainly attributable to the waſteful expenditure of the public money in jobs and corruption; in ſinecure places and penſions. Once perſuade the people, that their payments and burdens are the conſequence of abuſe and miſmanagement in the government, and you produce a ſtate of feeling adequate to almoſt any purpoſe for which it can be wanted.

Mr. Windham then entered into an examination of theſe abuſes, the ſubject of ſo much clamour and reſentment, and of the degree in which they were likely to be corrected by what is called a reform in parliaments. By abuſes were meant either abuſe of patronage, or the embezzling or corruptly applying the public money. With reſpect to this laſt, the idea of ſuch an offence exiſting among thoſe who can properly be called the government, could only be generated in the groſs imaginations of perſons totally ignorant of the principles and motives by which men in ſuch ſituations muſt of neceſſity be actuated. As to the abuſe of patronage, he allowed that the imputation was too frequently juſt, and that nothing could exceed the greedineſs, the ſelfiſhneſs, the inſatiable voracity, the profligate diſregard of all claims from merit or ſervice, which was often ſeen in perſons in high official ſituations, in providing for themſelves or relations. But the evil here, however, had neceſſarily a limit in the number of the claimants. When the leech was full, it would drop off of itſelf. But what ſhould ſet bounds to theſe ſtreams of abuſe, that took their riſe among the people themſelves? to whom, in fact, might be traced the ſource of nine-tenths of the jobs that are done in the army and navy, and other departments of ſtate. Again, with reſpect to the abuſes of fraud, embezzlement, and peculation, by which the expenditure of the country is ſwelled beyond its natural ſize, with what approach to truth or propriety can we ſpeak of theſe as abuſes in the government? Is it an abuſe of the perſons holding high offices, that ſtorekeepers in the colonies embezzle public ſtores, that groſs frauds are daily and hourly practiſed on the revenue; that cuſtom-houſe and exciſe officers are bribed to betray their truſt, and that all thoſe with whom government has dealings have no conſideration but how to cheat the public by every

means in their power? The fact is, when the matter comes to be examined, that it is the people throughout who are cheating the people; the people individually, cheating the people collectively, and then finding in their own frauds and knaveries a reason for tearing to pieces the government. How is government a party to these frauds? its crime, in fact, is that of not being able, with all its efforts, animated even by the strongest sense of self-interest, to prevent the crimes of others. By far the greater portion of the abuses which do finally reach the government, proceed from the people themselves. They are the bribes which government pays to them, directly or indirectly, to prevent them from destroying the government. But the great mass of abuse, forming ninety nine hundredths of the whole, and which alone affects the pockets of the people, both begins and ends with themselves.

"Now the remedy proposed for all this abuse, is to reform the parliament; that is, by extending the representation, to multiply a hundred fold the chief causes to which it is to be at present ascribed. The reform wanted, in fact, is either a reform of the whole people, which it would be childish to expect, or a reform in the government, by arming it with such new powers as would be wholly incompatible with the nature of our constitution. There are but three ways by which mankind can be governed; their virtues, their interests, or their fears. The first would be the better way, but if the fact should be that there are numbers who cannot be brought to support even what they themselves approve, without being paid for it; there is no other way in a free government to carry on the public service, but to gain over such persons by their interests, which, in the language of the time, is to be guilty of corruption—but a corruption, the guilt of which cannot surely be charged on the government. In governments of another sort the case is different; in that of Buonaparte, for instance, there exists no more necessity for corruption, than in a nation of men perfectly wise and virtuous; and I will pay it the homage to say, that it either is, or may be, one of the freest from abuses of any that ever existed." Mr. Windham concluded, by shortly adverting to the particular measure before the house, which he opposed, as meaning to correct a practice which he had endeavoured to shew had no crime or evil in it, abstractedly considered, and as tending to encourage, without in any degree satisfying, the clamours of what was called the public.

The degree of length in which we have ventured to indulge, in attempting to make an abstract of this important speech—a length, nevertheless, very inadequate to the purpose of affording our readers a sufficient idea of its uncommon ability, will necessarily restrict the degree of space which we can afford to the remainder of the debate. When the house was formed into a committee upon the subject, the speaker arose, and in a succinct and able speech, delivered his sentiments upon a point respecting which he conceived the house had an especial claim to demand them. The question before them, he observed, June 1.

ſerved, was whether ſeats in this houſe ſhould henceforth be publicly ſaleable. Upon that they had to decide, aye or no. To do nothing was to do every thing. To forbear, to reprobate the traffic, was to give it legality and ſanction. That the practice was a high parliamentary offence, every page of our hiſtory, ſtatutes, and journals, appeared to him to bear evidence; and with ſuch flagrant proofs of its having broken through all exiſting checks, it became the houſe to put it down by a new prohibitory law. For this purpoſe he ſuggeſted many ſalutary proviſions, of which ſeveral were adopted. But the original bill of Mr. Curwen, in the courſe of its progreſs through the committee, was fated to undergo, from the chaſtening hand of Mr. Perceval, a ſpecies of purgation, which left to it little trace of its original features. The penalty for making any gift or promiſe, to obtain a return, was fixed at 1,000*l.* and the offending perſon was to be rendered incapable of ſitting for the place in queſtion. Mr. Bankes's propoſal, that he ſhould be excluded from the whole of the parliament, to which he had been thus unduly returned, was rejected. Mr. Perceval equally objected to the oath which Mr. Curwen had propoſed to be adminiſtered to the perſon elected, from the difficulty of qualifying and deſcribing the acts, to which it was to refer, with ſufficient preciſion. He moreover conſidered it as utterly unſafe to adopt the clauſe, which in the original bill extended to the promiſe of offices, *expreſs* or *implied*; the effect of which would be, he ſaid, that none would either aſk or receive an office without the riſk of a conviction for a miſdemeanor, however innocent; the only evidence on which the jury would have to decide upon would be, that a member had procured an office for a friend who had voted for him at an election. He ſhould therefore move the omiſſion of the word *implied*. A vehement diſcuſſion took place upon theſe two points, particularly the laſt, which went, it was contended, to diſarm the whole force of the bill; and Lord Henry Petty moved, that the word *expreſs* alſo ſhould be left out. On a diviſion, however, the obnoxious word was retained, by 97 votes to 74. The bill was now diſclaimed by almoſt all its original ſupporters, but Mr. Curwen ſtill continued to it his name and protection.

Mr. Windham ridiculed this affection of the hon. member's for a child not his own, a mere changeling; and obſerved, that he ſeemed to think half his meaſure better than none of it. But though half a loaf was better than no bread, not ſo half a reform. "I deprecated the bill originally," continued he, "becauſe I ſaw the difficulty of ſtopping at the point which might be wiſhed; it is eaſy to remove any abuſe, if the removal of the abuſe were the only thing to be conſidered. To take off a wen, the butcher would do as well as the ſurgeon, were no conſiderations neceſſary of what might be the conſequence of cutting it off unſkilfully. I am no enemy to the influence which the crown at preſent poſſeſſes; the antagoniſt influence which it has to contend with ought to be conſidered: all manner of perſons are uſually conſpiring

ſpiring againſt the government, and it is neceſſary that the government ſhould be ſtrong enough to counteract them. It is degrading and impolitic for a government to comply with every temporary popular opinion; but it is more degrading to delude the people, by giving them what was worſe than nothing." On a diviſion, that the bill do paſs, the members were 97 to 85 in favour of it. The following amendment was then propoſed by Lord Folkſtone, to entitle the bill, "a bill for more effectually preventing the ſale of ſeats in parliament for money, and for promoting a monoply thereof to the treaſury, by means of patronage." The houſe actually divided upon the amendment, and 28 were found to ſupport it.

The bill, on its introduction to the lords, was ſupported June 15. by Lord Liverpool, and oppoſed by Lord Groſvenor. Lord Sidmouth animadverted on much of its proviſions, but approved of it upon the whole, for the ſake of the ſentiments expreſſed in the preamble, which he thought furniſhed good ground for a better ſuperſtructure. It paſſed. On the ſame day Sir Francis Burdett, in the commons, brought forward his plan of reform, which he prefaced by a ſpeech, not diſtinguiſhed either by the novelty of its topics, or the ingenuity of its reaſoning. The plan, as propoſed by the hon. baronet, was that freeholders, houſeholders, and others ſubject to direct taxation in ſupport of the poor, the church, and the ſtate, be required to elect members to ſerve in parliament. That each county be ſubdivided according to its taxed male population, and each ſubdiviſion required to elect one repreſentative; that the votes be taken in each pariſh by the pariſh officers, and all the elections finiſh in one and the ſame day; and that parliaments be brought back to a conſtitutional duration. The advantages of this ſcheme, Sir Francis ſtated to be, that it would be leſs difficult to return a whole parliament, than to ſettle a diſpute at a veſtry about a pauper. There would be no bribery, perjury, drunkenneſs, riot, or jobbing. The political advantages which would follow the adoption of ſuch a reform were incalculable, and the only deſcriptions of perſons who would have to complain of it were the boroughmongers, the lawyers, and the king's printer. He concluded by moving, that "the houſe would early next ſeſſion take into conſideration the neceſſity of a reform in the repreſentation." The diſcuſſion which followed was ſhort, and unimportant. Mr. Perceval pointed out ſome of the inconveniences attending upon the plan, which was ſupported by Mr. Madocks and Mr. Hutchinſon. Upon a diviſion the numbers were, for the motion 15, againſt it 74.

A few weeks before, a meeting of the friends of parliamentary reform had June 19. taken place at the Crown and Anchor, and in the courſe of a ſpeech delivered upon this occaſion, Mr. Wardle was ſtated to have affirmed that, among the other advantages attending on a radical reform, was the adoption of an improved ſyſtem of economy in the national expenditure, by which not leſs than 11,000,000*l.* of taxes might be ſtruck off. In the debate upon Mr. Curwen's bill, Mr. Tierney

Tierney called upon Colonel Wardle to explain the means by which ſo deſirable a conſummation might be effected; and, accordingly, on the laſt day but one of the ſeſſion, that gentleman came forward for the purpoſe of ſubſtantiating his propoſition. We ſhall not follow the hon. gentleman through the detail of an elaborate ſpeech, in the courſe of which he touched upon almoſt every branch of the public ſervice; it will be ſufficient, for the purpoſe of affording the reader ſome notion of the nature of the economical reform propoſed, to extract a few articles from the recapitulation of the ſavings by which this extraordinary retrenchment was to be effected. In the firſt place, the two regiments of horſe-guards were to be diſbanded, our cavalry force reduced a fourth, the foreign corps, 25,000 ſtrong, broken up, the royal ſtaff corps aboliſhed, half of the militia allowed to be abſent during the harveſt months, by which 300,000*l.* would be ſaved; the volunteers made to ſerve without pay or clothing, ſimilar reductions to be made in the local militia, in the commiſſariat, the general ſtaff, the recruiting ſtaff, the medical, barrack, and clothing departments. The other items were chiefly; in the collection of the revenue 1,400,000*l.* audit department 70,000*l.* ſum charged by the bank for management of the national debt 210,000*l.* penſions and ſinecures 200,000*l.* colonies 500,000*l.* catholic emancipation 2,000,000*l.* This laſt article will require ſome explanation. Colonel Wardle was of opinion, that by the adoption of that meaſure, the expence of our military eſtabliſhments in Ireland would become wholly unneceſſary. To the above was to be added a ſaving of nearly 6,000,000*l.* in the naval department, which the colonel took for granted, on the credit of Admiral Markham's aſſertion, that one-third of the naval expences of the country might be retrenched under a proper ſyſtem of adminiſtration. The whole amount of theſe ſavings was between 16 and 17,000,000*l.* He concluded with moving for a ſeries of accounts relating to the expenditure in the various departments he had alluded to. Mr. Huſkiſſon replied to this ſtatement, at greater detail than its prepoſterous abſurdity ſeemed to make neceſſary. The papers moved for were granted without oppoſition.

It may be as well that we ſhould here give, what may almoſt be conſidered as the concluſion of the gallant colonel's political careeer. Shortly after the cloſe of the ſeſſion, an action was brought againſt him by an upholſterer, of the name of Wright, for the amount of goods ſupplied by the plaintiff to Mrs. Clarke, on the credit of Colonel Wardle. The colonel denied that he had in any way made himſelf reſponſible to the tradeſman for the payment; but the evidence adduced, particularly that of Mrs. Clarke herſelf, who explained that ſhe was to receive this favour in return for her information and aſſiſtance in the late inquiry, was ſatisfactory both to the court and jury in favour of Wright, who accordingly obtained a verdict. As Colonel Wardle had, at a public meeting, affirmed his perſuaſion that Mrs. Clarke, in coming forward upon the occaſion of "the inquiry," was actuated ſolely

July 3.

ſolely by *a love for her country*, the diſcloſures which took place upon this trial were, in more ways than one, diſagreeable to him. He immediately publiſhed an addreſs to the nation, in which he affirmed that the verdict had been obtained by *perjury alone*, and pledged himſelf to prove that fact, as ſoon as the forms of the law would allow him. Accordingly, an action was brought againſt Mrs. Clarke and Wright *for a conſpiracy*. The evidence adduced in ſubſtantiation of this charge was in no reſpect concluſive, and went little further than to ſhew that Wright had been in the habit of vouching for the reſpectability of Mrs. Clarke, and had in general an underſtanding with her. In their defence, the defendants lay under conſiderable diſadvantage, for by including them all in an action for conſpiracy, inſtead of adopting the more natural proceeding of ſeparately indicting them for perjury, Colonel Wardle had rendered them incapable of giving teſtimony as to the facts in queſtion. A Mr. Stokes, Mr. Wright's attorney, was however called in, and he affirmed, that having, during the late inveſtigation, received a ſummons to attend the Houſe of Commons, he had waited upon Colonel Wardle, and remonſtrated with him on the danger of his being ſubjected to a croſs-examination, in the courſe of which he might be obliged to confeſs that Mrs. Clarke had told him ſhe expected to derive conſiderable advantage from her evidence. He further aſſerted, that he had adviſed Colonel Wardle not to call Wright, as he did not think that he would conceal the truth reſpecting the furniſhing of the houſe, and that even were he ſo inclined, it was doubtful whether he had head to evade the queſtion. He affirmed too that the colonel had, in both inſtances, acquieſced in his ſuggeſtions. All this Colonel Wardle poſitively ſwore to be falſe. He admitted that he had forborne to call Wright, but denied that it was for the reaſon aſſigned by Stokes, or that Stokes had ever alluded to any ſuch ſubject as the furniſhing of the houſe for Mrs. Clarke. The caſe thus reſted, for the moſt part, upon the ſeveral aſſeverations of Colonel Wardle and Mr. Stokes. Againſt the evidence of this laſt, it was obſerved, as extraordinary, that it had not been brought forward upon the former trial. But upon the whole, both the court and the jury decided in his favour, as having leſs oſtenſible motives to prevent his ſpeaking the truth, and a verdict was given for the defendants. The nature and reſult of theſe trials naturally tended to dim the luſtre of Mr. Wardle's popularity with the bulk of the nation; but his more immediate admirers and partiſans did not as yet abandon him: a ſubſcription was opened, and a ſum of ſome thouſands quickly raiſed, to defray the loſſes and expenſes which he had incurred in the courſe of what was eſteemed his patriotic warfare againſt the public corruptions.

Dec. 11.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Committee of Ways and Means. Amount of Supplies voted. Amount of the Loan. Advantageous Terms upon which it is negociated. Loan to the Prince Regent of Portugal. Eight Millions of Exchequer Bills funded. Vote of Credit for Three Millions taken. Circumstance of Austria's drawing Bills upon this Country without any previous Notice. Mr. Canning explains the Transaction and the Conduct of Ministers upon the occasion. Motion of Mr. Vansittart's respecting the charging the War Taxes with the Interest of the Loan. Moves a series of financial Resolutions, which are agreed to. Finances of Ireland. Amount of her Quota for the Year. Remarks of Sir John Newport upon the Subject. Naval Estimates. Sir Charles Pole observes on sundry Points connected with our Naval Administration. Army Estimates. Lord Castlereagh's Measures for increasing disposeable Force of the Country. Transference of Service from the Militia. Proposed Bounty for enlisting in the Militia. Results of the Measure of a Local Militia. Bill introduced for regulating the Bounties of it. Affairs of the East India Company. Committee of Inquiry renewed. Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Distribution of East India Patronage. Recal of the Persons who had irregularly obtained their Appointments. Motion of Sir T. Turton on the Subject. Report of the Committee of Public Expenditure respecting the Dutch Commissioner. Speech of Mr. Ord, who moves certain Resolutions. Case of Mr. John Bowles. The Chancellor of the Exchequer defends the Conduct of Government in the Affair. Mr. Thornton moves an Amendment, which is carried. Lord Porchester's Motion to prohibit the granting of Offices in Reversion. Mr. Perceval opposes it. It is lost by a small Majority. Mr. Whitbread moves a Resolution to limit the Number of Placemen in the House. Observations of Mr. Rose upon the Subject. Mr. Canning defends the propriety of the Admission of such Persons. The Motion is negatived. Bill brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly to amend the Bankrupt Laws. Account of its Provisions, and of the Evils it is intended to remedy. Remark respecting the inefficiency of the Laws against fraudulent Bankrupts, and the real Cause of it. Bill passed in both Houses. Bill for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, introduced by Sir T. Turton. Lord Erskine's Bill respecting Cruelty to Animals passed the Upper House. Lost in the Commons. Able Speech of Mr. Windham on the Subject. Scotch Judicature Bill. Motion of Mr. Pereval for an Increase of Salary to the Judges. Vote for the Relief of the Poor Clergy. Standing Order moved in the Upper House by Lord Auckland, respecting Introduction of Divorce Bills. Discussion on the Subject in the House of Commons.

ON the 12th of May the house went into a committee of ways and means. From the statement of Mr. Perceval, it appeared that the supplies voted were 53,861,990*l.* or, deducting proportion

portion of ſupply, and civil liſt for Ireland, there would remain on account of England, 47,588,024*l.* To meet theſe ſupplies, the ways and means provided amounted to 47,718,052*l.* leaving a ſurplus of 130,028*l.* The whole of the loan for the year was 14,600,000*l.* of which 3,000,000*l.* were for Ireland, and 600,000*l.* for the Prince Regent of Portugal; ſo that the loan for the ſervice of England was 11,000,000*l.* The terms for which the loan had been taken up were particularly advantageous to the public. The amount of intereſt paid on each 100*l.* was 4*l.* 12s. 10d. a rate at which the nation had never before been able to borrow money, and at which it was hardly poſſible for any individual, however well ſecured or prompt his payment might be, to procure a loan. The loan to the Regent of Portugal was ſecured, both as to the payment of the intereſt, and ultimately of the principal, by an aſſignment of the revenues of the iſland of Madeira, together with a conſignment of ſuch produce of the Braſils, as belonged to the regent, or to his agents, and was at that time in this country.

In a former part of the ſeſſion, Mr. Perceval had ſubmitted a propoſition, which was ſanctioned by the houſe, for funding 8,000,000*l.* of exchequer bills. He now ſtated, that the ſum actually funded under that ſanction was 7,932,100*l.* the capital created by that operation amounted to 8,253,654*l.* The charge for management and ſinking fund upon this capital was 495,221*l.* that upon the loan was 651,345*l.* making the total charge upon both operations 1,146,566*l.** To provide for the greater part of the annual charge thus created, he intended this year to apply to the war taxes, rather than to reſort to any new ſource of taxation; without however meaning, in any future year, to adopt the ſame principle, which he had diſapproved as adopted by Lord Henry Petty. The whole of the charge, however, would not thus be defrayed. By a bill for the conſolidation of the cuſtoms, an addition would be obtained to the permanent taxes of 105,000*l.* and a ſum of nearly the ſame amount by the operation of a ſimilar bill in the war taxes, which would be applied in diminution of the annual charge, ſo that he ſhould not have to apply to the war taxes for much more than one million. In the ſupplies a vote of credit of 3,000,000*l.* for England, had been taken, reſpecting the application of which, any detailed explanation would not then be expected. But there was one circumſtance relating to this ſubject, to which he felt it his duty to refer. No treaty

* Mr. Perceval here obſerved, that the compariſon of the terms upon which the money for the ſervice of laſt year had been raiſed, and thoſe upon which the preſent loan had been effected, was highly ſatisfactory. The amount of exchequer-bills funded laſt year did not exceed four millions, and were funded at an intereſt of 5l. 4s. 9½d., with a ſinking fund charge of 1l. 1s. 2½d. per cent., making together a charge of 6l. 5s. 11¾d. The operation this year was nearly double that of the laſt, and the whole charge upon it was only 6l. 3s. 10½d. per cent. The loan of laſt year amounted to eight millions, and was raiſed at an intereſt of 4l. 14s. 6½d. per cent.; while that for the preſent year, conſiſting of more than fourteen millions, was raiſed at an intereſt of 4l. 12s. 10d.

hoſtilities,

had been entered into with Auſtria previous to the war in which ſhe had lately engaged; nevertheleſs ſhe had, on the commencement of hoſtilities, without any communication with his Majeſty's government, drawn bills upon this country, which bills it had not been deemed right to pay until the circumſtance ſhould be communicated to parliament. A friendly remonſtrance had been immediately tranſmitted to Vienna on the ſubject, and they were told that, if done at all, it muſt be done with the conſent of parliament.

In reply to ſome obſervations of Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Canning remarked, that it was perfectly underſtood by Sweden, that her making a ſeparate peace advantageous to herſelf, if it did not oblige her to become hoſtile to Great Britain, would be acceptable to this country. A ſimilar ſpirit had characteriſed our communications with Auſtria. Government had ſtated that Auſtria, as well as every other nation, was the beſt judge of her own intereſts; that there was no diſpoſition on the part of England, for the ſake of any combination againſt the common enemy, or for any temporary diverſion in the cauſe of Spain, to commit her in a premature ſtruggle, or to ſee her engaged in war on any but Auſtrian grounds. This was the tenor of all our communications with that power. At the ſame time it was ſtated, that if ſhe was committed in war with France, for her own defence, it was the diſpoſition of government to afford her all the limited aſſiſtance which the ſtate of the times allowed. No ſpecific promiſe of aſſiſtance had been held out to her, and indeed the aſſurance in this reſpect had been ſo reſtricted, that it might be doubted whether it would not act as a check, rather than an encouragement. Whatever might be the extent of aid intended, it was thought proper, for obvious reaſons, not to define it. When circumſtances changed in every quarter, not only every month, but every day, it was impoſſible to meaſure the extent of the ſuccour that it might become the liberality, or be neceſſary for the intereſt, of this country to afford; it was therefore thought beſt that ſuch aſſiſtance ſhould be aſked in the ſhape of a vote of credit. A ſhort diſcuſſion followed, in which the moſt remarkable thing was the aſſertion of Mr. Whitbread, that in commencing the war Auſtria had been guilty of a breach of faith; an expreſſion which drew down upon him the moſt pointed animadverſions from Mr. Ponſonby. The reſolutions of the chancellor of the exchequer were then agreed to.

Although the financial ſcheme of the chancellor of the exhequer met with no oppoſition in the firſt inſtance, yet that part of it which went to charge the war taxes with the intereſt of the loan, became ſubſequently the ſubject of a motion of Mr. Vanſittart, who, on the laſt day of the ſeſſion, at the cloſe of a ſpeech in which he ſhewed the impolicy of ſuch a method of meeting the immediate wants of the country, moved a long ſeries of reſolutions relating to the public reſources and expenditure, and tending to ſhew that, under all our difficulties, our means were adequate to every exertion we ſhould be called upon to make. Theſe reſolutions were agreed to without

diſcuſſion

diſcuſſion or oppoſition. (Vide Appendix.)

The quota for Ireland, for the ſervice of the preſent year, was 6,796,769*l.* Iriſh currency, which when added to a charge of 3,690,404*l.* for intereſt and ſinking fund, formed a total ſupply of 10,487,200*l.* To meet this, the ways and means provided conſiſted of, unappropriated balances 1,514,694*l.* eſtimated revenue 4,500,000*l.* loan 4,500,000*l.* in all, 10,514,694*l.* The intereſt and ſinking fund upon the money borrowed would compoſe a charge of 212,800*l.* for the preſent year, which would be defrayed by the eſtimated increaſe of revenue ariſing from a prohibition of the uſe of raw corn in brewery, an increaſe of duty on the ſtrength of ſpirits, and an increaſe of the quantity of work on licenſed ſtills. Sir John Newport doubted the ſufficiency of theſe means to ſupply the deficit in queſtion; and he further obſerved, that it was quite immaterial what portion of groſs revenue was raiſed upon the people, if the expences of the different boards were to be allowed to go on increaſing as they had done hitherto; of this apparent abuſe he quoted ſome glaring inſtances, which however were, for the moſt part, ſatisfactorily explained by Mr. Foſter. Sir John Newport alſo adverted to the ſtate of the funded debt of Ireland, which, he obſerved, had increaſed in the proportion of fifteen to four, while the ratio of the increaſe of revenue was only fifteen to eight and a half.

Feb. 3. It was voted that 130,000 ſeamen ſhould be employed for the preſent year, including 31,400 royal marines. Mr. Ward ſtated, that the eſtimates for this number of ſeamen and marines, were preciſely the ſame in amount with the eſtimates of the laſt year, although a few alterations had been made in the comparative amount of ſome of the branches. The allowance for wear and tear was laſt year taken at 3*l.* per man, while the monthly proviſion for victuals was eſtimated at only 1*l.* 19*s.* per man. The latter eſtimate fell as much below the actual expenditure as the former was above it, and it was therefore thought proper to reduce both to an amount that ſhould be neareſt the truth, by taking a guinea from the allowance for wear and tear, and adding it to that for victuals. The following ſums were then voted by the committee: for wages for 130,000 ſeamen and marines, at 1*l.* 17*s.* per month, 3,126,500*l.* For wear and tear of ſhips during the ſame period, 3,295,500*l.* For victuals for the ſame time, 4,985,500*l.* Mr. Ward obſerved, that the number of ſeamen then actually ſerving in the navy, covered entirely, if it did not exceed, the number which the committee had juſt voted. When the queſtion was put, that the ſum of 591,600*l.* ſhould be voted for ordnance for the number of men voted, Sir Charles Pole took the opportunity to make ſome remarks upon the adminiſtration of our naval affairs. His ſtrictures related chiefly to the ſelection of the naval and victualling commiſſioners, which he contended ſhould be taken from among profeſſional men. He alſo regretted that he did not ſee any proviſion made for the protection and ſupport of the orphans of marine officers, and contended for the propriety

propriety of inſtituting for the navy ſome eſtabliſhment ſimilar to the compaſſionate fund for the army. The ſum was then voted. Upon the bringing in of the marine mutiny bill, Sir Charles took occaſion to remark again upon theſe ſubjects. He particularly complained of the neglected ſtate of the royal marine artillery, and of the tardineſs of promotion in the marines; and he obſerved, that at each diviſion of the marines the ſenior captains were appointed pay captains, and actually kept the accounts of 2000 men, without any increaſe of pay, or remuneration whatever. Mr. Welleſley Pole referred him to a petition which had been preſented to the admiralty, from theſe ſame pay captains, at the time when he himſelf was a member of the board; it had then been anſwered, that the birth was a pretty good one, and that if they did not like it with full pay, and exemption from other duty, they might take their turns of ſervice; ſince that time no further expreſſion of diſſatisfaction had been heard.—The army eſtimates exceeded thoſe of the preceding year by nearly 1,500,000*l.* which increaſe, however, was for the moſt part merely nominal; much that had hitherto been rated under the "heads of contingencies and extraordinaries," being now reduced to diſtinct and ſpecified eſtimate. There was a rough eſtimate of 400,000*l.* for the clothing of the local militia, bnt this ſum would go to provide for the four ſucceeding years. The whole increaſe of expence on that branch of the ſervice was 1,200,000*l.* and was obviouſly accounted for, as that deſcription of force far exceeded the volunteer eſtabliſhment in expence.

The neceſſity of increaſing the regular and diſpoſable force of the country had been recommended to the conſideration of parliament in the ſpeech from the throne; on no topic of which had there been a more general concurrence of ſentiment. To give effect to this, Lord Caſtlereagh had recourſe to the ſyſtem of recruiting from the militia, a meaſure which had been adopted in 1807, and was found, by experience, to be by much the beſt which the exigencies of the times allowed of; of 28,000 men, which was the extent of transfer permitted by the act, 27,000 had actually volunteered. Lord Caſtlereagh however admitted the great preſſure upon the counties, produced by the levy of militia neceſſary to replace this transfer, and, with the view of mitigating the burthen, propoſed in the bill he ſhould ſubmit to the houſe to reſtrain the volunteering within its former limits, ſo that no regiment ſhould be reduced below three-fifths of its full eſtabliſhment. He apprehended it would be impoſſible to get rid of the ballot altogether, but, for the purpoſe of relieving the counties, he propoſed that a great part, if not the whole of the expence, ſhould be defrayed, not by them, but by the public, who was to pay the bounty for enliſtment; not ſo high a bounty as for general ſervice, but what he thought would be ſufficient, about ten guineas. If the voluntary enliſtment did not ſucceed, and the county ſhould be compelled to have recourſe to ballot, it was intended in that caſe

that the ten guineas ſhould be given to the balloted man as a bounty, if he ſhould ſerve in perſon, or to aſſiſt him in procuring a ſubſtitute. The bill thus framed was paſſed, with no material oppoſition in either houſe.

March 27. A bill was introduced for the better arranging of the bounties in the local militia. The reſult of the experiment of that meaſure, Lord Caſtlereagh informed the houſe, had been perfectly ſatisfactory; a force of 195,000 men had been raiſed, of which 125,000 was compoſed by a transfer of ſervice from the volunteer corps. With the addition of the yeomanry cavalry, the whole force amounted to 200,000 of fine athletic troops, inferior no doubt in point of diſcipline to thoſe of the line, but every way equal to them in equipment. Mr. Windham ridiculed this eulogy, and obſerved, that the noble lord ſpoke of an army, which might ſay, like Cloten in the play, "Don't you know by my cloaths?" The men were, no doubt, good as men; the queſtion was of their efficiency as ſoldiers. The evil of the meaſure conſiſted, in that it rendered the men not diſpoſable, who would otherwiſe have been diſpoſable. A bill was introduced for effecting ſome alteration in the amount and diſpoſition of the bounties for engaging in this ſervice, which paſſed.

The affairs of the Eaſt India Company engaged but a ſmall part of the buſineſs of parliament during this ſeſſion. When Mr. R. Dundas moved the renewal of the committee, which had been appointed laſt year, for an inveſtigation of the affairs of the company, it was reſiſted, on the ground that ſeveral of the members nominated to the committee were themſelves parties intereſted in the ſyſtem which they were deputed to inveſtigate, and were, in fact, the very perſons whoſe conduct might be called in queſtion as connected with the tranſactions which formed the ſubject of their inquiry. The queſtion however, was carried in favour of the re-appointment. A matter of more intereſt came before the houſe, when the committee appointed to inquire into the exiſtence of any corrupt practices in the diſtribution of writerſhips and cadetſhips preſented their report. By that it appeared that patronage of various deſcriptions had, in ſeveral inſtances, become an article of traffic, and that an opinion of the generality of ſuch practices had prevailed to a ſtill greater extent. The only means of preventing theſe dealings in future, the committee obſerved, was to make the hazard of ſuch ſpeculations greater than the riſk; and the regulations of the company were, in fact, founded upon this principle. A reſolution had been paſſed in 1799, enabling the court of directors to diſmiſs any perſon whoſe appointment had been unduely obtained. This order had never been enforced, becauſe hitherto no caſe of corruption had been diſcovered; but the reſult of the preſent inquiry would be, that a certain number of perſons in the ſervice of the company would be immediately recalled from India, deprived of their employments, and declared incapable of again receiving any appointment under the company. Hardly as this determination muſt have borne upon many

many of thoſe who were the ſubjects of it, it was conceived that nothing but ſuch an example could put a ſtop to the continuance of theſe abuſes, or prevent their recurring. A motion was made by Sir T. Turton, in favour of the young men, and ſupported by Mr. Windham and Mr. Stephen. It was oppoſed however by Mr. R. Dundas, Mr. Grant, and the chancellor of the exchequer, and negatived upon a diviſion, by 77 votes to 35. After ſome months, however, the directors were induced to reinſtate the perſons in queſtion in their former ſituations.

A ſyſtem of peculation was brought to light in the report of the committee of public expenditure, reſpecting the conduct of the commiſſioners for Dutch prizes, which, from the character of one of the parties concerned, particularly excited the attention of the public. From the ſtatements made by Mr. Ord, in the ſpeech by which he prefaced his motion on the ſubject, it appears that the commiſſioners in queſtion had been appointed in 1795 to manage, ſell, and diſpoſe of the cargoes of Dutch ſhips detained or brought in, in order to ſecure thoſe cargoes from injury. They had inſtructions from the privy council, requiring them to take minutes of all their proceedings, and to keep their accounts in ſuch form as the lords of the treaſury ſhould direct; and upon any difficulty occurring, they were to refer for inſtructions to the committee of the privy council. The commiſſioners were five, John Crawfurd, John Brickwood, Arthur Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and John Bowles, a member of the Society for the Suppreſſion of Vice. Their ſales ceaſed, and their tranſactions were nearly brought to a cloſe in 1799. Nothing remained to do after that, but the ſale of a few remnants, and the conduct of an important lawſuit, commenced in 1797, which however could not impoſe much labour upon the perſons in queſtion; the burthen of it obviouſly reſting upon the ſolicitors and council. It appears that no fixed remuneration had been aſſigned to the commiſſioners, in conſequence of which they had reſolved to remunerate themſelves, and charged a commiſſion of five per cent. on the groſs proceeds of their ſales, which commiſſion in the four firſt years amounted in all to 80,000*l.* No regular accounts were furniſhed to government; only one account was rendered to the privy council, and in that it was remarkable that no mention of commiſſion was made; a ſilence which, the committee obſerved, might lead the privy council to imagine that none was charged, although at that time 25,000*l.* had actually been divided. The act authoriſing the appointment of theſe commiſſioners, required that the proceeds of the ſales ſhould be paid into the Bank of England, but, inſtead of this, the commiſſioners had opened accounts with private bankers. In 1796 Mr. Pitt applied to them to know whether any ſum, ariſing from the ſale of property under their management, could be paid into the exchequer, to be applied to the current ſervice of the year; and they denied that they could pay any ſum into the exchequer, although it appeared that at that time they had a balance of 190,000*l.* of which it was proved that at leaſt 50,000*l.* might have been ſo

advanced. Moreover, they had been especially instructed to keep minutes of their proceedings, but no minutes whatever were preserved of the mode in which they applied the balances in question; it appeared, however, that by the commission at five per cent. on the gross proceeds, and by brokerage and interest on the balances, they had taken for their labours the enormous sum of 133,198*l.* being at the rate of 26,000*l.* for each commissioner. Mr. Ord then followed the course of the report in exposing the futility of the reasons by which the commissioners had attempted to defend their conduct, and, after some sarcastic animadversions upon the *Anti-jacobin merits* of Mr. John Bowles, concluded by moving several resolutions, importing—that to commit pecuniary trusts to any persons, without providing any check on any of their proceedings, or calling for regular and periodical accounts, was a neglect of the obvious duty of government.—That such neglect had been proved to exist, and might have been attended with material loss to the public.—That the Dutch commissioners had been guilty of gross misconduct, in violating the act under which they had been appointed, and appropriating to their own use, without authority, sums for which they ought to have accounted to the public.—That their accounts be referred to the inspection of the auditors of public accounts, and that all consideration of the remuneration to be allowed to the commissioners ought to be deferred till their accounts are finally settled.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the necessary measures with respect to this report had been taken by government, before the notice of the present motion was given. Application had been made to the committee of the privy council, to call upon these commissioners to give in their accounts to the treasury, to be there transferred to the auditors of the public account, to be passed. The treasury had also, adopting the suggestion of the committee, proposed that the rate of remuneration should be five per cent. on the net proceeds, the commissioners being to defray the charges of their establishment, and to pay interest for any sums which they may have kept at their private bankers. From this statement, the house would be able to judge whether the conduct of government merited that general censure which Mr. Ord's resolutions went to pass upon all the governments which had successively existed since the appointment of the commission; a censure, too, which undoubtedly would least of all apply to the present government. Mr. Perceval, however, contended, that the case itself was not such as to call for any censure. The commission was an anomalous case; parliament took the business out of the regular course in which it would have been administered, under the authority of the court of admiralty. No remuneration had been assigned, because that was never done in the case of parliamentary commissioners. The disposition of the present government, in similar circumstances, had been shewn in the late instance of the commissioners for Portuguese property, who were directed to restore the whole of the property, without any deduction of per centage, to the claimants who

should

ſhould prove themſelves owners; under theſe circumſtances he ſhould move the previous queſtion.

This explanation would ſeem to be ſatisfactory enough, as far as the conduct of the preſent government was concerned. Mr. Whitbread was much more ſucceſsful in that part of his ſpeech in which he dwelt upon the delinquencies of the commiſſioners, than in his attempt to connect in ſome degree the blame of their proceedings with the conduct of adminiſtration. "If this Mr. John Bowles, the commiſſioner," ſaid he, "be really Mr. Bowles the author, who writes under the ſignature of Chriſtianus Laicus, the ſanctified anti-jacobin, I will venture to ſay that a diſcovery ſo rare, and in all its circumſtances ſo amuſing, has not been made ſince the moment when philoſopher Square was diſcovered in Miſs Seagrim's garret." Mr. H. Thornton, in order to obviate the objections to the ſeveral reſolutions moved by Mr. Ord, propoſed to conſolidate them into one, which ſhould ſtate, "That the commiſſioners appointed in 1795 for the diſpoſal of captured Dutch property, taking advantage of the *neglect* of government to inquire after their proceedings, have, without authority, appropriated to their own uſe large and unreaſonable profits; that they have privately taken intereſt on large balances of money, which ought to have been lodged in the bank of England; that they have refrained from giving correct and explicit information reſpecting the intereſt ſo taken, to the committee appointed for inquiring into the public expenditure; and that they have thereby been guilty of a great violation of their public duty." This reſolution was adopted after a diviſion upon a motion for ſubſtituting the word "omiſſion" for "neglect," which was carried by a majority of 20.

April 24. Lord Porcheſter moved for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the granting of offices in reverſion, intimating that it was preciſely the ſame as that which had already twice paſſed the Commons, and as often been rejected by the Lords. Mr. Perceval obſerved that he had never diſguiſed his opinion of the bill. He ſaw in it nothing of that importance which was attached to it by many. He did not perceive that it contained any ſerious attack upon the prerogative of the crown, much leſs did he conceive that it comprehended any valuable acquiſition to the privileges of the people, or would lead to any conſiderable alleviation of the public burdens. As an economical meaſure it was nothing, or rather would probably prove injurious; but he objected to its introduction at preſent, becauſe the bill was not then neceſſary. They had at that moment an act, which would not expire until ſix weeks after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of Parliament, and which guarded againſt the granting of further reverſions in the mean time; and in the courſe of next week they would have a report under conſideration, the diſcuſſion upon which would go to determine whether any of theſe offices ſhould be aboliſhed. Under theſe circumſtances, to diſcuſs the bill at that time would be inexpedient and premature. Mr. Tierney, Mr. Whitbread, and Lord H. Petty, preſſed the intro-

duction of the bill, and upon a diviſion the numbers were—for the motion 106, againſt it 121.

June 8. Mr. Whitbread, at the cloſe of a long and laboured ſpeech, moved that they would, early in the next ſeſſion of parliament, take into their moſt ſerious conſideration how far it might be expedient to provide ſome further limitation to the number of perſons holding ſeats in this houſe, together with penſions, ſinecures, and places of emolument under the crown. Mr. Roſe obſerved, that the hon. gentleman had propoſed no practical remedy to the influence of which he complained: the houſe conſiſted of 658 members, and his meaſure would not go farther than to diſqualify 25 of them. The direct influence of the crown in that houſe had in fact very materially diminiſhed. In 1781 the number of placemen holding ſeats in it was 25 or 26 more than at preſent. Formerly valuable bonuſes in loans, lotteries, and contracts, were uſually given to members of parliament, and nothing was more common than members having the profits of offices held in other names, and of which none but miniſters knew any thing. There were probably, in former times, above 50 or 60 members who thus enjoyed concealed favours from the crown. Lord H. Petty did not conceive that the reduction of placemen in the houſe would produce much effect. The increaſe of the influence of the crown was principally from the increaſed patronage in the revenue, the army, and the navy, which did not bear directly upon the members of that houſe, though it had a great effect upon the country at large. Mr. Canning felt ſatisfied that the influence of the crown over that houſe was gradually but conſtantly diminiſhing. With reſpect to the propoſed meaſure, he obſerved, that as it was evident that the houſe muſt always want information on various public ſervices from the members of the adminiſtration, it was much better that miniſters, and perſons in oſtenſible ſituations, ſhould be ſpoken to in their places as members of that houſe, than be brought up to the bar as culprits. If no placemen but the miniſters themſelves were ſuffered to ſit in parliament, it would follow, that when the preſent generation of miniſters were over, they muſt be ſucceeded by raw and inexperienced perſons. This was a neceſſary conſequence; for if thoſe who were acquiring knowledge of the buſineſs of government in inferior departments, were to be abſolutely excluded from ſitting in parliament, in what office were they to learn that neceſſary and conſtitutional part of a miniſter's duty, to explain to the houſe the motives of their conduct, and to defend the propriety and policy of their meaſures? If men were to be trained up for miniſters in any other ſchool beſides that of parliament; if the crown were to look any where for its miniſters but in parliament, then indeed we might entertain a well-founded jealouſy of its power. He knew no greater ſecurity to the people for the faithful diſcharge of the duties of government, than that thoſe who held high ſituations, ſhould have ſeats in that houſe, and be there obliged to explain the motives of their meaſures and conduct to the houſe and the country.

Mr.

Mr. Whitbread replied, and upon a diviſion the motion was rejected by 113 to 54.

March 1. A meaſure of more real and practicable reform was contained in a bill introduced by Sir S. Romilly, for the amendment of the bankrupt laws. As thoſe laws then ſtood, a trader, after giving up all he poſſeſſed, was ſtill liable for many debts, the proof of which could not be received under the commiſſion. The moſt numerous claſs of debts of this kind conſiſted of thoſe for which ſome one elſe was liable as ſecurity, and which did not legally ariſe till after the commiſſion. The remedy propoſed was, that the ſureties might prove their debts under the commiſſion, provided they paid them at any time before the final dividend, and the bankrupt would thus be exempt from any liability for thoſe debts upon obtaining his certificate. The ſecond defect under the exiſting laws was, that the aſſignees were in the habit of uſing the bankrupt's effects for their own advantage; the conſequences often were, that the aſſignee became bankrupt, and the creditors had in the end only the remainder, after a bankruptcy upon a bankruptcy. To obviate this, it was propoſed, that if the creditors did not appoint a bank to receive the property at an early period, the commiſſioners ſhould be bound to do it; and that if, after that, the aſſignees ſhould retain any part of the property, it ſhould be imperious on the commiſſioners to charge 20 per cent. on the money ſo retained. The third defect in the ſyſtem was the expence and uncertainty of proceedings under commiſſions of bankruptcy. In actions by aſſignees to recover debts due to the eſtate, it was incumbent on them to prove an act of bankruptcy, and a petitioning creditor's debt; and in many inſtances the debtors of bankrupts were induced to withhold the payment of their debts, in the hope that the aſſignees might find it impoſſible to eſtabliſh them. The remedy here propoſed was, that in actions by the aſſignees, they ſhould not be obliged to prove the proceedings as above ſtated, unleſs the defendant gave notice, ſome time before, that he meant to conteſt any of theſe points. It was alſo propoſed, that the mode of recovering from the aſſignees ſhould not be by action as at preſent, but by petition to the chancellor. The fourth amendment ſubmitted to the houſe by Sir S. Romilly, was of all others the moſt important. This was to take from the creditors the power which they poſſeſſed, without any controul, and without the obligation to aſſign a reaſon, of refuſing a certificate to the bankrupt when they choſe. The ſituation of an uncertificated bankrupt well deſerved conſideration. He could acquire no property, for whatever he gained might be inſtantly ſeized by the aſſignees. His induſtry was loſt to himſelf and his country, and he was liable to impriſonment for life. By a ſtatute of George II. a bankrupt could not receive his certificate unleſs ſigned by four-5ths in number and value of his creditors, ſo that however fair and blameleſs, in a moral point of view, the conduct of a bankrupt might be, it often reſted with a ſmall number of his creditors, and in ſome circumſtances with a ſingle

creditor, to impriſon him for life. By the ſame ſtatute, any creditor who could not prove under the commiſſion, nor receive a dividend, was yet admitted to refuſe a certificate, in order to give effect to his action. The certificates were often withheld from the innocent, and given to the fraudulent bankrupt, for in fraudulent commiſſions it ſeldom happened that the certificate was refuſed. They were often withheld, too, for the purpoſe of extorting an advantage over the other creditors, notwithſtanding the ſecurities againſt ſuch practices provided by the law. There alſo exiſted another motive to withhold the certificate: the bankrupt, till he had obtained it, could not be a witneſs in any thing that related to the eſtate; and the creditors who had any conteſt with reſpect to it, often refuſed to ſign, in order to prevent the teſtimony upon which the verdict and the juſtice of the cauſe might depend. Beſides, the bankrupt, when the creditors came forward to prove their debts, was ſenſible how much he was in their power, and did not give that aſſiſtance in examining the debts, which, under other circumſtances, he might be inclined to do. Within a period of three or four years, there had been more caſes where certificates had been withheld, than where they were granted.

The remedy ſuggeſted for this evil was, not to take the power out of the hands of the creditors, but that if the certificate was withheld for two years, the bankrupt might petition the chancellor to allow the certificate, while the creditors might ſhew cauſe why it ſhould not be granted. To obviate the objection ariſing from the expence of ſuch a proceeding, it was intended that the additional proceſs ſhould be exempt from taxes. He might be aſked, ſaid Sir S. Romilly, why, when propoſing a law for the protection of the honeſt bankrupt, he did nothing to protect the creditor againſt the diſhonſt bankrupt? To this he could only anſwer, that he had no remedy to propoſe, but one which he feared the houſe would not adopt, viz. to render the law more efficacious, by making it leſs ſevere. The cauſe of the frequency of fraudulent bankruptcies, he believed, was, that the fraudulent bankrupt was, upon proof of the fact, liable to loſe his life. Inſtances were every year occurring of bankrupts withholding their property, yet, in the ſpace of 80 years, there had been only three proſecutions, and only one executed. There never, perhaps, exiſted a ſtronger inſtance of the inefficacy of laws ariſing from their ſeverity. The bill met with no oppoſition, and paſſed without material diſcuſſion through both houſes.

A bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors was brought in by Sir Thomas Turton, and paſſed. It differed from former bills of the ſame kind, by extending its operation to perſons whoſe debts did not exceed 2000*l.* inſtead of the former limitation of 1500*l.* The debtor, ſurrendering his property, was moreover allowed to keep 10*l.* inſtead of 5*l.* and furniture and working tools to the value of 40*l.* inſtead of 30*l.* Sir Thomas Turton adverted to the oppreſſion of our ſyſtem of impriſonment for debt, and affirmed that the number of perſons ſuffering under theſe laws,

laws, including the wives and children of the debtors, amounted to 18,200.

June 13. A bill for the prevention of "cruelty to animals" was introduced by Lord Erſkine, and paſſed the upper houſe. It was loſt in the commons, principally by the oppoſition of Mr. Windham, who exerted all the powers of his logic and his wit in expoſing the abſurdity of its principle; and indeed, the fate of ſuch a meaſure would hardly have deſerved this notice, had it not been an occaſion of one of the lateſt, and not leaſt admirable of the parliamentary efforts of that diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman. His chief objections went to the general principle of the meaſure, and to the unfairneſs and partiality of its operation. With reſpect to the firſt point, after admitting the duty of diminiſhing, as far as was conſiſtently poſſible, the ſufferings of animal nature, he obſerved, that it was not ſufficient to ſtate of any thing that it was a matter of obligation, to juſtify an attempt to enforce it by law. There were whole claſſes of duties which no one ever thought of enforcing by law, not becauſe they were, in point of moral duty, leſs obligatory than others, but becauſe they were of a nature that, to exiſt at all, muſt be ſpontaneous, or ſuch as that no law could be made to apply to them; and the caſe to be provided for in the preſent bill, he contended, came under this head. You inflict, ſaid he, pains and penalties upon conditions which no man is able previouſly to aſcertain. You require men to live by an unknown rule. What is humanity? It is generally the having a conſideration for the ſufferings of others, as compared with pains or gratifications of our own. But what the proportion was, neceſſary to be obſerved between our own and others pain, or (as was oftener the caſe in the ſubject then under conſideration) what the proportion was between others pain and our pleaſure or intereſt, no mortal attempted to aſcertain; nor was it one and the ſame, but as various as there were various men and various circumſtances and ſubjects to which it was applied, and what was of not leſs conſequence, it varied as men were judging in their own caſe, or in that of their neighbour's.

But it was upon the groſs and glaring partiality of the propoſed enactment, that Mr. Windham chiefly inſiſted. For inſtance: the cruelties ſuffered by poſt-horſes was a favourite topic. But on whom was the puniſhment to fall? On the poſt-boy, or the traveller? On the poſt-boy who was the only perſon ſeen inflicting the ſeverities; or on the traveller who ſat ſnug in the chaiſe, having only hinted to the boy that he meant to dine the next ſtage; and that unleſs he ſhould bring him in time, he would never go to his maſter's houſe again, nor give him any thing for himſelf? What revolting and diſguſting hypocriſy was it in perſons daily witneſſing without remonſtrance or acting in ſuch ſcenes, and who would not ſacrifice the ſmalleſt particle of their convenience, in conſideration of any pain that was to reſult from it, to be inveighing, with ſuch exaggerated ſenſibility, againſt the cruelties practiſed on the brute creation, and calling for a law to puniſh them, much of that cruelty being

being incurred in their ſervice, and under their own immediate inſpection and orders. Where was the juſtice of puniſhing the innkeeper here, who, if he refuſed his horſes, when weak and overwrought, loſt his cuſtomers, and his means of livelihood; or the poſt-boy, who, when once employed, muſt perform the taſk aſſigned to him by ſuch means as he had?

Mr. Windham then particularly animadverted on the injuſtice of withdrawing from the cognizance of the bill a whole claſs of caſes, (field-ſports) which ſeemed to ſtand more than any others in very line and aim of the ſtatute, and had nothing to protect them, but that which ought in juſtice and decency be the ſtrongeſt reaſon againſt them; namely, that they were the mere ſports of the rich. The diſtinctions by which it had been attempted to ſhield this claſs, he ſhewed to be abſurd even to ridicule. It was in vain, he ſaid, by any ſubterfuge, to diſguiſe the fact, that if, with ſuch a preamble as was prefixed to the preſent bill on our ſtatutes, and with acts paſſed in conſequence to puniſh the lower claſſes for any cruelty inflicted upon animals, we continue to practiſe, and to reſerve in great meaſure to ourſelves, the ſports of hunting, ſhooting, and fiſhing, we muſt exhibit ourſelves as the moſt hardened and unbluſhing hypocrites that ever ſhocked the feelings of mankind. He did not know any thing that could ſo juſtly call for a meaſure which he had always been among the firſt to reſiſt, a parliamentary reform. Strongly as he had always declared againſt that meaſure, he muſt fairly confeſs, that if it ſhould appear, in any inſtance, that ſo ſcandalous a diſtinction could be made between the intereſts of high and low, rich and poor, he ſhould not be a little ſhaken in his oppoſition, and muſt be driven in a great meaſure from that argument, which, as long as it could be maintained, was concluſive againſt every ſuch propoſal; namely, that there was no claſs in the community, whoſe intereſts, even as parliament was at preſent conſtituted, were not upon the whole fairly taken care of.

Inſtances, continued Mr. W. were unqueſtionably to be met with of great and atrocious cruelty, which every one muſt wiſh to have the means of puniſhing; but it was always a queſtion whether the good effects of a law were, in a few rare inſtances, a compenſation for the general reſtraints impoſed by it, and the inſtances in which it would operate unjuſtly. Nor was it true that even in the caſes cited, the crime would go unpuniſhed, even though there were no law provided for the purpoſe. There were few inſtances in which the animal ill-treated was not the property of ſome one who might either by himſelf, or with the aid of others, inflict ample puniſhment on the offender, on the ſcore of pecuniary injury. And even where theſe means failed, the mere publication of the fact, with the ſteps that might be taken to turn upon it the public attention and indignation, would produce, in the end, conſequences as ſevere as any that the caſe required, or that could be hoped for from a law. But it muſt in all events be more by manners than by laws, that

that any good could be done on this ſubject. Animals uſed in the ſervice of man, were left ſo unavoidably at his mercy, were expoſed ſo much to clandeſtine miſchief, and could ſo little make known their own injuries, that it would always be doubtful whether an attempt to protect them with vindictive juſtice, would not ſubject them to more ill treatment than it was likely to guard them from. It was not poſſible, in the nature of things, that law could with ſo much preciſion define the duty as to be able to inſure the performance of it. It was a duty evidently of that ſort which are called imperfect obligations; of which the definition is, that though equally binding in conſcience with other duties, they are not capable of being enforced by law. They muſt in conſequence be left to morals. Let them, he concluded, be inculcated upon that footing in every poſſible way from the pulpit, from the preſs; by precept, by exhortation, by example. But let us not run counter to the nature of things by attempting what was never yet attempted; and above all, let us not bring in ſuch a bill as the preſent, which, without contributing poſſibly in the ſmalleſt degree to the very object in view, will let looſe the moſt dreadful ſcourge upon the lower order of the people; will commit the moſt flagrant injuſtice in the manner in which the bill will be executed, and conſtitute a general charge of injuſtice againſt the houſe, ſuch as it has never before been expoſed to, and from which it will be impoſſible to vindicate it.

Notwithſtanding the clear and unanſwerable reaſoning of this ſpeech, the bill was warmly ſupported by Mr. Stephen, Mr. Wilberforce, and Sir Samuel Romilly; and, upon a diviſion, there were 40 voices againſt 27, in favour of going into a committee upon it. On a ſubſequent occaſion, however, when Sir C. Bunbury moved the reſuming of the committee, it was oppoſed by Mr. Windham, and the motion was loſt by a majority of 37 to 27. The bill was of courſe thrown out.

Nothing was done this ſeſſion upon the ſubject of the reform of the Scottiſh judicature. Commiſſioners had been nominated to inquire into and report to parliament the amendments practicable in the adminiſtration of juſtice in that part of the iſland, and particularly to report upon the expediency of extending the benefits of trial by jury, in civil as well as criminal caſes, to Scotland; they were bound to report from time to time, and to make their final report by the 12th of November, 1809. A bill, however, was introduced in the lords to extend, for another twelvemonth, the period thus fixed for the final report, and it paſſed, after ſome animadverſion, in both houſes. Lord Grenville, in his remarks upon the ſubject, took occaſion to advert to an extraordinary anomaly in the judicial proceedings of Scotland, by which perſons who had obtained the ſentence of the court of ſeſſion, were yet, before they could obtain the conſequent advantages, compelled to get a copy of the ſentence, or, as it was legally expreſſed, "an extract of the decreet." The expence incurred by this form was frequently enormous. In one caſe the copy had coſt an individual 1200*l.*;

1200*l.*; in another, where the whole property in queſtion was from 500*l.* to 600*l.* the charge for ſuch copy was above 300*l.* Lord Grenville drew up a bill with the view of correcting this abuſe, which he moved ſhould be read a firſt time. The motion was aſſented to by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Redeſdale.

A defect of a nature ſomewhat ſimilar, in the Scottiſh legal forms, was pointed out by Mr. Horner, when the report from the committee upon the bill was brought up to the commons. This was the neceſſity under which ſuitors were placed, when anſwering the allegations of their opponents, of firſt taking out copies of all the elaborate pleadings required to be entered by the other ſide, as records of the court, before they could proceed to any replication by plea or evidence. Theſe pleadings had, in ſome inſtances, amounted to a volume of 1500 pages, the copy of each of which required the ſignature of an officer of the court, who receives a fee upon each; and caſes occurred where, though the ſum in litigation did not exceed 200*l.* or 300*l.* the fees of court alone amounted to 500*l.* or 700*l.* and in one ſuch inſtance to 1500*l.* This arrangement had long prevailed in the Scottiſh courts, for no other reaſon, apparently, than to create a revenue for the Scotch law officers: it was, however, a bar in the purſuit of juſtice wholly inſurmountable to all ſuitors in ordinary caſes; and even where a ſuitor was ſucceſsful, and his antagoniſt choſe to appeal to the houſe of lords, the parties could not proceed thither without taking out complete copies of the proceedings in the courts below, although not of the leaſt uſe to them, nor competent to furniſh any new lights to his advocates before the higher tribunal. The oppreſſive nature of the ſyſtem complained of by Mr. Horner was generally admitted, but any ſudden or immature innovation in the legal practice of Scotland, ſuch as it had exiſted for above 300 years, was deprecated.

A motion of the chancellor of the exchequer for an increaſe of the ſalaries of the Engliſh judges, was received with an equal expreſſion of approbation from all parties. The propoſal was to vote from the conſolidated fund ſuch a ſum as would afford 1000*l.* a-year additional both to the chief baron and juſtices, and to the puiſne judges of the courts of law. An increaſe of 400*l.* a-year was at the ſame time to be allowed to the Welch judges. Mr. Perceval obſerved, that until the propoſed alterations in the conſtitution of the court of ſeſſion were definitively arranged, he thought it proper to poſtpone the application of the meaſure to the Scotch judges. With reſpect to thoſe of Ireland, he was not inclined, without further information upon the ſubject, to ſubmit any ſimilar propoſition relative to that part of the empire. Mr. Bankes wiſhed to couple the increaſe of ſalary to the Welch judges, with their excluſion from ſeats in parliament. In this he was ſupported by Sir Samuel Romilly, who obſerved, that for the laſt thirty years, the Welch judges, with only three exceptions, had been choſen from among gentlemen of the profeſſion who were members of that houſe. The clauſe, however,

however, was negatived, and the bill paſſed.

A meaſure which equally with the above merited and met with the general aſſent of the houſe, was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, in his propoſition for the increaſe of the ſmaller livings in England. From the returns already made upon this ſubject, imperfect as they were, it appeared that, by the regular application of Queen Anne's bounty, it would take forty years to come, to make up the ſmaller livings to 40*l.* a-year; and thrice that period, or 120 years, to make them up to 100*l.* a-year; and ſo on in a greater proportion. Mr. Perceval conſidered it expedient, therefore, to take a ſtep towards accompliſhing the firſt degree, by propoſing that the houſe ſhould vote the ſum of 100,000*l.* to be paid to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, to be laid out in the ſame manner as that fund. Suppoſing the houſe to purſue this ſyſtem yearly, they would, in the ſhort ſpace of four years, attain the firſt object, namely, the increaſe of the ſmall livings to 50*l.* a-year. Mr. Perceval, at the ſame time, declared, that it was not his intention to confine the meaſure to England, but that he ſhould, on a future day, move an addreſs to his Majeſty, for a ſtatement of the poor livings in Scotland and Ireland, for the purpoſe of extending to them a ſimilar relief. The reſolution was warmly ſupported by Lord H. Petty and Mr. Wilberforce, and agreed to unanimouſly.

May 2. A ſingular regulation in the ſtanding orders was propoſed, in the houſe of peers, by Lord Auckland. He moved that it be "ordered, that no bill, grounded on a petition to this houſe to diſſolve a marriage for the cauſe of adultery, and to enable the petitioner to marry again, ſhall be received by this houſe, unleſs a proviſion be inſerted in ſuch bill, that it ſhall not be lawful for the perſon whoſe marriage with the petitioner ſhall be diſſolved, to intermarry with any offending party, on account of whoſe adultery with ſuch perſon, it ſhall be therein enacted, that ſuch marriage ſhall be ſo diſſolved." Lord Auckland obſerved, that it notoriouſly and frequently happened, that adulteries take place on the unprincipled calculation that a change of huſbands is deſirable and attainable. The new compact is underſtood between the parties, and becomes a ſort of partnerſhip of eventual diſhonour, in ſome degree ſanctioned and guaranteed by the ſurrounding ſociety. The human mind is ſuch a mixture of weakneſs and reaſoning, that a woman can ſometimes frame to herſelf an apology for the breach of her marriage vow, in the hope and ſpeculation that ſhe may contract a new engagement at the altar with the partner of her crime. By the prevention of ſuch marriages, the arts of ſeduction would be deprived of one of its principal allurements, and the prohibition might operate as ſalutarily on the ſeducer. It would, if he poſſeſſed one latent ſpark of generoſity, deter him from an injury from which all pretence to reparation is precluded, and undoubtedly, in many inſtances, that effect would be produced; with reſpect to the unfortunate object of ſeduction, its tendency

tendency was obvious. There is a common phraſe, that "the woman that deliberates is loſt;" but it has been well ſaid, that ſhould the prohibition in queſtion be eſtabliſhed, every woman who deliberates will be ſaved. Irretrievable ruin will preſent itſelf to her view.

Lord Mulgrave profeſſed, that he did not ſee how the great cauſe of morality could be effectually promoted by a meaſure, which would deprive the female of almoſt her only chance for the amendment of her life. On the contrary, he thought it rather encouraged ſeducers by taking away all remedy for miſconduct. Some unfortunate ladies had diſplayed after their faults, a character that might even be called exemplary. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Erſkine, ſupported the motion; the neceſſity of which was further advocated by Lord Grenville, who expreſſed his anxiety that ſome means might be deviſed for the limitation of the expenſes attending a divorce bill. The preſent ſyſtem, he ſaid, was a wrong one; it proceeded upon the principle of granting a private favour by act of parliament, and thus excluded from relief the lower claſſes of ſociety. Lord Liverpool ſpoke in favour of the meaſure. Lord Darnley oppoſed it; the houſe then divided, and there were found, for Lord Auckland's motion, 28; againſt, it 12. A proteſt was ſigned by Lords Beſborough and Berkeley, on the grounds, 1ſt, Of the inexpediency of the meaſure in itſelf, with a view to the object propoſed; and 2dly, Of its implying the arrogation to the Houſe of Lords, of the ſole right to legiſlate on this queſtion, without allowing to the other houſe of parliament, the power of deliberating upon ſo material an alteration of the laws of England.

The ſubject was taken up, upon this ground, in the Houſe of Commons, by Lord Porcheſter, who moved that a committee be appointed to inſpect the journals of the Houſe of Lords, as far as related to any ſtanding order with reſpect to the introduction of divorce bills. The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that there could be no doubt of the power of the lords to introduce ſuch a clauſe into a bill, without any ſtanding order; and the Houſe of Commons had nothing farther to do with it, than to canvaſs the propriety of the clauſe, when it came up with the bill. The lords had done nothing more than abridge their own privileges to a certain extent. Both houſes were perfectly competent to regulate their own modes of proceedings, and had nothing to do with bills till they came before them. Mr. Windham contended, that the motion ſhould be adopted, in order to ſee what the exact nature of the order was, and the houſe might then conſider how it ſhould defend itſelf. He argued ſtrongly upon the unfairneſs of not being permitted to diſcuſs any individual caſe, without being ſhackled by ſuch a clauſe as this. Mr. Wynn ſaw nothing to object in the regulation, while confined to bills originating in the Houſe of Lords; but, from the wording of the order, it ſeemed to apply equally to bills ſent from the commons, and for this reaſon he ſhould vote for the motion. Mr. Hawkins Browne thought it fairly

fairly to be presumed, that the lords meant to confine the operation of their order, to bills originating in their own house, and seeing in this no breach of the privileges of the commons, he should give his negative to the motion. Upon a division, the numbers were in favour of its rejection.

CHAP. VIII.

Debates on our Relations with America. Motion of Lord Grenville for an Address to the King on the Subject. His Speech reprobating the Conduct of Government towards that Country. Earl Bathurst's Reply in Defence of the Orders in Council. Lords Sidmouth and Auckland support the Motion; opposed by Lord Liverpool; lost upon a Division. Similar Address moved in the Commons by Mr. Whitbread. Able and comprehensive Speech of Mr. Stephen, in Vindication of the Policy of the Orders in Council. Explains the Ground upon which they were issued, as indispensable for the Protection of our Commerce. Scheme proposed to the Enemy by General Armstrong. Right of Retaliation. Defends the Rejection of the late Overtures from America. Mr. Grattan supports the Address. Mr. A. Baring speaks on the same Side, and is replied to by Mr. Rose, who, from Statements which he lays before the House, contends that our Commerce had suffered little from the Embargo. Mr. Canning asserts that the same Doctrine, as to neutral Trade, was put forward by the late Administration, in their Order of Jan. 1807. Lord H. Petty replies. Motion rejected. Motion of Lord Selkirk respecting the Affair of the Chesapeake. Affairs of Ireland. Bill for Extension of the Inland Navigation in that Country. Bounty on Flax Seed; opposed by Mr. Baring and Mr. Horner: supported by Mr. Perceval and Mr. Grattan. Motion of Sir John Newport respecting the Appointment of Mr. Beauchamp Hill. Singular Defence from Mr. Croker. Motion lost. Clause in the Irish Revenue Regulation Bill, respecting the Irish Excise Officers. Debate upon the Subject. Remarks of Mr. Windham. Clause rejected upon a Division. Mr. Parnell's Motion for the Commutation of Tithes in Ireland. Opposed by Mr. Perceval, on the Ground of its Impracticability. Supported by Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan. Previous Question moved upon it, and carried. Irish Malt and Spirit Duties Bill. Opposed by Sir John Newport. Bill lost. Irish Distillery Bills. Regulations proposed by Mr. Foster. Objected to by Sir John Newport. Grounds of his Objection. Bill carried.

THE important subject of our disputes with America, which had been incidentally introduced in all the debates concerning the state of our external relations, was formally brought before the House of Lords by Lord Grenville, who reprobated in strong terms, the conduct of government towards that country; conduct which he could account for only by attributing

Feb. 17.

buting to miniſters, a fixed deſign of forcing her into hoſtility with Great Britain. Such he affirmed to be the direct tendency of the orders in council. America was the only power upon which they could operate, and upon her the effect was to produce a colonial monopoly of all the merchandize of the United States, which is to be brought to this country, to pay duty before it can be conveyed to any part of the world. The duties thus levied up to the 5th of January, amounted to 31,000*l.* and this ſum was to compenſate the alienation and exaſperation, which ſo violent an interference with their commercial rights, muſt inevitably produce in America. To our own commerce, theſe meaſures had been equally pernicious. By documents on the table, it appeared, that, for England alone, the diminution of our exports, in the year ending the 10th of October, 1808, as compared with the preceding year, was 6,200,000*l.* that of our exports 5,200,000*l.* excluſive of the Iriſh and Scotch trade, a great part of which lay with America. Under theſe circumſtances, he ſtrongly diſapproved of the refuſal of the fair and equitable arrangement offered by Mr. Pinckney, by which it was propoſed to remove the embargo, as far as regarded this country, upon our repealing the orders of council, in as far as they affected America; and he moved an addreſs to his majeſty, praying him to adopt without delay, on the baſis of this propoſal, ſuch meaſures as might beſt tend to the re-eſtabliſhment of commercial intercourſe between his majeſty's dominions, and the United States.

Earl Bathurſt denied that the decreaſe of our commerce in the period alluded to, was the effect of the orders in council only; it was in that year, that the ports of Ruſſia and Denmark were cloſed to us, and even the defalcation of our commerce with America, was not directly attributable to thoſe orders, but to the American embargo and non-importation bill. That the embargo did not ariſe from the orders in council was plain, as it was impoſed three days before the orders were iſſued; but, in fact, the diminution of our exports, was connected with neither of theſe meaſures, as our exports had already been diminiſhed 4,000,000*l.* ſterling, in conſequence of the non-importation act which was iſſued two months before either of the other meaſures were reſorted to; and of the repeal of this act, he wiſhed the houſe to obſerve, no hope whatever was held out in the propoſition of the American government in Auguſt laſt. With reſpect to the rejection of theſe propoſitions, the circumſtances were ſhortly theſe. France, in her decrees, had declared Great Britain in a ſtate of blockade. Great Britain retaliated by a ſimilar declaration reſpecting France. America, who was an accidental ſufferer in theſe meaſures, interferes, and propoſes, that we ſhould retract our act of retaliation, leaving the enemy to perſiſt with impunity in his aggreſſions; the effect of which, if granted, would have been to relieve the enemy, both from the preſſure of the embargo, and from the preſſure of the orders in council, and to relieve us merely from that of the embargo, without any aſ-

ſurance

ſurance of the repeal of the non-importation act. Miniſters felt no hoſtile diſpoſition towards America. It was not the intereſt, and it could not be the wiſh of the Britiſh government, to involve this country in a war with America; but as little was it diſpoſed to ſurrender the rights in compromiſing the honour of the nation, with the character and intereſts of which it was intruſted. He ſhould therefore oppoſe the noble lord's motion.

Lords Sidmouth and Erſkine ſupported the motion. Lord Auckland affirmed, that the embargo was, in fact, the conſequence of the orders in council, which, though not officially announced in America, were known there to have been adopted, when the embargo was reſorted to. Lord Liverpool vindicated the conduct of government, and upon a diviſion, the numbers were, contents 70, non-contents 115.

In the debate which took place, when an addreſs upon this ſubject, was moved in the Houſe of Commons, the arguments adduced by the ſupporters of the meaſure, were, for the moſt part, the ſame with thoſe which had been urged in the lords. The addreſs which was propoſed by Mr. Whitbread, was ſimilar in its effect, with that which had been brought forward by Lord Grenville. Mr. Stephen, upon this occaſion, entered fully into the queſtion, and, in a comprehenſive and able ſpeech, defended the ſpirit of our whole conduct towards America. In conſidering the effects of the orders in council upon our commerce, he obſerved, that the chief point, in the examinations which took place laſt ſeſſion, was to fix the true effects which had been produced by the Berlin decree upon our trade, prior to the counteraction of that decree, by the orders in council of November 1807. This it was clearly eſſential to aſcertain, before we could pretend to determine the ſpecific effects of the retaliation. Many gentlemen of the firſt commercial eminence, were examined at the bar, as to the ſtate of our commerce with the continent, immediately prior to the orders in council, of November, 1807, and they all declared with one voice, that from the month of Auguſt preceding, it was abſolutely ruined; with equal unanimity, they aſcribed this ruin to the effects of the Berlin decree. That decree, it ſeems, had not been in the firſt inſtance, executed with rigour; and it was not till about Auguſt, that the enemy began in earneſt to enforce its operation, by the ſeizure of all neutral veſſels that had traded or touched here, when the conſequence was a ſpeedy and total proſtration of our European trade, and this long before the iſſue of the orders in council. From the ſame evidence, it appeared, that premiums upon inſurance to the continent, were raiſed by the Berlin decree, from 4 to 15, 20, and 30 guineas per cent.; and that, inſurance to any conſiderable extent, could not be effected at all. An advance of full 50 per cent. took place even on voyages in American veſſels, between this country to America.

Mar. 6.

But Mr. Stephen contended it was a very inadequate ſtatement of the miſchiefs which would have reſulted to our commerce by the

enemy's plan, if unreſiſted, to ſay, that we muſt finally have loſt by it, all our trade with the continent. This, as had been ſhewn, had actually been loſt by a temporary acquieſcence; but the ſame hoſtile ſyſtem would ſoon have driven us almoſt entirely out of the trade of the new world, as well as that of the old. This was eaſily demonſtrable. A great part of our exports to America have been paid for by bills of exchange upon England, received by American merchants in payment for cargoes carried by them to the continent. The native produce of America, not being ſufficient in value to pay for all the goods that ſhe takes in return, ſhe muſt pay the balance by the returns of the trade ſhe carries on to other countries, or not at all. But, under the circumſtances in which the orders in council of November, found our foreign trade, ſuch bills would ſoon have ceaſed to exiſt. Bills of exchange are obviouſly the fruit, as well as the medium of commerce. They are produced by the operations of importing and exporting, buying and ſelling; and when trade between two countries, has for ſome time ceaſed to exiſt, there can no longer be any ordinary means of obtaining bills of exchange, drawn from the one upon the other. Let it be ſuppoſed then, that the blockade of the Engliſh iſlands is completely enforced on every part of the continent, and it was clear that American merchants, if they ſtill wiſhed to obtain bills there, drawn on this country, in order to purchaſe our manufactures, would no longer be able to find them. The evil, however, would not reſt here. That large portion of our exports to America, which was ſent in return for its native produce, muſt have been diminiſhed in proportion as that produce was formerly imported by our merchants, not for our own conſumption, but for re-exportation to the continent. More than half our annual import of tobacco, was thus diſpoſed of. It is evident, that all exportation to the continent being cut off, we muſt have loſt as much of our export trade to the United States, as thoſe continental returns before uſed to pay for. We could not ſupply America gratuitouſly, and our exports muſt have fallen off with her means of payment. She muſt have carried all that part of her produce, which we formerly imported, but did not conſume, directly to the continent, and taken her returns from thence; and the uſe of continental manufactures, inſtead of our own, would thus have been encouraged, and in a manner forced upon the American and Weſt Indian conſumer. But if the intereſt of neutral merchants, as governed by the Berlin decree, had not ſufficiently inſured effects thus deſtructive to our commerce, the enemy had an expedient in reſerve, of which General Armſtrong, in a letter to M. Champagny, had kindly reminded him. France had only to preſcribe, that all neutral veſſels trading to her ports, ſhould take the returns, excluſively in her own goods and manufactures, and to impoſe the ſame ſyſtem on the other maritime powers of the continent; a meaſure which Hauterive had already recommended to the French government, as the moſt effectual for the deſtruction of our maritime

power,

power, and undoubtedly its ſucceſs in that point of view, would be infallible. The Weſt Indian and American produce, together with the Eaſt Indian goods, brought by American merchants to the continent of Europe, have largely exceeded in value, the goods they carried from the continent in return; and the exceſs would naturally be much greater, when a large part of their export trade to this country, ſhould, by the cauſes already noticed, be transferred to the continent. An excluſive conſumption, therefore, of continental goods and manufactures in their own markets, in the foreign Weſt Indies, and in Spaniſh and Portugueſe America, would become abſolutely neceſſary to the intereſt of American commerce. The merchants of the United States could no otherwiſe diſpoſe of the additional returns, which by this arbitrary ſyſtem they would be obliged to take. Their profitable trade in the produce of South America, and of the foreign Weſt India iſlands, muſt be renounced by them in proportion, as they continued to import the manufactures of England. On the other hand, the profits of that outward trade, would enable them to carry back continental manufactures at a very cheap rate, and to ſell them at prices which the importer from England could by no means afford. The American and Weſt India markets, would be glutted with manufactures the rivals of our own; and a conſumption would be forced in their favour in every part of the New World. We had, Mr. Stephen affirmed, been already much ſupplanted in the Weſt Indies, eſpecially in the ſupply of the Spaniſh colonies, by means of neutral commerce. It was notorious, and in evidence before the houſe, that this effect had flowed from our permitting the carriage of the produce of thoſe colonies to Europe, and the carrying back the returns, in continental manufactures, for the ſupply of thoſe colonies through America. This was one of the effects of our relaxation of our belligerent rights. But under that improvement of the hoſtile ſyſtem, recommended by General Armſtrong, our excluſion from the markets of all foreign America, would be complete and final. It was here then that he made his ſtand; it was upon this ground that he oppoſed any conceſſion to America, unreſiſted by our orders in council. By our conſequent excluſion, not merely from the ports of Europe, but of thoſe of America, our maritime commerce, and together with it, our revenue and our navy, would be deſtroyed. He would do much, very much, to avoid a quarrel with America, but he could not afford to avert it, at an expence like this.

After thus ably diſcuſſing the policy of the orders in queſtion, Mr. Stephen proceeded to defend the juſtice of them. The general right of retaliation upon the meaſures of the enemy, did not appear to be denied by the American government, although it did not expreſsly admit it. The complaint was rather, that we had exerciſed it in a caſe, where we had ſuſtained no practical injury; and againſt a neutral power, which had not acquieſced in, but reſiſted the decrees for which we retaliate. The former of theſe topics, the evi-

dence taken before the houſe had completely diſproved. With reſpect to the ſecond point, if we admit that the acquieſcence of America, in the French decrees, was the only ground upon which we had a right to interrupt her commerce with the enemy, it neceſſarily follows, that, upon the adoption of any ſuch unjuſt and injurious meaſure on the part of the enemy, we muſt ſubmit unreſiſtingly to all its effects, however ruinous to ourſelves, till it is ſeen whether America will acquieſce or not. Upon this ground, France may, at her diſcretion, interrupt our commerce, for ſeveral months at leaſt, by the groſſeſt violations of the rights of neutral nations; and herſelf enjoy, during the ſame period, in ſpite of our naval ſuperiority, all the benefits of neutral commerce and trade. A general conſequence of the principle would be, that the great diſtance of a neutral ſtate is an inconvenience which muſt fall excluſively upon the belligerent, who reſpects its rights, and redound to the advantage only of him, by whom they are invaded.

It is a common error, continued Mr. Stephen, to conſider the orders in council, as meaſures of a vindicatory kind. Had they been ſuch, in relation to the neutral merchants affected by them, it was clear, that the neutral governments ſhould have received previous notice. But conſidering the orders in their true intention, which was remedial and ſelf-defenſive, it was prepoſterous to ſuppoſe, that the remedy ought to have been ſuſpended, till the miſchief was irreparably done. We retaliated upon the enemy in order to parry a blow, aimed for the deſtruction of our commerce; and the right ſo to defend ourſelves, if it exiſted at all, was immediate. We did not, as had been alleged, puniſh neutrals for the enemy's injuſtice; we only prevented them from trading freely with a power, which, in violation of the rights of their neutrality, prevented them from trading with us. Their abſtaining from commerce with him, while his injurious and inſulting edicts were in force, was due even to the honour of their own flags, and was what their governments on knowledge of the caſe, were bound to enjoin.

With reſpect to the late overture from the American government, Mr. Stephen contended, that it was virtually a propoſal that we ſhould give up real and effectual, and accept in their ſtead, nominal and uſeleſs reſtrictions upon the commerce of France, and her allies. In reſorting to a general embargo, the American government took a meaſure which was certainly to a great degree efficient. It is executed in the ports of America, by the municipal authorities on ſhore. But in the caſe of an embargo as to France, or of any particular power, the practical nature of the meaſure is entirely changed. It becomes a law not againſt ſailing from certain parts of America, but againſt proceeding to certain parts of Europe. The violations are acts done, not at home, but abroad; acts not paſſing under the eye of the American port officers, and not capable of being prevented by their authority. Giving the American government credit for every intention to prohibit by a law, guarded

guarded by the ſtrongeſt ſanctions that could be decreed, the trading with France in American ſhips, ſtill what ſecurity ſhould we have that the prohibition would be effectual? Under the cover of a clearance to England, or to any other country with which trade was permitted, the American merchants would ſend their ſhips ſecurely to the ports of our enemies, and laugh at the impotent proviſions of their own municipal laws. They might even for years carry on the commerce with her allies, or even trade from one French port to another, without viſiting any part of the United States; for it ſhould be remembered, that the previous condition to be performed on our part, in the propoſed arrangement, was a repeal, not only of our orders of November, 1807, but of that of the January preceding; the order which alone reſtrains neutral veſſels from carrying on the coaſting-trade of our enemies, and their commercial intercourſe with each other in every part of Europe. France, therefore, while continuing to trample on the neutral rights, and to cut off our commerce with the continent, by means of the Berlin decree, would enjoy the full benefit of neutral navigation.

But after all, what important fruits ſhould we have reaped from the removal of the embargo, if the non-importation act was to remain in force? And how could the continuance of that moſt unfriendly law, be made to conſiſt with amity between the two countries? We might have regained our imports from the United States, which the American people are diſtreſſed by withholding, and the want of which is now aſcertained to be harmleſs to ourſelves and to our colonies; but the greater part of our export trade to America would ſtill have remained prohibited. This was plainly Mr. Jefferſon's deſign; no offer is made to repeal the non-importation act, nor is any power to remove that obſtacle to be found in Mr. Pinckney's inſtructions.

Mr. Stephen then proceeded to examine the nature and extent of that co-operation againſt French aggreſſion, which America in her overture had ſeemed to promiſe to us, in the event of the repeal of our orders in council. The change of ſyſtem propoſed in that caſe, to be demanded from France, he ſhewed, from the principles upon which Mr. Jefferſon's government had acted, and the language it had held, would amount to nothing more than abſtinence from ſeizing American veſſels at ſea. Buonaparte was to be left at liberty to maintain, in full force, his decrees, declaring his Majeſty's dominions in a ſtate of blockade; and to enforce them by the ſeizure and confiſcation of every American veſſel, violating that pretended blockade, upon its arriving at any part of the continent. All that was deſired of him was not to do, what would very rarely indeed be in his power; not to ſeize or carry into port ſuch veſſels as, having no continental deſtination, could only be intercepted on the coaſts of England, or on the Atlantic.

Theſe were the chief topics of Mr. Stephen's ſpeech. There were others, ſcarcely of leſs importance,

as illuſtrating the general nature of the neutral queſtion, and the real ſtate and diſpoſition of our relations with America, which inforced as they were with the accuſtomed ability of that gentleman, we regret that our limits forbid us to abſtract.

Mr. Grattan ſpoke in favour of the addreſs, with a degree of animation and eloquence not often called forth upon diſcuſſions of this nature. His ſpeech, indeed, in every reſpect, formed an amuſing contraſt to that of Mr. Stephen. That gentleman, ſaid Mr. Grattan, had argued, that America had acquieſced in the maritime reſtrictions impoſed by France. I deny it. She reſiſted the orders of Berlin. She reſiſted the decrees of France. General Armſtrong remonſtrated repeatedly and ſpiritedly. It is ſaid, that the embargo was not the effect of our orders in council. But, at any rate, what continues that embargo? America offers to take it off, if you will reſcind your orders. Who, therefore, is the cauſe of the embargo, when you yourſelves refuſe to do that which if done would remove it? Is it that you join with an unoffending neutral, and viſit France with the conſequences of her own inſolence and injuſtice? No; but you join yourſelves to France againſt that neutral. It is the bad retaliation of a wicked principle; it is a ſpecies of wicked emulation in injuſtice. Extend the principle, and if France, inſtead of declaring againſt the commerce of neutrality, ſhould declare againſt their liberties, againſt their lives, you in the ſpirit of this retaliation, loſing the ſpirit of what you are, are to trace the footſteps of the ſame atrocities, making the meaſure of French wrong, the meaſure of Britiſh right. Do you imagine that your meaſures can eſſentially affect the power of France? That you can coerce the continent of Europe by the excluſion of all colonial commerce? Impoſſible! You may baniſh luxury from Europe; you may aboliſh the refinements that enervate your enemy; you may convince him that ſuperfluities are not neceſſaries, and prove to him how many things he can live without; you may make Europe an univerſal ſoldier, and England will only fare the worſe for it—Buonaparte knows this well: that ſuperior man of miſchief is glad to ſee you reſort to his own weapons; for he calculates that as yet, and for a long ſeaſon, your iniquities muſt be too impotent to affect him ſeriouſly. In the meanwhile what effect muſt this have upon America. You ſend her in queſt of thoſe reſources which will ultimately make her independent of your manufacturers. So that you make the enemy a nation of ſoldiers, and America a nation of manufacturers; and thus you do all you can to enable the one to beat you, and the other to ſtarve you.

Mr. Alexander Baring ſpoke in ſupport of the motion, and in reprobation of the orders in council, the ruinous effects of which upon our commerce, he contended might be eſtimated by the enormous defalcation upon our exports and imports which had taken place within the laſt year, and which, for the united kingdom, might be calculated at an amount little

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ſhort of 14,000,000. That the embargo had been occaſioned by the orders in council, he affirmed to be at leaſt probable. The preſident might not have received official notice of the iſſuing of the orders, but it was known that an American newſpaper had actually publiſhed the ſubſtance of them, before the meeting of Congreſs, and they were generally ſuppoſed to be the immediate motive of the meaſure of the embargo. Mr. Roſe obſerved, that in the meſſage from the preſident recommending the embargo, there was not one word or ſyllable even hinting at the orders in council. That was on the 1ſt of December, 1807; a week after, a letter was written by Mr. Madiſon to Mr. Pinckney, in which alſo there was no mention of theſe orders, but in which Mr. Madiſon diſtinctly ſaid, that the policy and cauſes of the embargo are contained in the meſſage; ſo that it was evident that the orders in council had not, at that time, entered the preſident's head. In oppoſition to Mr. Baring's aſſertions, reſpecting the decline of our commerce, he laid a ſtatement before the houſe, by which he endeavoured to ſhew, that our trade had, in conſequence of the reſtrictive meaſures in queſtion, experienced but a very inconſiderable diminution*. Dreadful prognoſtications had been delivered of the ſufferings which our Weſt India iſlands were likely to experience. Theſe fears, however, had proved to be groundleſs; the Weſt India planters had turned their attention to the raiſing of various articles of proviſion, for the ſupply of which they had formerly depended upon America; and they had aſcertained, by experience, that from what they were enabled to raiſe themſelves, added to that which they obtained from our other American poſſeſſions, they had little to fear from the want of ſupplies, which, till then, had been furniſhed by

* Exports to American States from England, for the years ending March 1806 and 1807.....£11,774,000
Ditto, in 1808..... 5,784,000
Decreaſe in 1808..... 5,990,000
Exports to all parts of America, excluſive of the American States, but inclusive of the Britiſh and French Weſt Indies, in 1808..... 12,859,000
Ditto, in 1806 and 1807..... 8,629,000
Increaſe in 1808..... 4,230,000
Leaving on the whole a decreaſe of..... 1,760,000

But to ſet againſt that decreaſe ſhould be taken into the account the mercantile profit on the 4,230,000*l.*, which, in the way the trade was before carried into theſe countries, was entirely to the profit of the Americans; and the profit (with all the conſequences attending it) on the Britiſh ſhipping employed, inſtead of the American ſhipping.

Britiſh goods exported to America in 1808.....£5,784,000
Conſumption in America, from accounts from thence, in 1808..... 5,153,000

Thus, under all the embarraſſments of the non-importation and embargo impoſed in America, it was contended by Mr. Roſe, that we did in fact, in the year 1808, ſend goods there to the value of their conſumption; and we had the profit of the increaſed trade to other parts of America, which the United States had before. At the ſame time, we deprived the enemy of the whole of the colonial produce, to the amount of more than 9,000,000*l.*

the United States. It had been found that Canada could furniſh all Europe, as well as our Weſt India iſlands with the article which they moſt wanted, viz. white-oak ſtaves.

Mr. Canning affirmed, that the doctrine of our right of retaliation, had been broadly and generally laid down by the late adminiſtration themſelves, in the order of the 7th of January; the principle was there aſſerted, limited, indeed, and reſtrained, in its application, but manifeſtly and expreſsly intended to be farther inforced when circumſtances and occaſions ſhould challenge the enforcement. It could not, therefore, be ſuppoſed that the order of the 7th of January, was one jot more conformable to the ancient law of nations, than thoſe for which the preſent government was reſponſible. Any deviation from law was as much a deviation, as if it had been made to any larger extent. The orders in council were to be defended upon the ground, that the preſent ſtate of the world required the application of new principles, or the extenſion of old ones. Lord Henry Petty advocated the neceſſity of adopting meaſures of conciliation towards America, and ſpoke in favour of the addreſs. Mr. Whitbread replied ſhortly, and upon the queſtion being put, the numbers appeared, for the addreſs, 83, againſt it 145. The houſe adjourned at ſeven o'clock in the morning.

An addreſs was moved in the peers, by Lord Selkirk, reſpecting the conduct of the American government, in receiving and protecting deſerters from our naval ſervice; with a particular reference to the affair of the Cheſapeake. It was oppoſed by Lord Liverpool, chiefly upon the ground of its interfering to give advice to his Majeſty, while a negotiation was pending, concerning the ſtate of which they were wholly ignorant. The motion being put, it was negatived without a diviſion.

May 4.

We ſhall conclude our abſtract of the buſineſs of the ſeſſion, by ſome mention of the parliamentary proceedings reſpecting Ireland. Theſe were few, and as relating chiefly to points of fiſcal and domeſtic regulation, do not perhaps, preſent that intereſt, which a cloſer connection with party conflict, and national polity, ſerves often to throw over ſubjects of infinitely leſs import to the ſubſtantial welfare of the commonwealth.

Sir Arthur Welleſley, then chief ſecretary for Ireland, introduced a bill for the farther extenſion of the internal navigation of Ireland, which paſſed after ſome, what Lord Caſtlereagh denominated, peeviſh oppoſition on the part of Mr. Parnell and Sir John Newport, who, however, profeſſed themſelves to be ſtrongly in favour of the principle of the meaſure. Another meaſure, for the internal improvement of the country, and which equally met with the concurrence of parliament, was contained in the bill introduced by Mr. Foſter, for the purpoſe of draining and reclaiming the bogs of Ireland. That ſuch a meaſure was practicable, Mr. Foſter obſerved, was obvious from the

March 28.

the aſcertained fact, that in the bog of Allen, which was the largeſt in the country, the ſolid earth was not leſs than 180 feet above the level of the ſea. As to the benefits likely to reſult from this undertaking, he thought it enough to ſay, that half the ground of theſe reclaimed bogs, converted to purpoſes of agriculture, would produce in a year more corn than had ever in any one year been imported into Great Britain; while the other half would grow hemp and flax, for which the ground would be peculiarly calculated, more than would ſerve for the conſumption of Great Britain and Ireland.

A further encouragement to the agriculture and manufactures of Ireland, was intended in the propoſition of Mr. Foſter, reſpecting Iriſh flax-ſeed. The flax which ſupplied the Iriſh linen manufacture is almoſt wholly the growth of Ireland; but for the ſeed we are indebted to an annual ſupply from America, Holland, and the countries in the Baltic; and the conſequence of this was a conſiderable failure in the ſupply of the preceding year. It was propoſed to obviate ſuch failures in future, and to render Ireland independent of her foreign ſupply, by encouraging as much as poſſible the ſowing of the home-grown ſeed; and this was to be effected by allowing a certain bounty, per buſhel, upon all ſeed, the growth of Ireland, ſo ſaved, to be diſburſed under the direction of the linen board; with this view Mr. Foſter moved for a grant of 20,000*l.* Mr. Baring deprecated this interference of government in the regulation of trade, and conceived that the inaptitude of the climate of Ireland for the cultivation of flax-ſeed, was ſufficiently proved by her having always imported that article. Mr. Horner conſidered the idea of making Ireland independent of America ridiculous; ſince, ſhould the American embargo be taken off, they would immediately be ſupplied in abundance, and of courſe revert to their uſual mode of traffic. In whatever way he viewed the meaſure, he condemned it; as a temporary expedient it was nugatory; as a permanent meaſure, bad.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that particular circumſtances warranted a deviation from general rules; and that it was a narrow pedantry to adhere to practices without any modification. He conſidered it wiſe to provide, even at a riſk, againſt the detriment and inconvenience of trade, rather than endanger the ſecurity of the whole manufacture; but this was to meet a caſe of actual neceſſity; and although it could not be immediately relieved, the bounty would have the effect in the hands of the linen-board of Ireland, of encouraging the growth of ſeed for the ſubſequent year, when parliament might determine on the expediency of continuing it. Mr. Grattan and Sir John Newport ſupported the bill, as neceſſary for the ſecurity of the leading manufacture of Ireland Mr. Foſter obſerved, that experiments had been tried, and not the ſmalleſt doubt exiſted of their being able to grow ſeed; and, as he hinted, eventually, in ſufficient quantities to ſupply the conſumption, not merely of Ireland, but of

of England. The grant was voted.

May 30. Sir John Newport moved certain reſolutions, reſpecting the appointment of a Mr. Beauchamp Hill to the office of inſpector-general of exciſe in Ireland; the circumſtances of this caſe are curious. Mr. Hill, it ſeems, had in 1806 appeared before the commiſſioners for inquiring into abuſes in the cuſtoms and exciſe of Ireland, and upon examination, had confeſſed, that he had been a ſurveyor for four years, and was in the habit of taking a preſent of 20 guineas a month from every ſtill contained in his walk; a practice which he juſtified on the ground of precedent and notoriety; and further, from the inadequacy of his ſalary to his ſupport. The ſame Mr. Hill was in March, 1808, appointed to overſee that others did not commit that abuſe of truſt, of which he himſelf had been convicted. Mr. Foſter's defence was, that a univerſal ſyſtem of corruption had formerly exiſted among the revenue-officers of Ireland; and that out of thirty-two exciſe-officers, examined by the commiſſioners, thirty of them confeſſed, that they had received ſimilar preſents. It would have been unfair, therefore, to have ſelected one or two individuals for puniſhment, when almoſt every other officer in the revenue deſerved equally to be diſmiſſed. Mr. Croker obſerved, that it was ſufficient proof of the corruption of ſome of the revenue-officers, that they were alive; for if they had truſted to their ſalaries they muſt have ſtarved. The ſalaries were ſettled in the reign of Charles II., and were but 40*l.* a year to the guager, and 65*l.* to the ſurveyor. Sir Samuel Romilly proteſted againſt a mode of defence, which he ſaid, would equally apply to every criminal at the Old Bailey; but, on a diviſion, the motion was loſt, by a majority of 77 to 50.

In the Iriſh revenue regulation-bill, as drawn up by Mr. Foſter, there was a clauſe of amneſty and indemnification to all ſuch offenders in the Iriſh exciſe, down to January, 1808. The clauſe was reſiſted by Sir John Newport, who contended that if parliament ſhould paſs ſuch an amneſty, and thus ſanction a claſs of men guilty in numberleſs inſtances of ſuch flagrant tranſgreſſions, the proceeding would be equally fatal to the intereſt and the morals of the public. It appeared, that the amount of which the revenue had been thus plundered, was not leſs than 850,000*l.* a year. Mr. Foſter ſaid, that the frauds in queſtion had been ſo generally the uſage, that the exciſe-officers conceived there was no crime or breach of duty, in a matter at which they ſuppoſed their ſuperiors connived, in conſideration of the known inadequacy of their ſalaries to their maintenance. It was recommended by the commiſſioners of inquiry, that the ſalaries ſhould be increaſed; and as the defalcations were nearly univerſal, and committed almoſt without the conſciouſneſs of criminality, it was propoſed that an amneſty ſhould be given for all that had paſt, upon the ſtrong aſſurance, that under the increaſed ſalaries no ſuch acts ſhould take place for the future. Without this theſe men would be placed at the mercy of thoſe

thoſe brewers and diſtillers, at whoſe frauds they had heretofore been induced, by bribery, to connive, and who might again drive them to new connivances and frauds, by threats of proſecution for former acts, the proofs of which were in their power. Mr. Windham admitted, that if the fraudulent officers muſt neceſſarily be retained, the clauſe ought to paſs of courſe; but he denied the neceſſity, and conſequently muſt oppoſe it. He reprobated, not merely the idea of indemnifying men who had ſo groſsly betrayed their truſt, but that of retaining theſe men in their places after the avowal and proof of ſuch fraud. It taught them to laugh at government; to believe that it could not do without them, and, of courſe, could not diſmiſs them; and under ſuch feelings was it to be expected, that ſuch men would, for a trifling increaſe of ſalary, forego the temptation of gaining five times as much by fraud? And what ſort of picture was this to hold out to their brother revenue-officers in England? Upon a diviſion the clauſe was rejected by 47 votes to 41.

A matter more important to the intereſts of the Iriſh than any we have hitherto touched upon, but one probably leſs ſuſceptible of improvement by legiſlative interference, was brought before parliament by Mr. Parnell, who moved for leave to bring in a bill, to give to eccleſiaſtical perſons, having a right to tithes in Ireland, the power to demiſe the ſame for a term of twenty-one years. Mr. Parnell obſerved, that he wiſhed particularly to be underſtood as not attributing in any degree to the conduct of the clergy, the grievances which the people of Ireland ſuſtain on account of tithes. On the contrary, he did not believe that they levied any thing like a full tenth of the produce of the land. There were no ſmall tithes in that country, a modus having been eſtabliſhed againſt them; there were no tithes on cattle. In the north of Ireland both potatoes and flax were exempt; and throughout the country in general it might be ſaid, that the uſual rate of charge was commonly leſs than one half of what a ſtrict calculation upon the average prices of produce would give. The peculiar preſſure of the ſyſtem upon Ireland, aroſe from the particular circumſtances of that country, where the diviſion of labour was not ſo far perfected by the progreſs of wealth, as to eſtabliſh a diſtinct claſs of people, living ſolely by the wages of their daily labour. The conſequence is, that every poor Iriſhman is under the neceſſity of obtaining a piece of land, from which he may procure the means of feeding himſelf and his family; the whole maſs of the people are land-holders, and, therefore, chargeable with tithes. The clergyman being unable, in his own perſon, to collect his tithes, is obliged to employ proctors, or to let them to tithe-farmers, againſt the illegal exactions of whom the people from their poverty are utterly incapable of protecting themſelves. By enabling the clergyman and his pariſhioners to make a bargain for a fixed term of years, at a fixed annual rent, the clergyman would be relieved from the neceſ-

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ſity of employing a proctor to value or draw his tithe—the ſtill more odious intervention of the tithe-farmer would be done away with, and the pariſhioner relieved from the vexation of thoſe moſt obnoxious inſtruments of the church. Mr. Parnell concluded, by alluding to the implied promiſe of relief on this ſubject, which he contended Mr. Pitt had held out to the Iriſh nation, in his ſpeeches upon the union.

Mr. Perceval gave his moſt decided oppoſition to the meaſure. He had given every attention to the ſubject, and had even, as at the time he had ſtated to the houſe, gone the length of preparing a bill for the purpoſe, which he intended ſhould extend to England alſo, but in the courſe of his inveſtigation, he had found difficulties in his way, ſo various and ſo multiplied, as to oblige him to abandon his intentions as altogether impracticable. To think of relieving the people by ſuch a meaſure was abſurd. By any commutation, founded upon a fair and full eſtimate of the value of the tithes, they would find themſelves compelled to pay ſo much more than they do at preſent, as would ſufficiently undeceive them on that ſcore. The landlords, indeed, might gain by the meaſure, as the ſurplus beyond the preſent rates would probably find its way into their pockets. But they, in fact, had no ſubject of grievance in the caſe. What land-owner could ſay, he was intitled to lands, either by purchaſe or deſcent, which he did not hold among other terms, ſubject to the payment of tithes? If he had no right to complain, ſtill leſs had the tenant who took them, knowing they were ſubject to the incumbrance. With reſpect to the bill before them, was it intended to compel the clergyman to make leaſes of their tithes? If not, the act would become a mere dead letter; as by the law, as it now ſtood, the clergyman could grant ſuch a leaſe during his own incumbency. If the leaſe was to bind the ſucceſſor, the danger was obvious of the incumbent being tempted, by a preſent fine, to make a leaſe which would be highly prejudicial to the intereſts of thoſe who come after him; or elſe the leaſe muſt be ſubmitted to the biſhop, a proceſs, which, would be attended with great expenſe to the poor tenants for the making out of their leaſes, and would, after all, be a matter of mere form, from the impoſſibility of the biſhop being acquainted with the merits of each particular caſe. To whom, moreover, were the leaſes to be made? to the tenant, or the landlord? If to the latter, the tenant would be ſo far from being benefited by the meaſure, that the landlord would put into his pocket that which now, by the lax mode of levying tithes, fell to the ſhare of the tenant.

Mr. Tighe, Mr. D. Browne, Mr. Ponſonby, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Fitzgerald, ſpoke warmly upon the ſubject, and dwelt upon the evils of the exiſting ſyſtem, without, however, meeting very effectually the arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer, or pointing out any plan by which the effects complained of might be obviated. The oppreſſive operation of the ſyſtem, as it affected Ireland, was admitted, even by the opponents of the meaſure then

then propoſed; among others, by Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Croker; the principle of the bill too was generally conceded, and it was, therefore, thought preferable to diſpoſe of the queſtion by the previous queſtion, rather than by an actual negative. On a diviſion the numbers were, for the previous queſtion, 137; againſt it, 62.

Mr. Foſter moved a committtee on the Iriſh malt and ſpirit duties bill. Sir J. Newport oppoſed the motion, upon the ground that the meaſure propoſed could not produce any revenue, all the ſucceſſive additions to the tax, ſince the year 1790, having produced comparatively nothing. The only effect of it would be to multiply the illicit practices already ſo prevalent in Ireland, and which the right hon. gentleman himſelf had repreſented as beyond the powers of government to remedy. It was, beſides, the policy of government to encourage breweries in that country, and nothing was more calculated to prevent the tranquillization of Ireland than a meaſure which, by driving the people from beer to the uſe of ſpirits, expoſed them to all the conſequences of the change: he ſhould therefore move the adjournment of the queſtion to that day ſix months, which was carried in the affirmative againſt miniſters, by 43 votes to 30.—A ſubject more important, as affecting the internal economy and police of that country, came before the houſe in the diſcuſſion which took place on the Iriſh diſtillery bill. By the exiſting regulations reſpecting theſe diſtilleries, a bounty of eight per cent. was given to ſtills of 1,000 gallons contents, and of ſixteen per cent. to thoſe of 1,500. A fine of 50*l.* was alſo impoſed on any pariſh in which a private ſtill was found. Mr. Foſter propoſed to relieve the pariſh of the fine, in the caſe where a pariſhioner gave the information, continuing, however, the clauſe for making the fine on the pariſh 100*l.* for the ſecond offence. Unlicenſed diſtilleries, he thought could only be put down by the eſtabliſhment of ſmall ſtills, and to encourage theſe, he propoſed that a part of each fine ſhould be given to the owner of them, inſtead of going to the informers. The bounties on large ſtills he wiſhed to continue, as they were of great ſervice to the agriculture of the country. It was upon this point, chiefly, that the diſcuſſion took place. Sir J. Newport moved an amendment, doing away the bounties in queſtion; theſe, he conſidered, to be the true cauſe of the illicit trade, by cruſhing in the outſet all ſmall ſtills, while it became impoſſible for any one to work in competition with the large ſtills eſtabliſhed in the ſea port towns. Mr. Latouche, Mr. Bernard, and Mr. Parnell, ſupported the amendment on the ſame ground; but upon a diviſion it was rejected by a majority of 57 to 21. It was objected to the ſyſtem of ſurvey and fining, that experience had ſhewn its utter inadequacy to reach the evil; and a ſtatement was read from the report of the commiſſioners of inquiry, ſhewing that in one county the amount of fines impoſed in one year was 80,000*l.* of which only 600*l.* was able to be collected, and that the expenſe which it coſt the public to make

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the ſeizures for which theſe fines were to be levied, was 50,000*l.* ſo that the whole benefit of the ſyſtem was confined to the exciſe officers, and no ſtop was put to illicit diſtillation. The only remedy, it was contended, was to adopt the ſyſtem of Scotland, by permitting diſtillers to work very ſmall ſtills under a licence, the amount to be paid for which was calculated on the number of gallons which the ſtill could work in a year. The policy of this mode of proceeding was fully eſtabliſhed in Scotland. Before 1786 the ſyſtem was exactly the ſame as it now is in Ireland, and the whole country was ſupplied by illicit diſtillation. In that year the licenſe ſyſtem was adopted, and it is proved, in the evidence before a committee of the houſe, that in the firſt year 18,000*l.* was collected, whereas eighteen ſhillings had never before been levied; that the legal diſtillers detected and puniſhed the illegal ones; and that the increaſed demand for grain ſoon contributed to the general improvement of the agriculture of Scotland, and changed altogether the face of the country.

The ſeſſion was cloſed on the 21ſt of June, by a ſpeech from the throne, which was delivered by the lords commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty.

CHAP. IX.

Treaty of Alliance with Spain. New Expedition ſent out under the Command of Sir Arthur Welleſley. Events in Spain ſince the Fall of Madrid. Retreat of Caſtanos after the Battle of Tudela. Marches upon the Capital. Affair of Buviereca. Caſtanos ſucceeded in the Command by Lapena, who falls back upon Cuença. French occupy Toledo and La Mancha. Murder of San Juan by his own Soldiery at Talavera. Galluzo appointed to ſucceed him. Miſconduct of that Officer. French enter Corunna and Ferrol, where they take Poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Fleet. Entry of Joſeph Buonaparte into Madrid. Expreſſions of Joy aſcribed by the French Accounts to the People, on this Occaſion. Alarm at Liſbon. Proclamation of the Government. Preparations of the People. Soult marches upon Portugal. Defeat of Romana. Retreat of the Portugueſe General Freire. Aſcribed by the People to Treachery. They ſurround and maſſacre him. Soult enters Oporto, after maſſacreing the Garriſon and great Numbers of the Inhabitants. Strange Piece of religious Mummery performed by the French General. Chaues retaken. Vigo recovered. Romana reorganizes his Army, and enters Villafranca. Loſs of the Battle of Ciudad Real, by D'Urbino. Cueſta attacks the French at Medellin, and receives a ſignal Defeat. Defeat of Venegas, in La Mancha, by Victor. Conduct of the French Soldiery. Eloquent Addreſs of the Junta upon the Subject. Affairs in Catalonia. Gallant Reſiſtance of the little Town of Roſas. Second Siege of Saragoſſa. Preparations for the Defence. Attacks upon the Caſa Bianca repulſed. Circumvallation of the Town. Syſtem of Mining began. Various Attacks. Propoſals of Capitulation to Palafox indignantly rejected. Bombardment of the Town. Progreſs of the Mines.

Famine

Famine and Peſtilence prevail. Sickneſs of Palafox, who is ſucceeded in the Command by Rie. Horrible State of the City. Propoſals to the French General rejected. Capitulation at length reſorted to. Terms violated by the Enemy. Palafox conveyed to France. Obſervations of the Junta on the Fate of Saragoſſa. Honours and Immunities decreed to the City. Reding's Attempt to ſurpriſe Barcelona. Baffled by the French General, St. Cyr. Reding retires upon Tarragona. Attacked by the French near Vals. The Enemy is driven back. Reding mortally wounded. Succeeded in the Command by Blake. Blake retakes Alcanitz. Attempts to recover Saragoſſa. Attacks Suchet at Belchite. His Army, ſtruck by a Panic, diſperſes on the Field. Blake retires into Catalonia.

IT will have been ſeen, from our account of the debates which took place in parliament, in relation to the affairs of Spain, that, notwithſtanding the multiplied diſaſters which in the courſe of the laſt few months had befallen the allied armies in that country, our government did not deſpair. At the very moment when the political aſpect of the peninſula ſeemed to wear a character of the deepeſt gloom, a treaty of "Chriſtian, ſtable and inviolable peace" between the two nations was ſigned in London, by which the king engaged to continue, to the utmoſt of his power, his aſſiſtance to the Spaniſh people, and promiſed not to acknowledge any other king of Spain, than Ferdinand the VIIth, his heirs, or ſuch lawful ſucceſſor as the Spaniſh nation ſhould acknowledge. By another article of the ſame treaty, both parties agreed to make common cauſe againſt France, and never to make peace with that power, except by common conſent. In purſuance of the determination thus unequivocally expreſſed, of uniting our fate with that of the liberty and independence of Spain, every exertion was made for the immediate fitting out of a new expedition to the peninſula. With the approbation of all parties, Sir Arthur Welleſley was nominated to the chief command; and early in March that officer, who had previouſly reſigned his ſeat in parliament, and the ſecretaryſhip for Ireland, ſet ſail with the forces for Liſbon.

Before, however, we ſhall enter upon the narrative of his ſubſequent operations, it will be neceſſary to advert to the military events which had taken place in the peninſula ſince the period of the capitulation of Madrid. Our readers will recollect the diſaſtrous circumſtances under which the wrecks of the ſeveral Spaniſh armies which yet remained in the field were ſituated, at the cloſe of our former volume. A conſiderable portion of the central army, under Caſtanos, forming the right wing, which had diſperſed on the evening of the fatal battle of Tudela, reaſſembled at Zaragoza. Four other diviſions were collected by the general himſelf at Tarrazona, from which place, on the night of the 25th, he withdrew to Calatayad, purſued by a corps which Napoleon had diſpatched, in the direction of Agreda, for the purpoſe of cutting off his retreat. The poſition at Calatayad was ſufficiently advantageous, as the Spaniſh

niſh general was at the ſame time enabled to cover the preparations for defence which were haſtening at Saragoſſa, and in ſome degree to threaten the left flank of the enemy, on his advance towards the ſouth. But a diſpatch was received from Morla, by which he was ſummoned to the defence of the capital, and accordingly, on the 27th, he continued his retreat in the direction of Siguenza, where he arrived on the following evening. In the courſe of this march his rear guard, under the command of D. Franceſco Venegas, was attacked in the paſs of Buvierca, by a large body of the enemy, but it ſucceeded in maintaining its poſition, after a ſevere conteſt of eight hours, in which both parties ſuffered conſiderable loſs.

At Siguenza, Caſtanos, upon a ſummons from the ſupreme junta, reſigned the command to D. Manuel Lapena. The troops, which by fatigue and diſperſion had been reduced to the number of little more than 8,000, were haſtening, under their new commander, towards Samoſierra, when intelligence was received of the loſs of that important paſs. It now only remained to puſh forward with all poſſible expedition, for the defence of Madrid: ſcarcely, however, had they reached Guadalaxara, in the route to that city, when the advices of its capitulation arrived; and the further information of the approach of a conſiderable force, under Victor and Beſſeres, rendered it neceſſary to provide for the ſecurity of their own retreat. To proceed towards the ſouth was impracticable, as Aranjuez and its neighbourhood, were already occupied by the enemy; and, no other alternative now preſented itſelf, but to croſs the Tagus, and haſten to take up a poſition in the ſtrong country about Cuença. The paſſage of the river was ſucceſsfully effected, and they reached Velinchon on the 7th. Here La Pena voluntarily gave up the command to the Duke del Infantado, who had already joined them at Guadalaxara. On the 11th they arrived at Cuença, where they were ſhortly after reinforced by another corps, commanded by D. Miguel Lili, which, under circumſtances of equal difficulty and hazard, had alſo effected its retreat from the Ebro. Meaſures were here taken for the recruiting and re-equipment of the forces; the neceſſary operations for which proceeded without any moleſtation from the enemy.

In the meanwhile the French were purſuing their ſucceſſes. Toledo was occupied by Victor on the 11th, from which place La Mancha was ſubjected to all the pillage and ravage of his ferocious ſoldiery. The juntas of the ſouth were employed in preparing the fortifications of the Sierra Morena, the paſſes of which it was daily expected that the enemy would attempt to force. Napoleon, however, would ſeem to have had other views at that moment. The movements of the Engliſh army, under Moore, diverted his attention to the north, and it was expected the force which had been diſpatched in purſuit of the retiring junta, into Eſtremadura, would find in that direction an eaſier march upon Seville and Cadiz, than over the mountain ranges which bound Andaluſia to the north. As yet there was little to oppoſe him in

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that quarter. After the defeat of San Juan at Samoſierra, that officer had retired upon Talavera, but the diſpoſition of his troops was ſuch, as to render them totally unmanageable for any uſeful purpoſe. Exaſperated by their defeat, and loſing, among the multiplied inſtances of treachery, which had accompanied the ſurrender of Madrid, all confidence in their ſuperiors, their ſuſpicions became ſuddenly directed towards their general, and they reſolved to wreak upon his perſon the vengeance of his ſuppoſed treaſon. They ſurrounded his houſe, dragged him out of it, ſhot him, and hanged his body, with every circumſtance of contumely, upon a gibbet. After this they diſperſed, for the moſt part, into the neighbouring country, and a corps of the enemy, under the command of Sebaſtiani, a few days after, took poſſeſſion of Talavera without oppoſition, where they found the body of San Juan ſtill expoſed upon the gibbet.

Upon the murder of San Juan, Don Joſef Galluzo was appointed to the command of ſuch troops as yet remained with their colours, and in a ſhort time he managed to re-aſſemble a body of about 8,000 men. Reſtricting his exertions to the defence of the left bank of the Tagus, he proceeded to take the neceſſary ſteps for the occupation of the ſeveral bridges. At the Puente del Arzobiſpo, however, he was anticipated by the French, who not long after ſucceeded in forcing their paſſage at the bridge of Almaraz, and Galluzo began a retreat, or, more properly ſpeaking, a flight, in the courſe of which nearly the whole of his force was left behind and diſperſed. Nothing now remained to impede the invaſion of Andaluſia, but, happily, Napoleon, while bending all his efforts to envelope the Engliſh in the north, had recalled a conſiderable portion of his troops from Eſtremadura; and the Spaniards were thus enabled to organize another army, and to recover for a time the poſſeſſion of the province.

Mar. 27.

We have, in our firſt chapter, given ſome account of the progreſs and reſult of thoſe operations in Leon and Gallicia, which afforded a diverſion ſo ſeaſonable, and we ſhall now revert, ſhortly, to the events which took place in that quarter, ſubſequent to the embarkation of the Britiſh army. Among the more immediate conſequences of that meaſure, was the fall of Corunna and of Ferrol. Upon entering this laſt place, which was delivered up without reſiſtance by the treachery of the naval and military commanders, the French had the ſatisfaction of finding that neither the arſenal, nor the fleet, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, including three of three decks each, had received the ſlighteſt damage; and they could not forbear to expreſs their exultation that the Engliſh, in the precipitation of their retreat, had taken no meaſures for the ſecuring to themſelves, or to their allies, the poſſeſſion of an object ſo important. It was, at the ſame time, another topic of reproach with them, that Romana, whom we brought from the Baltic, had been abandoned, and was, with the wreck of his army reduced to leſs than 2,500 men, wandering between Vigo and Santiago, and cloſely purſued by the forces under Marſhal Soult.

No obſtacle was now ſuppoſed to preſent itſelf to oppoſe the direct march of the French army to the capital of Portugal, and it was even announced in the bulletins, that the marſhal would croſs the Minto on the 11th, reach Porto by the 20th, and Liſbon by the 28th.

On the 23d January, the intruſive King Joſeph, in compliance, as it was affirmed, with the humble but repeated intreaties which the inhabitants had addreſſed to his imperial brother, condeſcended to make his public entry into Madrid. This great event was announced by the firing of a hundred pieces of cannon, and hailed, we are told, by the continual and joyful acclamations of an immenſe crowd, who accompanied the cavalcade of his Catholic Majeſty to the church of St. Iſidore, where he was received by the ſuffragan biſhop. Having taken his ſeat upon the throne prepared for him, he replied to the affectionate addreſſes of the clergy and inhabitants in a diſcourſe, in which he proteſted, before God, that it was his duty and conſcience only which had induced him to mount the throne, and not his own private inclination. After the performance of maſs, Joſeph proceeded in proceſſion to the palace, where his arrival was proclaimed by the ſecond diſcharge of 100 guns. All the private houſes and edifices along the line which the proceſſion took was ornamented by tapeſtry; not a window, or balcony, which was not crowded with perſons of both ſexes, and all conditions, who, according to the Madrid Gazette, which is our ſole authority for all theſe particulars, "broke forth in expreſſions of the joy which they felt, in at laſt poſſeſſing in their capital a monarch ſent by Providence, to heal the public maladies, and to reſtore to Spain the proſperity and ſplendour which heretofore rendered its name illuſtrious."

The anticipation that the ſame Providence would ſhortly extend to the Portugueſe capital a like meaſure of its bounty and protection, gave riſe to ſenſations among the inhabitants, probably leſs diſſimilar to thoſe experienced by the citizens of Madrid, than the account above given would lead us to ſuppoſe; in fact, the alarm produced at Liſbon, by the intelligence of the progreſs of the French in every quarter, may eaſily be conceived. A body of 14,000 Engliſh troops had been left behind in that city, upon the advance of Sir John Moore into Portugal, and when, early in February, the death of that general, and the embarkation of his army, was announced, the utmoſt confuſion prevailed. Tranſports were collected, and every preparation made for the evacuation of the city, the inhabitants of which gave themſelves up to mingled ſentiments of indignation and diſmay, in the proſpect of being abandoned by their allies to all the violence and vengeance of a ferocious and exaſperated enemy. The government, however, was not deficient in ſuch exertions as the exigencies of the moment called for; a proclamation was iſſued, in which the diſaſters which had occurred were acknowledged, and no attempt was made to diſguiſe the extent, or the nature of the difficulties in which they were ſituated. But the people were called upon to put forth thoſe

energies,

energies, upon the proper exertion of which alone the ſafety of the ſtate depended, and rallying round the walls of their native cities, to renew the memory of thoſe times which witneſſed the heroiſm and triumph of their anceſtors.

The people, in general, were by no means wanting in every demonſtration of right feeling, and devotedneſs to the cauſe. All claſſes and all ages immediately flew to arms, and however inefficient the efforts of an undiſciplined populace might have proved to reſiſt the onſet of regular forces, it is impoſſible not to give to the mere diſplay of feeling, thus awakened, the praiſe of a ſtrong ſenſe of national honour and independence, and of the duties and the ſacrifices connected with its aſſertion. The ſincerity of the feeling could not be doubted, though happily there was no occaſion, in the event, to ſubject it to any ſeverity of trial. Notwithſtanding the menaces of his bulletins, Soult did not, till March, commence his movements towards Portugal. On the 6th of that month he paſſed the Minho at Orenſe, and a few days after attacked Romana, in the neighbourhood of Monterey, killed and made priſoners a conſiderable portion of his forces, and captured the greater part of his baggage and artillery; Romana himſelf with difficulty making his eſcape, with the wreck of his corps, to Sanabria. On the 13th Soult appeared before Chaves, which was abandoned, together with a conſiderable depôt of arms. The enemy next directed his march to Braga. Between this place and Chaves lies a tract of ſtrong mountainous country, affording every facility for defence, of which, however, the Portugueſe general did not think proper to avail himſelf; he abandoned it immediately upon the approach of the enemy, retiring within the old and diſmantled fortifications of Braga. This conduct excited the indignation of the people, whoſe ſuſpicions ſeemed to be confirmed when they learnt that no cartridges had been ſerved to the ſoldiers. The treachery of Freire appeared to them no longer a matter of doubt. In ſpite of his guards, they forced their way into his house, and maſſacred him on the ſpot. They then called upon Barou d'Eben, a major in the Engliſh ſervice, to lead them out againſt the enemy. Under that officer they occupied a ſtrong poſition in the neighbourhood of the town, in which, for three days they reſiſted the ſucceſſive attacks of Soult. Finding, however, it would be impoſſible, with forces ſo undiſciplined, to maintain the poſt any longer, Eben retreated, without diſorder, upon Oporto; to which place he was rapidly followed by the enemy. The people of Oporto were animated by a ſpirit of the moſt unqualified hatred of their invaders, and the French army, which amounted only to 12,000 men, might have had ſufficient occaſion to experience the effects of this feeling, had a chief like Palafox been preſent, to give to its expanſion the neceſſary degree of diſcipline and direction. Already, upon intelligence of the approach of the French, the populace had broken forth into open tumult. They forced the gates of the priſon, where Oliveir, their late governor, was confined, and put him to death, together with fourteen

other priſoners, convicted of correſpondence with the enemy. However horrible theſe exceſſes may appear, it muſt, at leaſt, be confeſſed that they betrayed any thing but a diſpoſition to compromiſe with the invader. There were few or no troops in the town; the works for its defence conſiſted merely of a line of batteries, which had been lately thrown up in haſte by the people, badly placed, and of ſuch injudicious extent, that they would have required an army of 60,000 men to defend them. About 270 cannons were mounted upon theſe ill conſtructed works, the defective arrangement of which was, in part, corrected by the exertions of Captain Von Arenſchild, of the German legion, who had lately arrived from Liſbon.

Soult appeared before the town on the 26th. On the two following days he directed ſome partial attacks againſt the works, and was repulſed on both occaſions. On the 29th he renewed the aſſault, and, availing himſelf of the confuſion exiſting amongſt his unſkilful opponents, ſucceeded in forcing his way into the city, at a time when it was ſaid that he had not above ſix rounds of cartridges left. Upon the pretext that a French officer, who had been ſent to ſummon the city, had been ſhot, the garriſon, as the French deſcribed it, were put to the ſword; but, in fact, ſeveral thouſand of the inhabitants, without conſideration for age or ſex, were maſſacred, and their bodies lay for ſome days expoſed in the ſtreets, and were then thrown into the river, already thronged with thoſe of the crowds that had periſhed by the breaking of the bridge of boats, over which, at the time of the aſſault, they had ſought to eſcape from their purſuers.

Such were the auſpices under which the French general took poſſeſſion of the ſecond city of Portugal. It was attempted, a few days after, to efface the memory of theſe events, by a piece of religious mummery, not more abſurd than impious. About a league from Oporto is the village of Mataſinhos, famous by the poſſeſſion of a crucifix, known by the name of Noſſo Senhor de Bouças. This venerable relic Marſhal Soult, accompanied by his ſtaff, took occaſion to viſit, and, according to the journal publiſhed under his authority at Oporto, "proſtrated himſelf before the altar, with all the reſpect and reverence which religion requires of thoſe who are animated by the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity." The inhabitants of Mataſinhos are deſcribed as wrapt in extaſy at this intereſting and affecting ſpectacle of a great man humbling himſelf in the preſence of the King of kings and ſovereign diſpoſer of empires. They were ſtill further edified, when they heard the marſhal expreſs his concern that the plate and jewels of the church had been loſt, and aſſure the rector of his intention to offer two large ſilver candleſticks to our lord of Bouças, and moreover to double the ſalaries of the rector and ſacriſtan. "It is time," ſays the recorder of this ſingular ſcene, "to open our eyes, and to acknowledge the hand of Providence in the events which have befallen us. How fortunate are we, that Heaven has deſtined us to be governed by a hero, who poſſeſſes

poſſeſſes a heart diſpoſed to be deeply and warmly impreſſed with all the majeſty of our holy religion, and who aſpires only to make it ſhine forth with new and never fading ſplendour." From this conduct in the French general, and from the language which he ſeems to have encouraged in his adherents, the inference would be juſtified that he had himſelf the ſerious expectation of obtaining the crown of Portugal in remuneration of his ſervices. But the more probable conſtruction perhaps is, that he was merely amuſing himſelf with the adulation which the proſpect of ſuch an arrangement called forth from the traitors who had eſpouſed his party.

But, whatever were the views or the hopes of the marſhal, his reign over Portugal was not likely to be a very tranquil one, and events were daily taking place, which ſeemed immediately to threaten its duration. Chaves, where he had left 1,600 men, including his ſick, was already retaken by the ſame force, under Silveira, which had previouſly evacuated it upon the approach of the French; and a body of Portugueſe peaſantry, combined with a detachment from the army of Romana, had, under the able command of D. Pablo Morillo, inveſted Vigo, and compelled the French garriſon, conſiſting of 1,300 men, to ſurrender priſoners of war. Romana himſelf, who had received a reinforcement of 3,000 men, and reorganized his army, proceeded, with his accuſtomed activity, to threaten the French communications in Aſturias; in his march upon which he retook the town of Villafranca, with 800 priſoners. Under theſe circumſtances, the poſitions of the French in Portugal and Gallicia became of a ſufficiently perilous and precarious nature.

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The contemporaneous movements of the French armies on the Eſtremadurian frontier of Portugal, rendered impracticable any advance on the part of the Engliſh forces at Liſbon, for the relief of their allies in the north. At not more than thirty leagues diſtance from Liſbon, a body of nearly 30,000 French troops had croſſed the Tagus, and were proceeding towards Badajoz; and the ſubſequent diſaſters of the patriot armies in theſe quarters, made it doubtful whether Liſbon itſelf could be maintained till the arrival of the expected ſuccours from England. The central army, which had been reforming under the Duke del Infantado, had already ſuffered ſome conſiderable reverſes. The advanced diviſion, under Venegas, was ſuddenly attacked by Victor, on the 13th of January, and defeated with the loſs of 3,000 priſoners; and the duke, in falling back upon Valencia, unfortunately ſuffered his artillery, which he had ſeparated from his army, to be ſurpriſed and captured. In La Mancha, the Duke del Albuquerque, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſome affairs, of which the reſults would have been greater, but for the ill adviſed interference of his commander, d'Urbino, whoſe incompetence to the poſt he filled was more ſignally evinced at the battle of Ciudad Real, where his army was completely routed by Sebaſtiani, from whoſe diſpatch it would ſeem that the Spaniards made

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no reſiſtance, but were inſtantly driven from the field, with the loſs of 3,000 killed, 4,000 priſoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon; that of the French, according to their own account, did not exceed thirty killed and ſixty wounded. On the following day a diſaſter, ſtill more fatal, befel the army of Eſtremadura. On the rout of Galluzo, Cueſta had been appointed to the chief command in that province; the bridges over the Tagus had been re-occupied, and a conſiderable military force collected, to oppoſe any attempt of the enemy to repaſs the river. On the 16th, however, the French again forced the defences at the Puente del Arzobiſpo, and drove back the troops which had been poſted there to Miravete. The reſiſtance at Almarez, owing to the cowardice or treachery of the commander, Heneſtroſa, was ſtill leſs effectual; and Cueſta fell back upon Santa Cruz, abandoning his magazines at Truxillo, and leaving the whole of Eſtremadura open to the movements of the enemy. Upon the falſe intelligence, however, of ſome detachments which the French general, Victor, had made of his forces, Cueſta reſolved to attack him. On the 27th he marched to Medellin, where he found, not, as he expected, a part, but the whole of the French force in array to receive him. A battle enſued; the Spaniſh infantry fought bravely, but the miſconduct of the cavalry threw the left wing into diſorder, and it was conſequently driven from the field. The French then directed all their efforts againſt the centre, which, in ſpite of the individual gallantry of the men, was broken, and a general rout enſued. By the enemy's relation, we are told, that not leſs than 7,000 men were left on the field, 3,000 taken, together with thirty pieces of cannon. The battle, however, had leſs important conſequences than might have been expected. The enemy made no attempt upon Andaluſia, and in a ſhort time Cueſta managed to collect at Almendralejo, a force nearly as impoſing as that which he had commanded previous to the defeat at Medellin. The central junta at Seville betrayed no ſymptom of alarm or deſpondency; a vote of thanks was paſt in favour of the army, and of its chief; and, by an act of more queſtionable wiſdom, the title and powers of captain general were conferred upon Cueſta.

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The conduct of the French ſoldiery, throughout the whole progreſs of their warfare, was the occaſion and the object of another proclamation from the junta. Plunder and maſſacre, and rape and ſacrilege, are deſcribed as the invariable companions of their columns, whereſoever they directed their devaſtating progreſs. "In other times," it was ſaid, "war was carried on between army and army, ſoldier and ſoldier—their fury ſpent itſelf upon the field of battle, and when courage, combined with fortune, had decided the victory, the conquerors behaved to the conquered like men of honour, and the defenceleſs people were reſpected. The progreſs of civilization had tempered the evils of hoſtility, till a nation, which ſo lately boaſted that it was the moſt poliſhed in the world, renewed, in the 19th century, the cruelty of the worſt ſavages, and all the

the horrors which make us tremble in peruſing the hiſtory of the irruptions of the barbarians of old. Like tygers, theſe enemies make no diſtinction in their carnage—the aged, the infants, the women—all are alike to them, whereſoever they can find blood to ſhed."

Addreſſing themſelves to the Spaniſh people, the junta went on to aſk—"What recourſe have you in ſubmiſſion and in cowardice? If with this abaſement you could purchaſe a miſerable exiſtence, that perhaps, with baſe minds, might exculpate you. But you fly to your houſes to periſh in them, or to be idle ſpectators of the horrors which theſe ruffian ſoldiers are preparing for you. Yes! wait for them there, and they will not tarry long ere they come and ſhed before your eyes the blood of the innocent victims which you will not defend. Old fathers, wretched mothers, prepare to receive your daughters releaſed from the arms of a hundred barbarians, only when they are in the act of death! or, if they recover life, to curſe it in the bitterneſs of inextinguiſhable ſhame! Tell them to reproach thoſe cowardly huſbands, thoſe baſe lovers, who are content to live and ſee them plunged in this abominable infamy. But they will not be ſuffered to live; handcuffed and haltered will they be dragged out of their country; they will be made ſoldiers by force, though they would not become ſo from honour and a ſenſe of duty; there they will be expoſed in the foremoſt ranks to the fire of the enemy; there they will not be able to fly—the toil, the danger, and death will be theirs; the glory and ſpoil will be their conquerors, and the crowns which they win will be for the tyrant, the cauſe of all this miſery."

The energy and eloquence of the proclamations iſſued by the government to the Spaniſh nation, were, in general, perfectly commenſurate with the importance of the intereſts they diſcuſſed, and the depth and ardour of that patriotiſm to which they were addreſſed. Nor were they, perhaps, the leſs adapted for their purpoſe, on account of a certain tone of romantic exaltation which is commonly perceived to pervade them; a tone which, though it may ſound of a pitch rather too high from our more ſobered feelings, has clearly nothing about it of the tumour of affectation, and was undoubtedly perfectly in uniſon with thoſe loſty ſentiments of honour and duty, which, far more than any calculation of intereſt, formed the baſis of that unſubmitting ſpirit with which the Spaniſh people ſo gloriouſly perſiſted in reſiſting the invader of their national independence.

In Catalonia this devoted ardour among the people diſplayed itſelf in inſtances of reſiſtance as perſevering and heroic as in any other province of the peninſula. With the aſſiſtance of ſome Britiſh ſeamen, the little town of Roſas, without works, and almoſt without garriſon, maintained itſelf againſt the utmoſt efforts of a French diviſion for the ſpace of a month, and capitulated only when the bombardment of the enemy had reduced the citadel to a heap of ruins. Tarragona and Gerona prepared themſelves for the exertion of energies equally unbending, and felt animated rather than dejected

by the fate which had lately overtaken the heroic martyrs of liberty at Saragoſſa.

That illuſtrious city had at length fallen. After the diſaſters at Tudela, Palafox had immediately retired thither with the diviſion under his command, and preparations were inſtantly made for entering upon a ſecond defence, as perſevering and glorious, though, as the event proved, not equally ſucceſsful with the firſt. The recollection of all the multiplied horrors of the former ſiege, the conſideration of the accumulated means which the enemy was now enabled to employ againſt them, only ſtimulated the inhabitants and their chief to renewed and redoubled exertions in the ſervice of their country. Proclamations were iſſued, commanding all women, old men, and young boys, to leave the city. By another, every perſon, of whatever rank or condition, was imperatively called upon to devote his perſon and property to the common cauſe, under penalty of a fine, the amount of which was to be applied to public purpoſes. The whole population of the city, without exception as to rank, ſex, or age, was ſummoned to exert themſelves for the ſtrengthening and completion of the fortifications.

The French, however, allowed them little time for the effecting of theſe arrangements. On the 27th of November, a force under Marſhal Moncey arrived before the city. On the 29th, ſome ſkirmiſhes took place, which ended in favour of the Spaniards. On the 30th, the enemy made a lodgement upon ſome heights commanding the Caſa Bianca, and poſted themſelves in the monaſtery of La Concepcion. From hence they were driven, on the following day, by the garriſon. They renewed the attack in the direction of the Caſa Bianca, but were ſo well received by the Spaniards, that after a conteſt of four hours, they were compelled to fall back with conſiderable loſs, and file off, leaving behind a large portion of their ſtores and baggage.

According to his own account, Buonaparte purpoſely forbore, in the firſt inſtance, to enforce a ſyſtem of ſtrict circumvallation around the town, in order that the inhabitants might, by communication with other parts, become aſſured of the diſaſters which had every where befallen the Spaniſh armies, and conſequently of the utter hopeleſsneſs of any further reſiſtance. In the mean while, however, every meaſure was taken for inſuring the ultimate reduction of the place, ſhould it perſiſt in its reſolution to ſtand a ſecond ſiege. For this purpoſe, it was determined to reſort to a means of attack, which, however ſlow, was almoſt certain in its operation, and againſt which the beſieged themſelves were the leaſt able to oppoſe an effectual reſiſtance. La Coſte, general of engineers, and aide-de-camp to Buonaparte, prepared and collected at Alagon the neceſſary materials and inſtruments for commencing an extenſive ſyſtem of mining, while Dedon, commanding the artillery, brought up from Pampeluna a large quantity of mortars, bombs, and howitzers. Buonaparte ſeems to have reſolved, that if he could not poſſeſs the city of Saragoſſa, at leaſt

leaſt he would make himſelf maſter of its ruins.

On the 20th of December, the enemy directed a powerful and ſucceſsful attack upon the Torrero, and the Caſa Bianca; two poſitions which had been ſtrengthened by the Spaniards, but the nature of which did not permit a protracted defence againſt ſuperior force. At the ſame time, a diviſion, under General Gazau, made itſelf maſter of the heights of San Gregorio, and deſtroyed ſome redoubts which had been thrown up to command the roads from Sueva and Barcelona. On other points, however, they were leſs ſucceſsful. A ſtrong body of infantry, ſupported by horſe, endeavoured to gain the ſuburb on the ſide of the river. A hot and protracted conteſt enſued, which ended in the complete repulſe of the enemy, who was driven back, with the loſs, it is ſtated, of nearly 4000 men.

On the 22d, the French general, Moncey, ſent to Palafox, informing him of the ſurrender of Madrid, and repreſenting to him the uſeleſsneſs and danger of further reſiſtance. The reply of the Spaniſh chief was that of indignant and determined refuſal to liſten to any propoſal of compoſition or capitulation.

About the beginning of January, Moncey, who had fallen ill, was ſucceeded in the command by Junot. The bombardment was now commenced. The enemy carried the monaſtery of St. Joſeph by aſſault, and ſoon after the bridge Huerba fell into his power. On the 26th, Junot was ſuperſeded by Laſnes in the direction of operations, which were now carried on with increaſed vigour. On the 27th, the breach was practicable in ſeveral places; and while the bombardment was maintained without remiſſion, three companies of miners and eight of ſappers proceeded to inſure the progreſſive deſtruction of the town. The Spaniards endeavoured to counteract mines by mines, but, from their inexperience in this mode of operation, their miners were every day diſcovered and ſuffocated. By the adoption of this ſyſtem, the progreſs of the enemy was ſlow, but ſure and effectual. Three ſeveral attacks were made by mines. Every day houſes were deſtroyed, and others occupied, in ſpite of the moſt deſperate reſiſtance on the part of the inhabitants, who, as in the former ſiege, defended every houſe and every ſtreet. All the outworks of the town were ſucceſſively carried. On the 30th, the monaſteries of Monica, and of the Greek Auguſtines, were occupied; and on the ſame day, above 60 houſes were deſtroyed by the mines. The ammunition of the beſieged was nearly exhauſted, and they had no other powder but ſuch as they were enabled to manufacture from day to day. Famine began to be felt in the town; and to crown their misfortunes, a contagious diſeaſe broke out in the city, and was daily extending its ravages.

The utter hopeleſsneſs of all further reſiſtance could not but be obvious to the moſt ſanguine of the patriots; nevertheleſs they perſiſted in holding out for nearly three weeks longer. The bombardment continued without ceaſing, and it is calculated that in the courſe of the ſiege not leſs than 17,000 ſhells were thrown into the

the town. The ſappers and miners continued to carry on, without remiſſion, their ſyſtem of deſtruction, and at length above a third of the city became in the actual poſſeſſion of the French. In the mean while the garriſon was daily weakened by peſtilence, or the fire of the beſiegers. The diſorder at length reached Palafox himſelf, who was compelled to transfer the command to a junta, of which he nominated D. Pedro Maria Ric the preſident. This was on the 18th of February. On the following day the ſtate of the town, and the remaining means of defence, was taken into conſideration. From the reports of the ſeveral commanding officers, it appeared that 62 cavalry horſes only remained, that of the infantry there were not 3000 men fit for ſervice; the ammunition was nearly exhauſted, the fortifications wholly in ruins, without either men or materials for repairing them. A general attack from the enemy was threatened, and there appeared to remain no poſſible means of reſiſting it, or of averting all thoſe horrors of pillage and maſſacre in which the enemy was accuſtomed to indulge upon ſuch occaſions, and which it was to be expected would be wreaked with ten-fold atrocity upon a city ſo long the object of his attack. At any rate it ſeemed impoſſible to hold out longer than four days; and it was obſerved, that unleſs relief was expected within that period, it would be an unjuſtifiable waſte of life to riſk any further protraction of the defence. When the queſtion of capitulation was put to the vote, twenty-ſix appeared in favour of it, and eight, among whom was the preſident Ric, againſt it. Nevertheleſs it was reſolved to adopt the opinion of the minority, and to hold out as long as a poſſibility of the intervention of ſuccour remained. A flag of truce was ſent to the enemy, propoſing a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for three days, while meſſengers might be diſpatched to aſcertain whether or not any relief was at hand, and offering to capitulate in caſe no proſpect of ſuch aid ſhould appear. Laſnes, however, would not hear of the propoſition, and inſiſted upon the inſtant ſurrender of the place, at the ſame time commanding the renewal of the attack and bombardment.

Feb. 19. On the ſame evening the French ſucceeded in getting poſſeſſion of the quarter of the Tannieres and the Puento del Angel, by which means their fire reached the centre of the town. Fatigue and peſtilence rendered the garriſon almoſt phyſically incapable of any further exertions. On every quarter the enemy was progreſſively advancing, and the means of reſiſtance became hourly more and more ineffectual. The bombardment had laſted forty days; two-thirds of the city were deſtroyed; 30,000 of the inhabitants had periſhed, and the contagion was daily deſtroying from three to four hundred. The junta now conſidered that they had fulfilled their engagements; that *Saragoſſa was deſtroyed*, and that they were therefore at liberty to open a negotiation for the ſurrender of the town. A flag of truce was ſent to Laſnes, requeſting a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for twenty-four hours, while the terms of capitulation were being ſettled. Laſnes, in reply, ordered the junta to attend him

him in his quarters within two hours, after the expiration of which he would admit no treaty of any kind. Such of the junta as could be collected, proceeded accordingly to the Caſa Bianca, where the French commander received them with an air of inſolent indifference, and, in the firſt inſtance, refuſed to pledge himſelf any further than for the ſafety of the women and children. Upon theſe terms, however, Ric reſolutely refuſed to ſurrender, and he intimated to the Frenchman that he might yet have cauſe to repent the driving of what yet remained of Saragoſſa to the exertion of a laſt effort. Laſnes was apparently of the ſame opinion. The garriſon was admitted priſoners of war, and Laſnes gave his word that they ſhould march out with the honours of war, although he would not admit it as a ſpecific proviſion of the treaty. In the ſame manner he aſſured the junta, that Palafox ſhould be allowed to go whereſoever he pleaſed. Both theſe engagements were afterwards broken. The heroic Palafox, at that time ſuppoſed to be dying of a brain-fever, was conveyed, with circumſtances of peculiar contumely, to France. The hatred of the French towards this illuſtrious Spaniard, cannot be better illuſtrated than by the calumnies which they ſyſtematically vented againſt his character and conduct. "The people," they aſſerted, "held him in ſuch abhorrence, that it was neceſſary to poſt a guard before his door to protect him, or otherwiſe he would have been ſtoned. An idea of the hatred in which he and the monks of his party were held, could only be formed by remembering the deteſtation with which thoſe men were regarded in France who governed by terror and the guillotine;" and they affirmed, that it was only by the operation of ſimilar means, that he had compelled the inhabitants to undergo all the privations and miſeries of the ſiege.

Among the priſoners was Auguſtina Saragoza, the heroine who had ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſhed herſelf in the former ſiege, and who had, throughout the whole courſe of the ſecond defence, maintained the ſame undaunted demeanour. Falling ſick at the time of the capitulation, ſhe was conveyed to the hoſpital, from whence ſhe ſucceeded in effecting her eſcape.

An eloquent eulogium upon the conduct of this heroic city was pronounced by the ſupreme government in an addreſs to the Spaniſh nation. "Saragoſſa," it was obſerved, "is ſtill ſtanding, and lives in imitation and in example: ſhe ſurvives ſtill in public ſpirit, which is ever imbibing leſſons of valour and conſtancy from energies ſo heroic. Forty thouſand Frenchmen who have periſhed before the feeble walls which defended Saragoſſa, cauſe France to deplore the barren and ephemeral triumph ſhe has gained, and evince to Spain, that three towns of equal conſtancy and reſolution will ſave the country, and diſconcert her tyrants.

"Time paſſes away, and days will come, when thoſe deſolating earthquakes will ſubſide, with which the genius of iniquity has tormented the earth; the friends of virtue and loyalty will then come to the ſhores of the Ebro to viſit theſe majeſtic ruins; and contemplating them with admiration and envy, will ſay, "Here ſtood that town

town which in modern ages realiſed or even excelled thoſe ancient prodigies of ſelf-devotion and conſtancy, which are ſcarcely credited in hiſtory. At firſt, without a ſingle regiment, or other defence than a weak wall, or other reſources than the energies of its inhabitants, it dared to provoke the rage of the tyrant, and twice withſtood the impulſe of his conquering legions. The ſubjection of this open and defenceleſs town coſt France more blood, more tears, and more deaths, than the conqueſt of whole kingdoms. It was not French valour which ſubdued it, but a deadly and univerſal contagion, which deprived the defenders of their ſtrength; and the enemy, when he entered the city, triumphed over a few who were dying and diſeaſed, but he did not vanquiſh warriors, or conquer citizens."

A decree was at the ſame time iſſued, declaring that Saragoſſa, its inhabitants, and garriſon, had eminently deſerved well of their country; that every officer and ſoldier employed in the ſiege be promoted; that all the inhabitants and their heirs enjoy perſonal nobility; that the town be free from all contributions for ten years after the concluſion of peace, at which period the public edifices were to be rebuilt with all poſſible magnificence; that a monument be erected in the ſquare of the city in perpetual memory of the ſiege; and that in the ſquares of all the cities in the kingdom, an inſcription be placed, containing the moſt heroic circumſtances of the ſame event.

A ſhort time before the fall of Saragoſſa, an attempt was made by Don Theodore Reding, the captain-general of Catalonia, to ſurpriſe Barcelona. A line of poſts was taken up, extending from Martorel through the Coll de St. Chriſtina to Tarragona; the head-quarters of the whole, under Field Marſhal Don J. B. de Caſtro, being eſtabliſhed at Squalada. On the 16th of February, however, when a general movement was about to be commenced, St. Cyr, who had collected a much ſuperior force, attacked their left, and drove it back upon Squalada, which was evacuated by General Caſtro, who retreated to Cervera. The ſcheme of Reding was thus entirely diſconcerted, and he ſaw that nothing remained but to collect the troops, and conduct them to Tarragona. Accordingly, on the 20th, he marched ſecretly from that city, with 300 horſe, a battalion of Swiſs, and ſix pieces of flying artillery. He was ſoon joined by the troops which were falling back from Coll de St. Chriſtina, and by a body of 1200 men, who, after bravely defending themſelves in the monaſtery of Santa Cruz, had ſucceeded in cutting their way through the enemy. With theſe he moved to Queralt, where the troops from Montmaneu and St. Coloma effected their junction, and his whole combined force amounted to about 10,000 men.

At this moment, however, intelligence arrived that the French had occupied Vals, with the view of intercepting their return to Tarragona. After ſome deliberation, it was reſolved to march to Mont Blanch, which they reached on the 23d; on the following night they determined to paſs the Coll de Riba, and thence effect their retreat as they could to Tar-

ragona. This movement was to be effected in a difficult country, and in the face of very ſuperior numbers. In paſſing by Vals, they were violently attacked by the enemy, who had permitted the advanced guard and part of the centre to proceed unmoleſted, apparently with the hope of cutting off the rear. In this manœuvre, however, he was foiled by the able diſpoſitions of Reding, and the French were driven back with conſiderable loſs. On the following day the retreat to Tarragona was continued. The French, however, came up again, and availing themſelves of a ſtrong reinforcement, attacked and ſucceeded in forcing the poſition of the Spaniards, and in ſome meaſure in diſperſing their army. The greater part of the ſcattered troops, however, ſucceeded in reaching their deſtination. Reding himſelf arrived there on the 25th; he had received, in the late action, ſeveral ſevere wounds, of which in his deſpatch to government he made no mention, but one of which ſhortly after proved mortal. He was Swiſs by birth, and brother of the celebrated patriot Aloys Reding.

Upon the death of Reding, the command of the province was aſſigned to Blake. The loſs of nearly all the fortreſſes, and the diſperſion of the armies, compelled him for ſome time to confine his efforts to the reorganization of the troops, and the fomenting of that ſpecies of petty warfare by the Miquelets, to which the nature of the country afforded ſuch peculiar opportunity. At length, having collected a conſiderable force, he reſolved to attempt the recovery of the city of Alcaniz, a poſition of importance, inaſmuch as it cut off the communication between Mequinenza and Tortoſa, and commanded the high road to Valencia. The French were driven from the town, but feeling its value, a few days after made a powerful effort to regain it. They were repulſed in four ſucceſſive attacks, and compelled to retreat with great loſs.

Blake now determined to attempt the recovery of Saragoſſa. He marched with the joint armies of Arragon and Valencia, and, on the 15th of June, attacked the enemy, who, under Suchet, were ſtrongly poſted before the town. The attack, however, was unſucceſsful. The Spaniards fell back with conſiderable loſs, particularly of cannon, and took up a ſtrong poſition in the front of Belchite. Suchet followed by forced marches. He attacked them twice, but without ſucceſs. On the third day the action was renewed in the valley of Almonazir. Blake had received a reinforcement in the night. His centre was poſted at Calvaire; his left behind retrenchments, while a convent protected his right; his whole front was covered with olive-grounds and vineyards. The French general ordered a battalion of light infantry to advance towards the centre, with a view to occupy the Spaniſh trailleurs, while a powerful attack in columns was directed againſt their left, which had previouſly been ſhaken by twenty diſcharges of artillery. At the moment of this attack, one of the Spaniſh howitzer waggons was blown up by a cannon-ball, and a panic inſtantly ſpread through the whole Spaniſh line.

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The entire army gave way, and fled at once from the field without firing a ſhot, leaving their general attended only by a few officers of his ſtaff. A ſingle regiment attempted to rally, at a ſhort diſtance from the field, but was ſpeedily cut to pieces, or taken. All the artillery, forty-two ammunition carts, three thouſand muſkets, and ſome thouſands of priſoners, remained in the hands of the conquerors. The troops compoſing the army which had thus diſgraced itſelf, were for the moſt part raw Valencian recruits. In the preceding actions, however, they had conducted themſelves well, and their behaviour, on this occaſion, can only be accounted for as one of thoſe extraordinary panics to which undiſciplined troops, however individually brave, ſeem always to be liable. Suchet rapidly followed up his advantages. He entered Alcanitz, Calanda, and Carpe, every day making priſoners, and diſperſing every thing that oppoſed him. All Arragon ſhortly fell into the hands of the conqueror. Blake retired into Catalonia, where he occupied himſelf in endeavouring to reorganize his army.

CHAP. X.

Arrival of Sir Arthur Welleſley at Liſbon. Appointed by the Prince Regent to the chief Command of the Portugueſe Forces. Concerts Operations with Cueſta, and marches upon the French at Oporto. Critical Situation of Soult. Movement of the Engliſh and Portugueſe. Paſſage of the Douro. Britiſh enter Oporto. Soult abandons his whole Materiel, and eſcapes acroſs the Mountains. Welleſley returns to the South to co-operate with Cueſta. Affairs revive in Gallicia. Movements of Ney upon Oviedo. Defeat of the French at Lugo, and at Santiago. Repulſe of Ney at Caldas, who evacuates Ferrol, and retires from Gallicia. Plan of Operations between Sir Arthur Welleſley and Cueſta. Movement upon Madrid. Retreat of Victor. Welleſley advances to the Alberche. Propoſes an immediate Attack. Obſtinacy of the Spaniſh General. Want of Supplies and Means of Tranſport experienced by the Britiſh Army, which halts. Advance of Cueſta. Battle of Talavera. Deſcription of the Engliſh Poſition. Repeated Attacks of the French. Invariably repulſed. The Enemy retire. Severe Loſs of both Parties. Miſconduct of the Spaniſh Commiſſariat. Difficulties of the Engliſh Troops. Advance of Soult and Ney upon Placentia. Diſcuſſions with Cueſta. Retreat upon Almarez. Cueſta abandons the Engliſh Hoſpital at Talavera. Affair of Bânos. Junta orders Venegas to move on Madrid. He is attacked and defeated near Aranjuez by Sebaſtiani. Sir Arthur Welleſley elevated to the Peerage. Honours paid to him by the Spaniſh Junta. Lord Welleſley arrives at Cadiz. Complaints of the Engliſh General reſpecting the Want of Supply. Correſpondence on the Subject. Cueſta diſplaced. Lord Wellington falls back to Badajoz. Account of the Number and Diſpoſition of the French and Spaniſh Armies then in the Field. Junta prepares an Attack on Madrid. Miſconduct of the Spaniſh General. Fatal Battle

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of Ocana. Succeſs of Duke del Parque at Tamames. Diſaſter at Alba del Tormes. Ciudad Rodrigo threatened. Siege of Gerona. Aſſaults upon Monjuic. Determination of the Garriſon. Blake throws in a Convoy. Able Conduct of O'Donnel. Blockade of the Town. A ſecond Convoy introduced by O'Donnel. Augereau takes Command of the Siege. Attacks and deſtroys the Magazines of Blake at Hoſtalrich. Diſeaſe breaks out in the Town. Honourable Capitulation after a Siege of ſeven Months. State of Affairs in Spain. Deſpatch from Lord Welleſley upon the Subject. Inefficiency of the Supreme Central Junta. Miſconduct of the Military Department. Delay in the Aſſembly of the Cortes. Lord Welleſley's Recommendations as to the Meaſures to be adopted.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when on the 22d of April, Sir A. Welleſley reached Liſbon, where his arrival was hailed with every demonſtration of the confidence and attachment of the people. Marſhal Beresford had already taken the command of the Portugueſe army, and was moſt indefatigably and ſucceſsfully occupied in the remodelling of its ſyſtem, and the reſtoration of its military diſcipline and efficiency. The direction of its movements, however, was committed to the commander of the Engliſh forces, who received from the Prince Regent the appointment of marſhal-general of the Portugueſe army.

Arrangements were immediately made for opening the campaign. With this view, two courſes of action preſented themſelves to the choice of the Engliſh general. He might either co-operate with Cueſta againſt the French corps, which under Victor was at that time alternately threatening Liſbon and Seville, or proceed, in the firſt inſtance, to take meaſures for the expulſion of Soult from Oporto, and the north of Portugal. He decided in favour of the laſt mentioned line of operations, and immediately communicated his deſign to Cueſta, deſiring that general to make no attempt againſt Victor, until the return of the Britiſh from Oporto, when the two armies might combine on the ſouth of the Tagus, and concert their movements in common. The ſituation of Soult at that moment was critical enough; his communications with Gallicia had been interrupted; Silveira was in occupation of the bridge of Amarante, on the road to the province of Traz los Montes, and every effort to diſlodge him had hitherto been ineffectual. The poſt was maintained againſt the ſucceſſive attacks of Loiſon, from the 18th of April to the 2d of May, when Soult marched in perſon at the head of a ſtrong detachment, and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the poſition was forced. He then returned to Oporto. On the 8th and 9th, Sir A. Welleſley began to move from Coimbra, having poſted two regiments of dragoons, two battalions, and a brigade of infantry, with a corps of 7000 Portugueſe, in the mountainous diſtrict between Alcantara and Abrantes, for the purpoſe of watching any movement on the part of Victor in that direction. With the remainder of his troops he marched rapidly on Oporto; Beresford, with a ſtrong detachment, chiefly compoſed of Portu-

gueſe,

gueſe, moved upon Viſeu, to act upon the enemy's left, while he himſelf advanced by the more direct routes to the Douro, which they reached after ſome inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes; the enemy having repaſſed it on the 11th, and deſtroyed the bridge. Diſpoſitions were immediately made for croſſing the river. General Murray was diſpatched to attempt a paſſage at Ovintas, about four miles from Oporto; another diviſion was embarked a little above the town of Villa Nova, and a third proceeded directly by the ferry from that ſuburb to Oporto. The paſſage was ſucceſsful at all points. A vigorous reſiſtance was made in the firſt inſtance, but on the approach on the left of the corps which had paſſed at Ovintas, the enemy retired in confuſion, with the loſs of ſeveral cannon and priſoners. The Britiſh entered Oporto, where they found 700 of the enemy's ſick and wounded, amid the acclamations and illuminations of the inhabitants.

In the mean while Beresford had not been idle. He croſſed the Douro, obliged the French poſts at Villa Real and Mezamfrio to fall back, drove in their outpoſts at Amaranthe, and recovered poſſeſſion of the left bank of the Tamaga, on the ſame day that Sir Arthur had forced the paſſage at Oporto. This completely diſconcerted the plan of Soult's retreat, and he was compelled to direct his flight towards Gallicia. The Engliſh general purſued him cloſely as far as Montalegre, and then halted, finding he had taken a road through the mountains towards Oreuſe, by which it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to follow him. In the courſe of this flight, Soult deſtroyed all his guns and ammunition, and retained nothing of his baggage but what a few mules could carry, leaving the road ſtrewed with his ſick and wounded, the carcaſes of horſes, and the bodies of French ſtragglers, who had been put to death by the peaſantry before our advanced guard could ſave them. Theſe ſacrifices were in fact neceſſary, as by this means he contrived to gain the paſs of Ruivaes, near Salamonde, before the troops, detached for that purpoſe by Marſhal Beresford, could arrive to occupy it. This paſs conſiſts of a very narrow bridge over a deep ravine, without a parapet wall on either ſide; and had the Engliſh detachment reached it in time, Soult would unqueſtionably have been compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. As it was, however, it was eſtimated, that ſince we croſſed the Vouga on the 10th, the enemy had loſt above a fourth of his army, and all his artillery and equipments.

From Montalegre Sir Arthur immediately retraced his ſteps to the ſouth, intelligence being conveyed to him that Victor had advanced from the Guadiana, and taken poſſeſſion of Alcantara.—This poſt was occupied by Colonel Mayne, who had under his command a force of about two thouſand Portugueſe, with which he reſiſted for ſix hours a body of ten thouſand infantry and a thouſand horſe, and then made good his retreat without the loſs of a cannon. Victor croſſed the river, and advanced into Portugal in the direction of Caſtel Bianco, but hearing that the allies under Welleſley were returning from the Douro,

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he retreated immediately, and concentrated his army between the Tagus and the Guadiana, in the neighbourhood of Caceres, eſtabliſhing his head-quarters at Truxillo.

In Gallicia, affairs ſoon began to wear a more favourable aſpect. After the capture of Villafranca by Romana, Ney, who commanded in the province, collected a ſtrong force at Lugo, with the view of attacking him. Romana withdrew into Aſturias, and leaving his army at Navia, under the command of D. Nicholas Mahy, proceeded in perſon to Oviedo, for the purpoſe of diſſolving the junta, and arranging the eſtabliſhment of another council, more competent to the adminiſtration of affairs. He was followed by Ney, upon the approach of whoſe forces Mahy fell back into Gallicia, and the French marſhal moved rapidly upon Oviedo, with the hope of ſurpriſing the perſon of Romana. He had, in fact, nearly ſucceeded in his deſign; and the Spaniſh general, with his ſtaff, eſcaped with difficulty from the town, and got on ſhipboard at Gijon. Some ſkirmiſhes took place between the Aſturian troops, under Ballaſteros, and the French; in the courſe of which, St. Ander was taken, and almoſt immediately retaken, with conſiderable loſs on both ſides. Ney in the mean while returned to Gallicia, where the movements of the patriots, under Mahy, rendered his preſence neceſſary. That general had marched with celerity upon Lugo, where what remained of the French force in Gallicia was aſſembled, and had defeated them in a general engagement, (May 18) while Carrara and Murillo (May 23) with the forces which had retaken Vigo, achieved a ſimilar ſucceſs over the enemy at Santiago.

Alarmed by theſe indications of the reviving fortune of the Spaniards, Ney reſolved to attempt the recapture of Vigo, and then forming a junction with the remains of Soult's force at Orenſe, to combine their efforts for the envelopement and deſtruction of Romana. With this view he moved upon Santiago with eight thouſand infantry and two thouſand five hundred horſe. The Spaniſh force, which was very inferior, fell back to Caldas and Pontevedra, where they paſſed the river, and formed on the other ſide, the bridge being already broken.—Their numbers were here increaſed to ſix or ſeven thouſand men, together with about three thouſand young men without fire-arms, and nothing could exceed the animation and alacrity which prevailed among them. This the enemy ſoon experienced. On the morning of the 7th of June, he commenced a fire from the battery he had eſtabliſhed, under cover of which he attempted to force the paſſage of the river, but was driven back with great loſs. He renewed the attack above the bridge on the following day, but with no better ſucceſs, and at length found himſelf obliged to retreat, under circumſtances which not merely made his propoſed junction with Soult impoſſible, but rendered it neceſſary to take meaſures for the evacuation of Gallicia. Accordingly, on the 21ſt, he evacuated Ferrol, having previouſly deſtroyed all the magazines and ſtores; and withdrawing his troops from Corunna, retreated

through Lugo, Villafranca, and Aſtorga. Soult in like manner retired upon Zamora, and the province was effectually cleared of the enemy. Upon the recovery of Ferrol, meaſures were immediately taken for the removal of the Spaniſh fleet to Cadiz.

Sir Arthur Welleſley was now about to commence operations in Spain. After ſome communication with Cueſta, it was concerted that the combined Britiſh and Spaniſh armies ſhould make an advance along the right of the Tagus, and attempt the recovery of the capital. Detachments of Spaniſh troops were to be poſted at Perales and Baños, to interrupt the communications with the enemy's troops in the north, the movements of which were further to be watched by the Portugueſe army under Beresford. Sir Robert Wilſon, with the Luſitanian legion, was to act independently on the flanks or the rear of the enemy, as circumſtances might require. Purſuant to this arrangement, Sir Arthur Welleſley, with the Engliſh forces, about nineteen thouſand ſtrong, marched by Salvatierra to Plaſencia; and Victor, apprehenſive of a movement that might intercept his communication with Madrid, haſtily repaſſed the Tagus at Almaraz, and falling back, took up a poſition upon the Alberche, near Talavera. He was followed by Cueſta with his whole force, conſiſting of about thirty-eight thouſand men, fourteen thouſand of which were poſted at the Puente del Arzobiſpo, and the remainder at the paſs of Miravete, about a league diſtant from Almaraz. Welleſley propoſed that the enemy ſhould be immediately attacked, and that a body of ten thouſand Spaniards ſhould be detached towards Avila to turn their right; but Cueſta refuſed to divide his troops, and the operation was committed to the activity of Sir R. Wilſon's brigade, which marched on the 23d of July to Eſcalona, about eight leagues diſtant from Madrid. On the 20th, the Spaniſh and Britiſh armies effected their junction at Oropeſa, from whence they moved on the 22d, and on the following day came in front of the poſition of the enemy. It was the intention of the Engliſh commander to bring Victor inſtantly to action, before he could fall back, or receive the reinforcements he expected; but the unaccountable caprice and obſtinacy of Cueſta, occaſioned the delay of a day, and of this the enemy did not fail to avail himſelf: he decamped during the night of the 23d, and retired upon St. Olalla and Torrejos. The diſappointment was the more bitter to the Engliſh general, as he literally had not the means of purſuing the enemy. Since the time he had entered Spain, he had invariably found himſelf unable to procure the means of tranſport, not merely for the baggage of individuals, for which he required none, but for what was indiſpenſable to the army, proviſions, ammunition, and military ſtores. All his exertions, either with the people, or the local authorities, for this purpoſe, were in vain; and he had already, before he left Plaſencia, been compelled to ſignify to Cueſta, that unleſs the means of tranſport were provided, his ſenſe of what was due to the king, and to the army with which he had been intruſted, would render it impoſſible for him

to

to undertake any further operations, after that their arrangements againſt Victor ſhould have been carried into effect.

Accordingly he made a dead halt. The Spaniſh army, which had not found the ſame difficulties, and which its general conceived to be fully adequate to the diſperſion of any force which could interpoſe between him and Madrid, continued the purſuit; and the enemy was imagined to be in full retreat, till the very moment when the Spaniſh out-poſts were driven in at Torrijos on the 26th, and the advanced guard attacked in a manner which would have aſſured its deſtruction, and probably that of the whole army, but for the ſkill and gallantry of the Duke del Albuquerque. The French had united their whole force in the neighbourhood of Toledo, conſiſting of the ſeveral corps under Joſeph, Victor, and Sebaſtiani, and forming a body of nearly fifty thouſand men, of which three thouſand were left to garriſon Toledo, and the remainder were put in motion to reſume offenſive operations againſt the allies. Cueſta fell back rapidly upon the Alberche, and again formed a junction with the Britiſh general, who immediately took up a poſition, and made every preparation in the expectation of an approaching attack. Venegas, with the La Manchan army, had been directed to break up from his poſition at Madrilejos, and croſſing the Tagus by the ford at Puente-duenas, to proceed to Arganda, from whence he might threaten Madrid. Had this movement been effected, it is probable that the enemy muſt either have detached a conſiderable force to cover that city, or ſuffered it to be re-occupied by the patriots. By the ill-adviſed interference of the ſupreme junta, however, Venegas was employed in a uſeleſs and ineffectual attack upon Toledo, while the French were enabled to bring their whole force to bear againſt that of the allies.

The poſition taken up by the Britiſh general at Talavera, extended about two miles. On the left, where the Engliſh were ſtationed, the ground was open, and terminated in a commanding height, upon which was poſted a diviſion of infantry, under the orders of General Hill. The right extended down to the Tagus, immediately before the town of Talavera, with an interſected and difficult country in front, and was allotted to the Spaniſh troops, as being conſidered almoſt inacceſſible to attack. In the centre there was an elevated ſpot of ground, on which, to ſecure the point of junction between the two armies, a redoubt was thrown up, and a diviſion of Britiſh infantry, with a ſtrong force of Engliſh and Spaniſh cavalry, under the command of General Campbell, were poſted to ſupport it. About two o'clock on the 27th, the enemy appeared on the left bank of the Alberche, and attacked the diviſion which had been left in advance under General Mackenzie: that officer, however, withdrew in good order, though with ſome loſs, and took up his appointed poſition in the line.—Towards duſk the enemy made an attempt with his cavalry upon our right; it was unſucceſsful, and was probably merely a feint to cover the attack, which early in the night was directed againſt the

point occupied by General Hill, and upon the poſſeſſion of which, it was eaſily perceived, depended the ſecurity of our whole poſition. The attack was bold and ſudden; for a moment the enemy were in poſſeſſion of the height, and were forming upon it, when a general charge with the bayonet drove them down, and we regained it. A few hours after the attempt was repeated with a ſtronger force, but with ſtill leſs ſucceſs. At ſix in the morning a cannonade was commenced againſt our whole line, and two diviſions of infantry advanced to a third attack upon the ſame point, and were a third time repulſed with great ſlaughter. Both armies then deſiſted awhile from action, and took, in ſight of each other, ſome repoſe and refreſhment.

Between two and three o'clock the enemy commenced a general attack along our whole line.—Three ſtrong columns advanced once more upon the heights on the left, flanked by numerous light troops on the hills beyond. A deſperate charge was made againſt theſe maſſes by General Anſon, with the 23d light dragoons and the 1ſt King's German legion, in which both regiments ſuffered ſeverely; and the former, having paſſed through two columns of the enemy, and overthrown a regiment of chaſſeurs, was ſurrounded, and almoſt wholly deſtroyed. The boldneſs of the attack, however, ſo aſtoniſhed the enemy, that he halted, and no further attempt was made upon this part of our poſition. In the mean while, a ſtrong diviſion, which had attacked the redoubt in the middle, then occupied by General Campbell, was repulſed with the loſs of their cannon, and the attack upon the centre of our line was ſtill more unſucceſsful. General Sherbrooke received the enemy with a volley of muſketry, after which the whole diviſion ruſhed forward, and drove them back at the point of the bayonet with prodigious ſlaughter. The brigade of guards, advancing too eagerly in the purſuit, expoſed itſelf to an attack from a reſerve of the enemy. Sir Arthur, however, had already provided for the danger to which he ſaw it about to expoſe itſelf, by ordering a battalion of infantry, and the cavalry under General Cotton, to move forward from the height; under the cover of which the guards fell back upon their poſition. The enemy, defeated on every point, retired in good order upon the Alberche, which he croſſed in the night, having ſuffered a loſs of nearly 10,000 men, killed and wounded, and leaving in our hands 20 guns and a few priſoners. Our loſs likewiſe was very ſevere:—it conſiſted of 801 killed, 3913 wounded, and 653 miſſing. Among the killed were Generals Langworth and Mackenzie. The Spaniards had 1250 killed and wounded. Their troops had for the moſt part behaved well, with the exception of three or four corps, who threw away their arms, and diſperſed without having fired a ſhot. They were afterwards decimated, and a third or fourth part of the officers put to death.

The miſconduct of another part of the Spaniſh army led to a more deciſive inconvenience. As ſoon as the action begun, their whole commiſſariat, together with all thoſe attached to it, took flight, leaving the army altogether without

out proviſions; ſo that the difficulties which had already prevented the advance of the Britiſh, recurred with additional force after the battle, and completely diſabled the Britiſh general from following up his advantage. The day after the action, General Craufurd, joined with a light brigade, 3,000 ſtrong, and a troop of horſe artillery, from Liſbon.

But impoſſible as it was to advance, Sir Arthur ſoon found that he could not remain where he was. Immediately upon hearing of the movements of the Britiſh on the Tagus, the ſeveral armies of Soult, Ney, and Mortier, had collected at Salamanca, from whence, on the 27th, they commenced their march to Eſtremadura. When the intelligence of this movement reached the allied generals, they were both aware of the neceſſity which exiſted of reinforcing the corps in occupation of the paſſes of Perales and Baños. Cueſta propoſed that Sir Robert Wilſon ſhould be ſent with his legion to this laſt paſs, upon which it was known that the French were advancing. Welleſley ſhewed that Sir Robert could not poſſibly be more uſefully employed than in his preſent poſition, by which he kept up a communication with Madrid; and he intreated that a Spaniſh corps ſhould immediately be detached upon the ſervice in queſtion. Cueſta was obſtinate, and it was not till the morning of the 2d Auguſt, when the enemy were known to have entered Bejar, and when it was obvious that the troops in the Puente would make no defence, that he thought proper to detach General Baſſecourt. On the 2d accounts were received that the enemy had entered Plaſencia, having forced the paſs at Baños almoſt without reſiſtance. This movement effectually cut off our direct communications with Portugal, and it was immediately arranged between the two generals, that the Britiſh army ſhould march to the attack of the force on the rear, while the Spaniards ſhould remain in the poſition at Talavera. On the 3d the Engliſh marched to Oropeſa; the ſame evening news arrived that the enemy had puſhed forward to Naval Moral, and this interpoſed between us and the bridge of Almaraz: an hour afterwards, diſpatches were received, announcing that Cueſta, finding that the enemy was moving on his flank, and was returned to St. Olalla on his front, had reſolved to fall back from Talavera, leaving at that place the Engliſh hoſpital, and to rejoin the Britiſh, whom he conceived were not ſtrong enough to oppoſe the corps advancing from Plaſencia. Welleſley wrote inſtantly to diſſuade Cueſta from this meaſure, but ſoon after day-break next morning, that general, who had not awaited Sir Arthur's reply, arrived at Orepeſa, and it only remained to conſider what next ſhould be done. The armies on their front and rear could neither of them be eſtimated at leſs than 30,000 men. That moving from Plaſencia was, in fact, very much more numerous, but Welleſley was not aware of the junction of Mortier. We could only extricate ourſelves by great velocity of movement, to which the troops, who had not for ſeveral days had their allowance of proviſions, were unequal; or by ſucceſs in two battles; a failure in either of which would have cut off

our retreat. It was reſolved, therefore, to fall back upon the Puente del Arzobiſpo, and to take up a defenſive poſition on the left of the Tagus. On the fourth, we croſſed the river, and proceeded to take up a poſition at Deleytoſa, which protected the paſſage at Almaraz, while the Spaniards remained at Arzobiſpo. The number of wounded left behind at Talavera amounted to about 1,500.

The enemy, however, had no intention of carrying the war to the ſouth of the river. Upon the retreat of the allies, Soult returned to Plaſencia, and Ney was ordered back into Leon, where Romana again began to occupy his attention. Sir Robert Wilſon, finding it impoſſible to reach Arzobiſpo, from his poſition at Eſcalona, reſolved to move by Centinello to the Pietar, and to croſs that river towards the mountains. On the 11th he arrived at Baños, in which paſs he was attacked on the following day by the French, under Ney, who ſucceeded, after a conflict of nine hours, in forcing a paſſage, and then proceeded on his way to Salamanca.

We have already alluded to the unfortunate orders iſſued by the junta, by which Venegas was prevented from availing himſelf of the advance of the enemy to Talavera, to make ſome demonſtration towards Madrid. On the 31ſt, however, three days after the battle, orders were ſent to him to advance with all his force on that city; and he was preparing to move accordingly, when he received intelligence of Cueſta's retreat from Talavera, and of the approach of the enemy by Torrijos and Toledo. His original deſign was now impracticable. He was indiſpoſed to retreat, as to a meaſure which would equally diſpirit the troops and the province; he reſolved therefore to remain in the neighbourhood of Aranjuez, and await the attack of the enemy. On the 11th he was attacked by the corps under Sebaſtiani, and after a conteſt, which evinced rather the courage than the diſcipline of his troops, was driven from the field. Their retreat, in the firſt inſtance ſufficiently orderly, was ſoon turned into a diſgraceful flight, in which they loſt the whole of their baggage and artillery. Venegas himſelf retired upon the Sierra Morena, where he took means for the reaſſembling of his diſperſed ſoldiers, and ſhortly found himſelf again in the command of a reſpectable force.

The ſervices of Sir Arthur Welleſley at Talavera, were acknowledged both by his own government and by that of his allies. He was elevated to the peerage by the title of Viſcount Wellington of Talavera, and by the ſupreme junta he was nominated a captain-general in the Spaniſh ſervice, and preſented with ſome horſes of the beſt Andaluſian breeds, as a teſtimony of reſpect and gratitude. The adoption, however, of more effectual meaſures for the ſupply and proviſioning of his army, would have been more gratifying to the general, and more immediately conducive to the ſucceſs of the common cauſe. On the 1ſt of Auguſt Lord Welleſley arrived at Cadiz, to ſuperſede Mr. Frere as ambaſſador to the Spaniſh government, and was received, both there and at Seville, with every poſſible mark of reſpect, on the part of the people

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and of the government. The firſt accounts which he received from his brother were filled with complaints of the inſufficiency and inaction of the Spaniſh authorities, in every thing relating to the ſupply of the army. From the 3d to the 7th, he obſerved, that they had had no bread. The ſame wants, of which he had complained a month before, ſtill exiſted, and in an aggravated degree. "The army," he continued, "would be entirely loſt, if this treatment were to continue. There had been no neglect or omiſſion on the part of Mr. Frere; the evil was owing to the poverty and exhauſted ſtate of the country, to the inactivity of the magiſtrates and people; to their diſinclination to take any trouble, except that of packing up their property, and removing when they heard of the approach of a French patrole; to their habits of inſubordination and diſobedience, and to the want of power in the government and in their officers."

The obſtinacy and ill-temper of Cueſta on this, as in every other point, aggravated the difficulties, and produced an angry correſpondence, which was cloſed by a letter from Lord Wellington, in which he ſtated, that if it was intended that the Spaniſh troops ſhould continue to take to themſelves, not merely all the proviſions which the country afforded, but thoſe alſo which were ſent from Seville, or if no arrangements were made for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, he ſhould withdraw his forces to the frontiers of Portugal. Cueſta ſoon after reſigned, and, till the appointment of a ſucceſſor, the command devolved on D. Franciſco de Eguia. But the ſame deſtitution of every thing neceſſary, both for the movements and even the exiſtence of the troops, continued to prevail; and at length, on the 18th of Auguſt, Lord Wellington ſignified to his brother that he was about to return to Portugal. "Since the 22d of laſt month," ſaid he, "the horſes have not received their regular deliveries of barley, and the infantry have not received ten days bread. I have no doubt the government have given orders that we ſhould be provided as we ought to be, but orders are not ſufficient. To carry on the conteſt to any good purpoſe, the labour and ſervice of every man, and of every beaſt, ſhould be employed in the ſupport of the armies; magazines might then with eaſe be formed, and tranſported; but, as we are now ſituated, 50,000 men are collected on a ſpot which cannot afford ſubſiſtence for 10,000, and there are no means of ſending to a diſtance to make good the deficiency. The junta have iſſued orders, which, for want of arrangement, there are no perſons to obey, and the army would periſh here, if I were to remain, before the ſupplies would arrive." It was in vain that both Eguia and the junta remonſtrated againſt the adoption of a meaſure which Lord Wellington felt to be neceſſary. From the return of Ney to Leon he inferred, that no ſerious attempt againſt Andaluſia was in contemplation on the part of the enemy, and the preſence of the Britiſh on the Tagus was therefore leſs indiſpenſable; "but whatever might be the conſequences of his departure," he remarked, in his reply to the remonſtrance of Eguia, "they only were reſponſible for them, who,

having been acquainted with the wants of the Britiſh army more than a month ago, had taken no effectual means to relieve them; who had allowed a brave army, which was rendering gratuitous ſervices to Spain, and which was able and willing to pay for every thing it received, to ſtarve in the midſt of their country, and to be reduced by want to a ſtate of ineffeciency; who had refuſed, or neglected, to find carriages to remove the officers and ſoldiers who had been wounded in their ſervice, and obliged him to give up the equipment of the army for the performance of this neceſſary act of humanity."

Accordingly, on the 20th, the Engliſh general broke up from Deleitoſa, and retreated in the direction of Badajos. It was propoſed to him, through his brother Lord Welleſley, to take up a poſition on the left bank of the Guadiana, occupying Merida as an advanced poſt, by which means he might cover both Portugal and Seville, and afford a point of ſupport to the Spaniſh army which might be quartered about Medellin.—Lord Wellington, in reply, obſerved, that the Spaniſh army could not be better poſted than where it was, at Arzobiſpo, in a poſition which they could maintain, if they could maintain any thing, and which, as long as they held it, effectually covered the Guadiana; that river, moreover, was not in itſelf indefenſible. For the reſt, he ſaid, he ſaw no chance of the Britiſh army reſuming offenſive operations; he ſhould retire no farther than the frontier, where his poſition, ſhould the enemy attempt to croſs the Guadiana, would threaten his flank and rear, and, in fact, would moſt effectually deter the advance of any, but a very large force, upon Andaluſia. In purſuance of this ſyſtem, about the beginning of September, he moved upon Badajos, in the neighbourhood of which he quartered his army, partly within and partly without the line of the Portugueſe frontier. The number and diſpoſition of the ſeveral French and Spaniſh forces, then in the field, may be ſtated as follows: Ney, with about 15,000 men, was at Salamanca; the head quarters of Soult were at Plaſencia, thoſe of Mortier and Victor at Talavera and Toledo; the corps under Sebaſtiani occupied the country between Alcala and Aranjuez, and the force under theſe generals might, united, amount to about 75,000 men; a force of about 35,000 was engaged in Arragon and Catalonia, in which laſt province, Blake, who had been appointed to ſucceed Reding in the command, had, as we have already deſcribed, ſuffered a deciſive defeat at Belchite. On the other hand, Romana had about 15,000 in Gallicia, the Duke del Parque 9,000 at Ciudad Rodrigo, and the force in the field to the ſouth of the Tagus did not exceed 50,000 men; in the north, by the recent diſaſter near Saragoſſa, the army under Blake was reduced to 6,000. Notwithſtanding this diſproportion of relative force, a conſiderable pauſe enſued before any thing was attempted on the part of the enemy. About the middle of October, however, a body of 12,000 men were marched, under the command of General Marchand, to attack the Duke del Parque, who had

had taken up a very ſtrong poſition near the town of Tamames. On the 18th they directed a vigorous attack upon the left of the Spaniards, and a long and bloody conflict enſued, the reſult of which was the retreat of the French with the loſs of above 3,000 troops in killed and wounded. A few days after the duke moved forward upon Salamanca, from which the enemy had already retired, in the direction of Toro.

In the ſouth the Spaniſh government were now preparing for an effort, the event of which would threaten to bring the conteſt, one way or another, to a deciſion. An army was collected, including almoſt the whole of their diſpoſable force, and directed to move through La Mancha to the Tagus, and from thence to puſh for Madrid. The Duke del Parque was inſtructed, at the ſame time, to advance in the direction of the Eſcurial, while Albuquerque, with a body of 10,000 men, ſhould move upon Talavera. The main force, conſiſting of about 50,000 men, including 6 or 7,000 cavalry, with ſixty pieces of cannon, was committed to the command of an officer of the name of Areizaga. On the third of November they commenced their march, which they directed through Daymiel and Tembleque, to Dos Barrios, from whence, by a flank movement, they reached S. Cruz de la Zarza, and there threw a diviſion over the Tagus. Here the Spaniſh commander took up a ſtrong poſition, and offered battle to the enemy, who declining it upon this ground, he reſolved, contrary to the moſt preſſing inſtances on the part of his wiſer officers, to retire to Dos Barrios, and thence moving forward upon Cana, to bring the enemy to action on the plains. It was in vain repreſented to him, that by ſo doing he was in fact playing the enemy's game; and that his policy was obviouſly to take up a poſition on the left bank of the Tagus, where, from the nature of the ground, he might entrench himſelf againſt attack, and ſend out detachments in every direction to act in concert with the Dukes del Parque and del Albuquerque. Areizaga perſiſted in his folly, and a general engagement took place on the 18th. The French firſt defeated the right wing of the Spaniards, and then broke their centre by a charge of cavalry; when the whole army fled in confuſion, with the loſs, according to the conqueror's account, of 4,000 killed, 20,000 priſoners, and all their baggage and artillery. Areizaga, who himſelf had been among the firſt to ſhew the example of flight, betook himſelf to the Sierra Morena, where he endeavoured to collect his diſperſed followers, and to prepare for the defence of the mountain paſſes, which now alone interpoſed between the enemy and Seville.

Upon the news of this diſaſter, Del Parque, who had advanced into Caſtile, prepared to fall back upon Salamanca. He was purſued by a ſuperior force, under Kellerman, and an action took place at Alba de Tormes, where the Spaniards were worſted with conſiderable loſs. They retreated however in good order, till they reached the neighbourhood of Tamames, were the approach of a ſmall body of the enemy's cavalry ſuddenly ſtruck a panic into the troops, who

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flung away their arms, and diſperſed on all ſides, in the utmoſt confuſion. This completed the ſeries of the diſaſters of the Spaniſh armies in the field; that under the Duke del Albuquerque being the only one which yet maintained itſelf entire. The French now began to take meaſures for the attack of Ciudad Rodrigo; a place of importance, as it alone kept up the communication with the patriot forces in the north, and Lord Wellington, in conſequence, moved to the north of the Tagus, with the view of providing for its ſecurity.

The military operations of the year were cloſed by the fall of Gerona. Immediately upon the ſurrender of Roſas and of Zaragoza, that city, which had already diſtinguiſhed itſelf by the perſeverance and valour of its reſiſtance in the preceding year, became the chief object of the enemy's attention in this quarter, and he prepared to effect its reduction with a full anticipation of the probable obſtinacy and fierceneſs of its reſiſtance. It was early in May when they began their operations. The garriſon conſiſted of between three and 4,000 men, under the command of Don Mariano Alvarez, who, at the beginning of the ſiege, iſſued an edict, forbidding, under the pain of death, all talk of capitulation or compoſition. When the enemy had formed their lines, and erected their batteries, they ſent a ſummons to the governor, requiring him to ſpare to the city the calamity of a uſeleſs reſiſtance. The propoſal was contemptuouſly rejected by Alvarez, who, at the ſame time, ſignified his determination to receive no more communications of the kind.

On the night of the 13th of June, the enemy began their bombardment, which they continued inceſſantly, deſtroying the hoſpitals, and rendering great part of the town almoſt uninhabitable. An uninterrupted fire from their batteries was directed againſt the caſtle of Monjuic, in the walls of which a breach was at length effected, ſufficient for the paſſage of forty men a breaſt. By this opening, on the night of the 4th of July, the enemy attempted to carry that caſtle by aſſault, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter. On the 8th they repeated the attempt, with efforts ſtill more obſtinate, but equally unavailing; they were driven back, leaving 1,600 of their ſlain in the breach. They now confined the attack to the effect of their batteries, which continued to pour a deſtructive fire upon the crumbling works of the little caſtle, till the Spaniſh guns were effectually ſilenced, and the commander in the fort, finding it no longer tenable, withdrew his troops from the ruins. This was on the 11th of Auguſt, ſix and thirty days after that a practicable breach had been effected.

A pauſe took place in the operations of the enemy, immediately upon this ſucceſs, which was employed in forming batteries, and throwing up works which might bear more directly upon the town, than any which they could conſtruct before the capture of Monjuic. A battery was planted upon that fortreſs, which commanded a conſiderable range of the fortifications, in the walls of which, to-

wards the end of Auguſt, ſome conſiderable breaches were effected.

Fatigue, and famine, and contagion, had already much reduced the garriſon; and the hopes of the inhabitants were now centered upon the exertions which it was underſtood that the army under Blake was about to make for their relief. Difficult, as from its nature, the attempt was, thoſe exertions were crowned with ſucceſs. The intended ſuccours, it was purpoſed, ſhould be introduced from the heights on the north of Gerona; and, with this view, a force was ſent to occupy Los Angeles. To direct the attention of the enemy from the real point of attack, a body of 1,200 foot, and ſome cavalry, were deſpatched, under the command of D. Enrique O'Donnel, to make a demonſtration in the direction of Brunolas. That diſtinguiſhed officer, upon reaching the place, found the enemy intrenched in a poſition of great ſtrength, which, however, he inſtantly attacked and carried. The diverſion was complete. The enemy confined all their attention to this point, in the direction of which they continued to ſend our their reinforcements, while Blake, on the other ſide, croſſed the Ter, ſurpriſed the French outpoſts, broke through their lines, and covered the advance of the convoy which General Conde, with 4,000 men and 500 horſe, ſucceeded in introducing into the town. Of this force, 3,000 volunteered to remain there, and Conde, with the remainder, effected his retreat without moleſtation. The enemy now drew their lines ſtill cloſer around the town, and continued to keep up an inceſſant fire from their batteries. On the night of the 15th of September, the beſieged made a ſally, for the purpoſe of ſpiking their guns, which was attended with various ſucceſs. On the 18th, three breaches were declared, by the enemy's engineers, to be practicable, and a flag of truce was ſent to the beſieged, but Alvarez refuſed even to admit it to a conference. On the following day the enemy made a deſperate aſſault; a ſanguinary conflict took place in the breach, which ended in the complete repulſe of the French, with the loſs of 900 men.

After this, the beſiegers contented themſelves with continuing the bombardment, and ſtraitening the blockade, which was now enforced with redoubled vigilance. Notwithſtanding this, another convoy was got in, by the exertions of O'Donnel, who effected his entrance into the city, and afterwards his eſcape from it, by ſkill and conduct the moſt admirable; but Augereau, whom Buonaparte, impatient of the protraction of the ſiege, had lately ſent to ſuperſede St. Cyr and Verdier in the command, put an end to any hope of ſuch further relief, by a well concerted attack upon the town of Hoſtabrich, where Blake had collected his magazines, without, as it appears, taking the proper precautions for their ſecurity. The town was loſt, and the magazines and ſtores taken or deſtroyed.

The beſiegers continued to abſtain from any aſſault, but famine and fire, and diſeaſe, did their office more ſurely. In the whole town not an edifice remained that was habitable, the people making their dwellings in cellars and vaults. Within the laſt three weeks

weeks of November five hundred had died in the hoſpitals, and dyſentery was rapidly ſpreading among thoſe who ſurvived. Fuel and food were almoſt wholly exhauſted, and ſcarcely any ammunition remained. The intelligence of this laſt mentioned want at length emboldened the enemy to make ſome effort to haſten the concluſion of his operations. He ſucceeded in making himſelf maſter of moſt of the outworks of the city, and at length brought his batteries to bear in ſuch a manner upon the interior, as to command all the communications, from one part of the town to the other. Alvarez, in the meanwhile, overwrought by the exertion and anxiety he had undergone, became ſeized with a nervous fever, which produced delirium, and rendered him altogether incapable of the duties of his ſtation. The command devolved upon D. Julian de Bolitar; the miſeries of the inhabitants became daily more aggravated, the privations encreaſed, the deaths multiplied, and it was at length reſolved to open a communication with the enemy, for the purpoſe of ſettling the terms of capitulation. The French ſeem, in this inſtance, to have reſpected the virtue of their enemy; the moſt honourable conditions were granted. The garriſon were to march out with the honours of war, and to be ſent to France, to be exchanged as ſoon as poſſible for an equal number of Frenchmen. No troops were to be quartered upon the inhabitants; who, moreover, were ſecured from any injury or inſult on account of any part whch they might have taken in the ſiege. It was on the 10th of December that theſe terms were adjuſted; and the French at length entered the city, after an uninterrupted ſiege and blockade of more than ſeven months. Alvarez was ſent to Figueras, where he ſlowly recovered.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes in Portugal and Gallicia, the condition of affairs in the peninſula, at the cloſe of this eventful year, was ſufficiently diſpiriting. The armies of Spain had been almoſt uniformly worſted in the field. The uſurper was reigning, apparently without diſturbance, in the capital, and even the ſuccours of Engliſh valour ſeemed likely, in the event, to be rendered unavailable, by the diſorganized ſtate of the country, the incapacity and jealouſy of the Spaniſh generals, the diſtracted and undecided character of the ruling councils. It was a ſubject of peculiar diſcouragement to the well-wiſhers to the cauſe of this gallant people, to conſider how little the coincidence, both of the Auſtrian war with France, and of our great expedition to Zealand, had availed, as a diverſion in favour of their own exertions againſt the common enemy; and to calculate the multiplied chances which would oppoſe the probability of their ſucceſs, when, as might be expected in the following year, the legions, as yet detained in Germany, would reſume their march, to co-operate in the ſubjugation of thoſe provinces which yet continued to reject the domination of the French intruder.

Many circumſtances, undoubtedly, concurred to occaſion that ſeries of diſaſter and defeat, which ſo uninterruptedly prevailed among the operations of the Spaniſh armies in this and the preceding campaign; but the ſource of the evil

evil is unqueſtionably beſt traced in the inefficiency and miſconduct of the ſupreme government. It is upon this point that the Marquis Welleſley chiefly dwelt, in an able and comprehenſive diſpatch (dated September 15,) to Mr. Canning upon the general ſtate of Spaniſh affairs. "Theſe misfortunes," he obſerves, "cannot be juſtly attributed to the abſolute want of reſources in the country; to any inherent or incorrigible defects in the materials of which the body of the army is compoſed; or to any perverſe or untractable diſpoſition in the maſs of the people. The military means of the kingdom had, indeed, been impaired, under a long courſe of miſgovernment, but they were not deſtroyed. Great and ſucceſsful efforts were made by ſeveral provinces; and nothing more ſeemed wanting for the purpoſe of a ſucceſsful defence of the whole country, than to combine in one ſyſtem the means which were to be found in its ſeparate parts. But as yet no ſyſtem has been eſtabliſhed by which the deficiencies of one diſtrict can be ſupplied from the abundance of another; nor does any regulation exiſt properly calculated to ſecure and collect the reſources of any province for its ſeparate defence, ſtill leſs for the more remote objects of active war."

"The diſpoſition of the people," the marquis further remarks, "is generally favourable to the great cauſe in which the nation is engaged, though among the higher and middle claſſes there may be traced a diſpoſition to obſerve events, and to prepare for accommodation with that party which may ultimately prevail in the exiſting conteſt. But the population has not yet afforded to the army a ſupply of men in any degree adequate either to the exigencies of the country, or to the original incication of the people; nor in the preſent ſtate of affairs could any demand be made for that purpoſe with any proſpect of ſucceſs. No increaſe, however, of the numbers of the army could be uſeful, without a total change in the whole ſyſtem of its compoſition and diſcipline; theſe are at preſent defective in every branch, nor have any meaſures been adopted, or appear to be in contemplation for the purpoſe of correction or remedy."

Theſe evils Lord Welleſley traces to the nature of the government. The conſtitution of the ſupreme central junta, was not founded on any well-underſtood union among the provinces, or any juſt or wiſe diſtribution of the elements and powers of government; the confederacy among the provinces ſtill exiſted; the executive power was weakened in the hands of an aſſembly too numerous for unity of council, or promptitude of action, and too contracted for the purpoſe of repreſenting the body of the Spaniſh nation. The junta was neither an adequate repreſentation of the crown, the ariſtocracy, or the people; it comprized no uſeful quality, either of an executive council, or of a deliberate aſſembly, while it combined many defects, which tended to diſturb both deliberation and action. Here was the true cauſe, of the continuance at leaſt, of that ſtate of weakneſs, confuſion, and diſorder,

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ſo univerſally prevalent in the internal adminiſtration of Spain, and particularly in every ſtage of the military department.

In its firſt inſtitution, Lord Welleſley obſerved, the formation of the junta was conſidered merely as a preliminary to the aſſembly of the cortes, and the eſtabliſhment of a more compact form of executive government, in the abſence of the legitimate king of Spain. The original powers, delegated to it, however, had not been clearly defined, with relation either to time or authority. In ſome movement of urgent peril and alarm, the junta appeared to have been impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments which prevailed throughout the nation, with reſpect to the neceſſity of taking meaſures for the choice of a regency, and the convocation of the cortes. They had lately announced their intention of aſſembling this laſt mentioned body, and began to take ſteps towards the repeal of ſome heavy exactions. They had, alſo, repeatedly diſcuſſed the queſtion of appointing a regency. But the deſire of protracting the continuance of their own authority, to the lateſt poſſible period of time, had prevailed over every other conſideration.

The meaſures which the marquis ſtates himſelf to have recommended, in his private converſations with M. de Garay, were; firſt, that the ſupreme central junta ſhould immediately nominate (without limiting the nomination to the members of its own body) a council of regency, to conſiſt of not more than five perſons, for the exerciſe of the executive power, until the cortes ſhould be aſſembled. Secondly, that the cortes ſhould be convened with the leaſt poſſible delay. Thirdly, that the ſupreme central junta, or ſuch members of it as ſhould not be of the council of regency, ſhould conſtitute a deliberative council, for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the election of the cortes, and of preparing for that body, with the aſſent of the council of regency, ſuch buſineſs as it might be deemed proper to ſubmit to its early conſideration. Fourthly, that the ſame act of the junta, by which the regency ſhould be appointed, and the cortes called, ſhould contain the principal articles of the redreſs of grievances, correction of abuſes, relief of exactions in Spain and the Indies, and alſo the heads of ſuch conceſſions to the colonies, as ſhould fully ſecure to them a due ſhare in the repreſentative body of the Spaniſh empire. Fifthly, that the firſt act of the regency ſhould be to iſſue the neceſſary orders for correcting the whole ſyſtem of the military department in Spain.

"Theſe ſuggeſtions," continues Lord Welleſley, "originating in M. de Garay's expreſs ſolicitation, were not committed to writing, nor urged with any greater degree of earneſtneſs than belongs to the uſual freedom of private converſation; but the ſufferings of our army, and the aggravated outrages offered to Britiſh alliance, have ſince compelled me to renew the ſubject in an official form. In my note of the 8th of September, I have declared, in general terms, that the intereſts of the alliance require an entire change in the military department of the Spaniſh government;

government; that no improvement in the ſyſtem of military adminiſtration can be effected, without a previous correction of the weakneſs and inefficiency of the executive power, nor without a due cultivation of the native reſources, a proper uſe of the intrinſic ſtrength, and a ſtrenuous exertion of the national ſpirit of Spain; and, laſtly, that the executive power can never poſſeſs authority or force, influence or activity, until it ſhall be aided and ſupported by the collective wiſdom of the nation, and by the loyal energies of the people."

We have been thus copious in our abſtract of Lord Welleſley's diſpatch, becauſe we do not know that we could elſewhere collect ſo good or ſo authentic an account of the actual ſtate of the ſupreme authority in Spain at that time, or of thoſe views in the conſtitution of it, which were ſo immediately operative in the occaſion of the calamitous events which have marked the period of its adminiſtration.

CHAP. XI.

State of the Relations of France with Auſtria ſubſequent to the Treaty of Preſburgh. Reorganization and Extenſion of the Military Syſtem of Auſtria. Remonſtrances of the French Government. Singular Addreſs of Buonaparte to the Auſtrian Ambaſſador at his Levee. Letter from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon at Erfurth. His Reply. Continuance of the Auſtrian Preparations. Buonaparte returns from Spain, and ſummons the German Contingents. Auſtrian Manifeſto. Unexampled Amount of the Auſtrian Army at the Commencement of the Campaign, and the Diſpoſition of the ſeveral Corps. The Archduke Charles appointed to the Command. His Proclamation to the Soldiers. Poſition of the French Armies. The Archduke croſſes the Inn. His Letter to the King of Bavaria. Movements of the reſpective Armies. Affair at Landſhut. Auſtrian Corps enter the Tyrol, Bohemia, and Italy. Buonaparte leaves Paris; arrives at Donauwerth. His Addreſs to the Army. Anticipates the Movements of the Archduke. Affairs at Pfaffenhofen, at Tann, and at Abenſberg. Defeat of the Auſtrians. Buonaparte moves upon Landſhut. The Archduke ſurpriſes a French Corps at Ratiſbon. Buonaparte marches againſt him. Battle of Eckmuhl. Auſtrians totally defeated, and compelled to repaſs the Danube. French take Poſſeſſion of Ratiſbon. Summary of the Auſtrian Loſſes. Buonaparte moves rapidly along the Danube upon Vienna. Paſſes the Inn. Enters Ried, Lienz, and Eberſdorf, driving the Archduke Lewis before him. Affair at Eberſdorf. Conſiderable Magazines fall every where into the Hands of the French. Buonaparte appears before Vienna preciſely a Month after the Opening of the Campaign. State of the Fortifications at Vienna. Archduke Maximilian throws himſelf into the City. Refuſes a Summons. Retires from the City with the Garriſon. Capitulation of Vienna. Proclamation of Napoleon to his Army. Addreſs to the Hungarians, inviting them to revolt from

from the Houſe of Auſtria. Extraordinary Decree reſpecting the Landwehr. Incorporation of the Papal Territories with the French Empire. Proteſt of the Pope, who ſolemnly excommunicates the French Ruler. Operations in Italy. Succeſs of the Archduke John. His ſubſequent Retreat upon Carinthia. Affairs of the Tyrol. General riſing of the People againſt the Bavarians. Andrew Hoffer the Leader of the Patriots. French and Bavarians every where ſurpriſed and taken. Enthuſiaſtic Welcome of the Entry of the Auſtrian Corps. Buonaparte diſpatches Lefebvre with a ſtrong Body of Troops againſt them. Temporary Succeſs of the French General. Cruelties exerciſed on the People. They riſe again. Lefebvre leaves the Tyrol. Subſequent Succeſſes of the Tyroleſe, who make Incurſions in the ſurrounding Countries.

THE aſcendancy of French counſels in the cabinet of St. Peterſburgh, was completely eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Tilſit, and Buonaparte would ſeem to have ſucceeded in ſeriouſly perſuading that deluded court, that it could not more ſubſtantially conſult its own intereſt, than by the conſervation of its actual relations with France. The proviſions of that treaty were evidently framed, with the view of blinding Ruſſia to the inevitable conſequences of permitting impunity to the ſyſtem of rapine and uſurpation, which Napoleon had predetermined to purſue, and of bribing her acquieſcence in any meaſure of aggreſſion, upon powers not ſituated within the ſphere of her own immediate relations. Inſtead of undergoing the ſacrifices, which might have been expected, at the cloſe of an unfortunate war, ſhe was gratified by an extenſion of territory, ſuch as, in the event of the moſt ſucceſsful hoſtilities, ſhe would ſcarcely have been juſtified in exacting; and, in fact, by the acceſſion of Finland, and the extenſion of her Turkiſh frontier to the Danube, every object of her immediate ambition was obtained. The very misfortunes of her neighbours might have appeared, in the ſhort-ſighted ſpeculations of ſelf-intereſt, to affect her only to her advantage, and poſſibly ſhe might have ſeen, in the ſubjugation of Pruſſia, and the humiliation of Auſtria, little more than the comparative aggrandiſement of her own power and importance.

It is probable, therefore, that Buonaparte relied with ſome confidence upon the ſincerity of the aſſent and co-operation of Ruſſia, in the furtherance of his own projects of oppreſſion and conqueſt; but it was otherwiſe with Auſtria, and with what yet remained of the Pruſſian monarchy. No aſſurances, however ſoothing, could poſſibly conceal from theſe powers the humiliation and precarioufneſs of their actual ſituation; and he could not but be aware, that upon them fear alone could operate to keep them in ſubjection to his will. Accordingly he had never attempted the exerciſe of any other method of influence. In all his diſcuſſions with the Auſtrian government, ſince the treaty of Preſburg, a threat of renewing the war was the unanſwerable argument before which every remonſtrance was to give way; and, undoubtedly, he

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was prepared to expect the revival of her hoſtilities, whenſoever circumſtances ſhould appear to give them a probable chance of ſucceſs. Such an opportunity ſeemed to offer itſelf in the Spaniſh revolution. The unexampled atrocity of the uſurpation of that kingdom, afforded another inſtance, if more were wanting, of the inſecure tenure of all right and authority in Europe, under French domination; and a further confirmation of the fact, that ſubmiſſion, however unqualified, inſtead of diverting the rapacity of that ambition, only gave it ſecurer and increaſed means of effecting its purpoſes.

It was well obſerved, in the Auſtrian manifeſto, "that the will of Napoleon was as omnipotent in Spain as in France; but inſtead of this ſubſerviency availing to ſave what alone was remaining to it, an independent name, internal ſecurity, and domeſtic peace, that court found rather in its miſtaken endeavours to obtain repoſe, the immediate ſource of its ruin. The conqueſt of the weſtern ſtates being completed by that of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, nothing was more natural than the expectation, that the next material blow would be aimed at Auſtria. Under ſuch circumſtances, and with ſuch an example before them, to rely upon the uninterrupted continuance of peace, would have been obvious infatuation. From day to day, the neceſſity might occur of vindicating the independence of the monarchy from pretenſions utterly inadmiſſible, or from immediate attack; from day to day the approximation of this critical moment became more apparent; and the means of averting it could only be found in the adoption of a more perfect ſyſtem of defence." From the concluſion of the peace of Preſburgh, Auſtria had, in fact, continued to exert herſelf inceſſantly for the reſtoration and completion of her military reſources, and her efforts were put forth with redoubled energy, when the news of the Spaniſh inſurrection gave hope, that a term might at length be put to the ravage and rapine of French ambition. A military ſyſtem, ſimilar to that of the conſcription, was introduced, and a national militia eſtabliſhed, by which all perſons, from the age of 18 to 45, were called out, embodied in regiments, and exerciſed on holidays in the uſe of arms.

Buonaparte did not fail to obſerve theſe demonſtrations; and his miniſter Champagny was inſtructed, to remonſtrate on the ſubject with the Count de Metternich, the Auſtrian ambaſſador at Paris. Metternich replied, by the moſt poſitive aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſition of his court; obſerving, that the meaſures which had been taken, aroſe ſimply from the neceſſity under which Auſtria had found herſelf, of reforming and re-organizing the military inſtitutions of the empire, for the purpoſe of adapting them to actual circumſtances, and of aſſimilating them to the more efficient ſyſtem adopted by her neighbours. They were intended to be permanent in their operation, and had no connection whatever with any contemplated change of political relation, either with France, or any other power. The known character of the emperor, and his im-

perious want of peace, were the beſt pledges for the ſecurity of its continuance. Theſe aſſurances, it may eaſily be believed, did not deceive Buonaparte, and he took occaſion to expreſs his miſtruſt of the intentions of the Auſtrian court, in a manner ſufficiently characterized, by that indecency and abruptneſs which ſo frequently marked his deportment towards the foreign miniſters at his capital. On his birth-day, the 15th of Auguſt, a grand court was held at the Thuilleries, at which he received the diplomatic body. Upon this occaſion he ſuddenly addreſſed Count Metternich, and demanded the purpoſe of the extraordinary preparations making in Auſtria. The count obſerved, that they were merely for defence. "But who threatens you," he rejoined, "that you ſhould think of being attacked? Has there been the leaſt diſpute between us ſince the peace of Preſburgh? Have I aſked any thing from you? Your whole army is collected together, and has taken a military poſition. In the meanwhile, what do you want? Do you mean to alarm me? You will not ſucceed in that. Do you think the circumſtances are favourable to you? You deceive yourſelves. I ſhall take 100,000 of my troops from Germany, in order to ſend them to Spain, and I ſtill have enough remaining to oppoſe you. You arm. I will arm too; and, if it is neceſſary, I can ſpare 200,000 men. You will not have a ſingle power on the continent in your favour. The Emperor of Ruſſia, I can almoſt venture to anſwer for him, will urge you to be quiet. Your own emperor, I believe, does not wiſh for war. He can have no feelings of revenge againſt me. I had poſſeſſion of his capital; I occupied the greater part of his ſtates. He had all back again. I kept Venice for myſelf, merely, that I might not leave any ground of diſpute. No! Your government does not deſire war. The principal men of your country do not ſeek for it, and yet the movements which you have occaſioned are ſuch, that war will take place in ſpite of you and myſelf. You have raiſed a force of 400,000 men. I will levy a body of 200,000. The confederation of the Rhine, which had diſbanded its troops, will reaſſemble them. Inſtead of evacuating, as was my intention, the Pruſſian ſtates, I ſhall put the Sileſian fortreſſes in a ſtate of defence. All Europe will be in arms, and the ſlighteſt occurrence will occaſion the commencement of hoſtilities. The Engliſh and their partizans induce you to theſe falſe meaſures. Already they rejoice in the expectation of once more lighting up the flame of war in Europe. Their funds have riſen fifty per cent. in conſequence of the impulſe they have communicated to Europe. It is they whom I blame for this; they are the cauſe that no Frenchman can go to the baths of Bohemia without ſubjecting himſelf to inſult. In the meanwhile have I aſked any thing of you? Has not the whole courſe of our intercourſe been friendly? And yet, on a ſudden, you have ſet upon a war! You have put your whole population in motion! You have added 1300 to each of your regiments! You have ſtored your fortreſſes!

You

You will ſay, that you are forced to think of your own ſecurity. You know that I aſk for nothing, and want nothing; that I ever conſidered the maintenance of your power, under preſent circumſtances, as neceſſary to the European ſyſtem, and the proſperity of France. I have put my troops in camp to keep them in good diſcipline and activity. They do not encamp in France, becauſe it coſts too much; in foreign countries it is not ſo dear. My camps are ſcattered about; not one of them threatens you. I ſhould have had none, if I had projects againſt you; and I ſhould have had none, if I thought they would have given you any uneaſineſs. A ſingle word from you would have been enough; and I am ready to break up all of them, if it is neceſſary for your quiet."

This is but a ſhort ſpecimen of the ſtrange and incoherent, but characteriſtic rhapſody in which the French ruler indulged on this occaſion. The ambaſſador is deſcribed, as betraying not the ſlighteſt embarraſſment during the ſcene; and, is ſaid, to have afterwards declared, to the French miniſters, how much he congratulated himſelf on being employed at a court, where the ſovereign communicated thus frankly and openly with a foreign miniſter.

The interview with the Emperor Alexander took place not long after, at Erfurth, and was, of courſe, concerted with the view of repreſſing on the part of Auſtria, all hope of Ruſſian co-operation. The Emperor Francis ſeized this opportunity of writing a letter to his "good brother and friend" Napoleon, in which he reiterated the aſſurances of his pacific ſentiments, and expreſſed a hope that every miſtruſt, ariſing from the organic inſtitutions which he had lately eſtabliſhed in the interior of his monarchy, would now be diſſipated. Buonaparte affected to be convinced of the ſincerity of theſe proteſtations, and ſent a circular mandate to the princes of the confederation, authorizing them to diſcharge their camps, and diſmiſs the troops to their ordinary quarters. In his reply to the Emperor of Auſtria, he obſerved, "I have never doubted the upright intentions of your majeſty, but I did not the leſs fear, for a moment, to ſee hoſtilities renewed between us. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects fear, in order to precipitate your cabinet into violent meaſures, which would be the origin of calamities greater than thoſe which have gone before. I had it in my power to diſmember your monarchy; or, at leaſt to render it leſs powerful. I have not deſired this. What it is, it is with my full aſſent. This is the moſt evident proof, that I have ſettled all accounts with you, and that I want nothing from you."

It is not to be doubted but, by this time, both parties ſaw the iſſue to which matters were inevitably tending, but apparently, an immediate rupture ſuited the purpoſes of neither. The Auſtrians' preparations were, probably, not as yet ſufficiently matured, and the interval was, at leaſt, as valuable to Buonaparte, who was neceſſarily anxious to

complete the ſubjugation of the Peninſula, before he engaged in another German war.

In this ſtate, therefore, it ſeems to have been agreed, that the affair ſhould reſt for the preſent. Buonaparte ſet out for Spain. He had diſperſed the Spaniſh armies on the Ebro, taken poſſeſſion of Madrid, and was occupied in the purſuit of the retiring Engliſh, when, according to M. Champagny's narrative, he received intelligence from Germany, which compelled him to ſtop. The military preparations, it was ſaid, were carried on in Auſtria with increaſed zeal. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, the exerciſe of the militia was continued. The Adriatic harbours were opened to the Engliſh. Communications with the Spaniſh inſurgents were diſcovered, and every thing indicated the determination of the Emperor Francis, to renew hoſtilities. Buonaparte returned to Valladolid, from whence he ſent orders to the ſtates of the confederation, to equip and hold in readineſs their contingents, and then himſelf repaired immediately to Paris.

Auſtria was, by this time, evidently anxious to bring things to an iſſue. The war, on her part, conſidered with a comprehenſive view of the ſubſtantial ſtate of her relations with France, was one ſtrictly of ſelf-defence. But as far as concerned the particular time and circumſtances under which it commenced, it was probably entered upon reluctantly by Buonaparte. In fact, ſetting aſide the conſideration of the ſtate of his affairs in Spain, it does not appear that he could have any political object of importance to propoſe to himſelf, by engaging in it at that moment. Succeſs he, no doubt, anticipated with confidence; but the time was not yet come when he could fully avail himſelf of its advantages, or venture upon the final diſmemberment of the Auſtrian empire. Even the particular meaſure which he was, probably, moſt immediately anxious to effect, the re-union of the Gallician provinces to the duchy of Warſaw, would have been viewed with no friendly eye by Ruſſia; and he was as yet not quite prepared to renounce his connections with that power. An ineffectual attempt was made for the adjuſtment of differences, by a recurrence to her mediation. But the Auſtrian cabinet had now gone too far to retreat, and ſeemed reſolved to make a laſt effort for its independence. Its ambaſſador at Paris continued to the laſt moment to repeat his aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſitions of his maſter; but both parties now felt the approach of the criſis, and prepared themſelves accordingly.

A moſt able and impreſſive manifeſto, drawn up, it is ſaid, by the celebrated Gentz, was publiſhed by Auſtria, in explanation of the motives and objects of the ſtep ſhe was about to take. In this, after dwelling upon the protracted inexecution of many of the articles of the Preſburgh treaty, on the oppreſſive contributions which, after the ſignature of that treaty, had ſtill been levied on the Auſtrian territories, on the inſiſted excluſion of the Engliſh from the Auſtrian ports, the compelled abdication of the imperial

imperial crown, and the ſubſequent diſmemberment of the Pruſſian monarchy, the Auſtrian cabinet proceeded to advert to the events which had taken place ſince the ſettlement which had been arranged at Fontainbleau, in the autumn of 1807. A few months after the treaty of Tilſit, the houſe of Braganza was driven from the throne of Portugal. A diſtinct propoſal was, at the ſame time, made to the emperor, utterly to abandon all connection with England; and the choice between ſuch a reſolution, and an immediate war with France, was the intimation which accompanied this propoſal, without further modification, or mitigation. The reſtleſs ambition of the French ruler ſoon after ſhewed itſelf in another ſhape. Propoſals were made to the Auſtrian cabinet, for the diſſolution and partition of the Turkiſh empire. The atrocious attack upon Spain ſucceeded. This was followed by the incorporation of the papal provinces: and Europe was ſoon after informed, by a ſolemn oration in the French ſenate, that "it is the will of the Emperor Napoleon, that the whole coaſt of the Mediterranean and Adriatic ſea be united either with the French territory, or with that of the great empire." Under theſe circumſtances, and with ſuch examples before them, to have deferred the neceſſary meaſures for ſelf-defence, would have been madneſs. With this view, and this only, ſteps were taken to lay a broader foundation for the reinforcement and completion of the army; and the true character of theſe meaſures could be miſtaken or miſinterpreted by foreign powers, only in caſe they were predetermined to deny Auſtria the right of ſelf-preſervation.

France, however, choſe to deny this right, and inſiſted, that the emperor ſhould deſiſt from meaſures, abſolutely eſſential to the defence of his monarchy. To purchaſe peace at this price was impoſſible. Napoleon could not have deceived himſelf concerning the import of his deſign, nor would he ever have formed ſuch a pretenſion, if that, which could not but neceſſarily follow it, had not already conſtituted a part of his plans. His majeſty had, therefore, felt himſelf compelled to recur to arms. His immediate object, in ſo doing, "was to put an end to that unnatural and ambiguous ſtate, in which Auſtria, during three years, had vacillated; a ſtate which, under the vain denomination of peace, had involved in it all the ſacrifices, burthens, and dangers of the moſt oppreſſive war; and to place the country in a ſituation, which might ſecure to it the honourable repoſe of a real peace. But ſuch a ſituation could not ſubſiſt, while foreign armies, it matters not under what pretence, were allowed to hold the monarchy in a ſtate of perpetual ſiege, it could not ſubſiſt while the political and military relations of the ſtates, which ſurround Auſtria, were ſuch, that it needed only a ſingle order from a foreign power, to ſpread over the whole Auſtrian frontier the apprehenſion of hoſtile invaſion. The ſecurity of the Auſtrian monarchy could not be ſought in an inſulated ſtate; or be conceived as ſeparate from the ſtate of adjoining countries, and

from the general condition and conſtitution of the collected ſyſtem of European ſtate policy. Auſtria could find a perfect guarantee of her independence, only in that degree of independence in the powers which ſurround her, which the claim of univerſal dominion, from whatever quarter it proceeds, would render impoſſible."

Her preparations were upon a ſcale correſpondent to the grandeur of the intereſts thus forcibly deſcribed; in fact, at no former period had the reſources of the Auſtrian monarchy been ſo vigorouſly put in action, and had the probability of a ſucceſsful iſſue, been a queſtion merely of numerical ſuperiority, it would ſcarcely have had reaſon to dread even the mighty combination which was moving againſt it. The regular army, including a reſerve of 50,000 men, amounted nearly to 350,000 effective troops, of which 50,000 compoſed the cavalry. The militia was calculated at a number not leſs than 250,000 men, excluſive of what was called the Hungarian inſurrection. The whole empire was in fact in arms, and wanted nothing but a ſpirit of action and perſeverance, commenſurate with the importance of the approaching conteſt, to enſure a ſucceſsful and glorious reſult.

The army was diſtributed in nine corps, compoſed of from 30 to 40,000 men each, of which ſix were placed under the immediate direction of the Archduke Charles, and commanded ſeverally by the Counts de Bellegarde and Kollowrath, the Prince of Hohenzollern, the Baron Roſenberg, the Archduke Lewis, and General Hiller. Another under the Archduke Ferdinand, was poſted in Poland; and two more commanded by the Marquis of Chaſtellar and General Giulay, were ſent under the Archduke John to Italy. A corps of reſerve, conſiſting of about 20,000 men, was commanded by Prince John of Lichtenſtein, another of 10,000 was committed to General Kinmayer; about 15,000 men were aſſembled near Eger in Bohemia, to protect the frontier in that quarter, and the Archdukes Rainer and Lewis, were employed in diſciplining and forming the levies in Hungary.

The Archduke Charles was appointed generaliſſimo of the forces; an appointment which, beyond any other circumſtance in this diſplay of military reſources, gave hope and confidence to the people. On the 6th of April he iſſued a proclamation to the army, in which, after recapitulating the grievances which compelled the emperor to reſort to arms, he ſummoned them to afford that deliverance to their country, which ſhe then called for at their hands. "On you, my dear brother ſoldiers," he continued, "are fixed the eyes of the univerſe, and of all thoſe who feel for national honour and proſperity. You ſhall not ſhare the diſgrace of becoming the tools of oppreſſion. You ſhall not carry on the endleſs wars of ambition under diſtant climes. Your blood ſhall never flow for foreign fleets and foreign rapine; nor on you ſhall the curſe alight of annihilating innocent nations, and of paving over the bodies of the ſlaughtered defenders of their country, the path of a foreigner to an uſurped throne. A happier lot awaits you; the liberty of Europe

Europe has taken refuge under our banners. Your victories will looſen its fetters, and your brothers of Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance."

In the meanwhile the preparations of France, and of her allies, were unremitting. The march of troops, towards the Danube, continued without interruption, and, the confederated ſtates, under the domination of Buonaparte, were on all ſides aſſembling their contingents, and preparing for the expected irruption of the Auſtrian armies. The treaſure and archives of Saxony were removed from Dreſden to the fortreſs of Konigſtien, in the neighbourhood of which a conſiderable force of Saxon and Hanoverian conſcripts were collected, under the command of Bernadotte.

The poſitions of the French armies, and of thoſe of her allies, were as follows: the corps of the Duke of Auerſtadt (Davouſt) was at Ratiſbon, that of Maſſena at Ulm, and that of Oudinot at Augſburgh; the head quarters were at Straſburgh. The Bavarians were placed under the command of Lefebvre, and diſtributed in three diviſions; of which the firſt, under the prince royal, was poſted at Munich; the ſecond, under General Deroi, at Landſhut; and the third, under Count de Wrede, at Straubing. The Wirtemburgh diviſion was at Heydenheim; the Saxon troops were, for the moſt part, encamped under the walls of Dreſden; and the corps of the Dutchy of Warſaw, commanded by Prince Poniatowſki, in the environs of Warſaw. Of the number of the French troops thus aſſembled, we do not appear to have any very preciſe information.

On the 8th of April, intelligence arrived at Munich that preparations were making by the Auſtrians for croſſing the Inn, and that a bridge of boats was already formed between Braunau and Scharding. On the following day a ſhort note was received from the Auſtrian head-quarters at Lintz, notifying to the commander of the French forces, that the Archduke Charles had received orders to advance with the troops under his command, and to treat as enemies all who ſhould make oppoſition. At the ſame time, a letter from the archduke was delivered to the King of Bavaria, in which his Majeſty was aſſured, that "the ſevereſt commands had been given that no hoſtilities be committed, except againſt the enemy of all political independence in Europe, until the king ſhould make known his intentions. It would be very painful to me," continued the archduke, "to turn my arms againſt the troops of your Majeſty; but if the force of circumſtances ſhould compel you to a condeſcenſion incompatible with your dignity, and the happineſs of your people, I beg you, nevertheleſs, to be convinced that my ſoldiers will pay every poſſible reſpect to the ſafety of your Majeſty; and I invite you, Sire, to confide yourſelf to the honour of my ſovereign, and the protection of his arms." Maximilian withdrew, on the 11th, to Dillingen, taking with him his crown and jewels, and treaſure.

On the 9th of April the Archduke, with his troops, croſſed the Inn at Brannau and Burghauſen. On the 10th they inveſted Paſſau, where

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they ſurrounded a battalion of Bavarians; at the ſame time they cut off another battalion at Kuffſtein. When the news of this movement became public, the Bavarian diviſion which had been at Landſhut proceeded to Altorf, on the left bank of the Iſer; the corps under Wrede marched upon Neuſtadt, and Maſſena left Ulm for the neighbourhood of Augſburg.

From the 10th to the 16th, the Auſtrians continued to advance from the Inn to the Iſer. Lefebvre collected a body of about 12,000 Bavarians, with the view of obſtructing the paſſage of the Auſtrian army over the Inn, at Landſhut. The bridge was broken down, and the approach to the bank was rendered extremely difficult by the French tirailleurs, who had occupied all the houſes on the oppoſite ſide, from whence they could only be driven by cannon being brought to bear upon them. In this operation a conſiderable part of the town was neceſſarily laid in ruins by the batteries, under the fire of which the Auſtrians ſucceeded in re-eſtabliſhing the bridge, when the enemy retired upon the diviſion of General Wrede, and the Bavarian army took a central poſition upon Neuſtadt.

At the ſame time the Auſtrian armies moved forward upon every other point. On the 9th Field Marſhal Chaſtellar entered the Tyrol at Lienz, through the Furſterthal, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants; and on the 12th he had already reached Branneck. Count Bellegarde, with the firſt corps of the army, broke up from Bohemia on the 19th, and moving by Tirſchenreith, formed, two days after, a junction at Weremberg, with the ſecond corps, which had entered the Upper Palatinate by Ruſhaupten. The combined corps then took a poſition on the Nab, and their vanguard occupied the heights of Hirſchau, in order to watch the road from Bayreuth to Amberg. On the ſame day the Archduke John entered the province of Friuli, by Cividale and Gortz, and, after ſome oppoſition, advanced on the 13th to the Tagliamento, acroſs which the enemy retired, and concentrated his forces at Sacile. About the ſame time the Archduke Ferdinand, with the ſixth corps, entered the territory of the Duchy of Warſaw, and took up a poſition near Norvemioſto.

On the evening of the 12th, intelligence that the Auſtrians had paſſed the Inn, reached Paris by the telegraph, and Buonaparte almoſt immediately ſet out to take the command of his armies. At three in the morning of the 16th, he arrived at Louiſburgh; in the evening of the ſame day he reached Dillingen, where he had an interview with the King of Bavaria, and promiſed within a fortnight to reſtore him to his capital, to avenge the inſults that had been offered to him, and to make him greater than any of his anceſtors had ever been. On the next day, at two in the morning, he arrived at Donauwerth, where he immediately eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. From this place he, after his uſual manner, iſſued an addreſs to the army: "Soldiers," ſaid he, "the territory of the confederation of the Rhine is violated. The Auſtrian general hoped that we ſhould take to flight on the firſt appear-

ance

ance of his army, and abandon our allies to his diſpoſal. I come with the rapidity of the eagle. Soldiers, you were around me when the ſovereign of Auſtria came to viſit me in my bivouac in Moravia; you ſaw him experience my bounty, and ſwear eternal friendſhip to me. We have been victorious in three wars. Auſtria owes every thing to our generoſity; thrice has ſhe broken her engagements. Our paſt ſucceſs is the ſure pledge of the victory which now awaits us. Let us advance, and let the enemy at the ſight of us again recognize their conquerors."

In the meanwhile the archduke, after paſſing the Iſer, had broken up with the third, fourth, and fifth corps of the army, and the firſt corps of reſerve. He then haſtened, by forced marches, upon the Danube, in the direction of Kelheim and Ratiſbon, croſſing the Labar, and proceeding by Eckmuhl, Rotenburg, and Cloiſterrock; his brother, Prince Lewis, with the corps under his command, taking at the ſame time the road to Neuſtadt. The objects of the movement was, apparently, to prevent the threatened junction of the enemy's whole force upon the heights between Ratiſbon and Saal, by cutting off the corps under Davouſt before it could effect its junction both with that which was then advancing under Oudinot from Augſburg, and with the diviſions with which Maſſena had already reached Augſbourg, in his advance from Ulm. But, according to the confeſſion of the Auſtrians themſelves, the velocity of the enemy anticipated their purpoſe. On the 19th Oudinot quitted Augſburg, and arrived by break of day at Pfaffenhofen, where he attacked and defeated a ſmall body of Auſtrians. On the next day Maſſena reached the ſame place, and Davouſt left Ratiſbon, and advanced to Neuſtadt, with the view of approximating to Ingolſtadt. It was then evident, according to the French bulletin, that Napoleon's plan was to outmanœuvre the Auſtrians, who had formed near Landſhut, and to attack them at the very moment when, imagining themſelves to be the aſſailants, they were marching to Ratiſbon. On the 19th Davouſt began his march; his left, under St. Hilaire, fell in with the Auſtrians at the village of Peiſſing, attacked and defeated them. On his right alſo, General Moraud attacked an Auſtrian diviſion, engaging it in front, while Lefebvre, with a Bavarian corps that had marched from Abenſberg, attacked them in the rear. On this point alſo were the Auſtrians defeated; and, by their own avowal, with conſiderable loſs, particularly in officers. This action the French denominated the battle of Tann.

Prince Charles kept the army in order of battle, to follow the movements of the enemy, whoſe immediate deſigns, however, were not directed againſt him. The purpoſe of Buonaparte was now to cut off, attack ſeparately, and deſtroy the corps which, under the Archduke Lewis and General Hiller, formed the left wing of the Auſtrian line, and in this, unhappily, he ſucceeded. On the 20th he took poſt at Abenſberg; Davouſt was ordered to keep in check the corps of Hohenzollern, Roſenberg, and Lichtenſtein, while Maſſena, paſſing by Freyberg, and getting into the rear

rear of the Auſtrian army, cut off their communications with the Tyrol. The attack in front was made by the two diviſions of Moraud and Guden, under Laſnes, and by thoſe of the Bavarians and Wirtemburghers, led on by Buonaparte himſelf, who addreſſed the officers in a long ſpeech, in the courſe of which, after reminding them that for more than 200 years the Bavarian ſtandard had been diſplayed againſt the Auſtrians, he promiſed that this time he would render them ſo powerful, that they alone would be able to contend with the houſe of Hapſburgh. Wrede attacked an Auſtrian diviſion at Siegenburgh; Vandamme, with the Wirtemburghers, attacked them on their right flank, while Laſnes, with the French corps, forced the extremity of their left, and overthrowing every thing before him, advanced to Rohr and Roſemberg. The French boaſt to have taken eight ſtandards, twelve pieces of cannon, and 18,000 priſoners, on this occaſion. The Auſtrians admit the loſs of 8,000. The ſame day an unſucceſsful attempt was made to gain the height of Abach, and prevent the junction of Davouſt with the Bavarians. But the Auſtrians were here alſo defeated, and the enemy's junction was effected.

This battle laid open the flank of the Auſtrian army, and expoſed their magazines at Landſhut. Upon that place Napoleon marched by break of day on the 21ſt. Beſſieres defeated the enemy's cavalry on the plains before the town, while another diviſion forced the bridge, notwithſtanding an ineffectual attempt to ſet it on fire, and penetrated into the place. The Auſtrians were then attacked by Maſſena, who advanced along the right bank of the river, and were again defeated, leaving Landſhut, with thirty pieces of cannon, 9,000 priſoners, and all their magazines and hoſpitals, in the hands of the enemy. In the meanwhile the Archduke Charles had effected his junction with the Bohemian army, under Kollowrath, and ſurpriſed, at Ratiſbon, a thouſand French, who had been left to guard the bridge at that place. Buonaparte, enraged at this accident, ſwore that to efface the inſult which had been offered to his arms, in twenty-four hours Auſtrian blood ſhould flow in Ratiſbon. He immediately began his march from Landſhut, with the two diviſions under Laſnes, the corps under Maſſena, and the Wirtemburghers, and haſtened to effect his junction with Davouſt and Lefebvre, who were, probably with ſome peril to themſelves, holding in check the combined corps of Roſenberg, Hohenzollern, and Lichtenſtein. Beſſieres, with the Bavarian diviſion, was ſent in purſuit of the corps which, after the defeats at Abenſburg and Landſhut, had retired upon the Inn.

The archduke had aſſembled four corps of his army, conſiſting of 110,000 men, and had taken a poſition at Eckmuhl. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, the French arrived before it; they immediately attacked the Auſtrians on every point, turned their left, and ſucceſſively drove them from all their poſitions. It was in vain that their cavalry, which was ſtrong and numerous, attempted to cover the retreat of the infantry; according to the French account, a complete

a complete rout enſued. The archduke himſelf owed his eſcape only to the fleetneſs of his horſe, and his whole force was driven in diſorder from the field, leaving all their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, fifteen ſtandards, and 20,000 priſoners, in the hands of the enemy. The purſuit continued till dark. At day-break, on the 23d, the French continued rapidly their advance upon Ratiſbon. The Auſtrians attempted to cover the city with their cavalry. Three ſucceſſive charges took place, each to the advantage of the French, who cut to pieces eight thouſand of their enemies, and drove the remainder over the Danube. Six regiments were left to defend Ratiſbon; a diſpoſition for which the Auſtrian general is ſeverely blamed by the French bulletin. The town, it ſeems, from the imperfect ſtate of its defences, was incapable of effectual reſiſtance. The French effected an entrance, and made themſelves maſters of it with eaſe, taking at the ſame time 8,000 priſoners.

Thus, according to the expreſſion of the French official account, at the battle of Abenſberg Buonaparte beat ſeparately the two corps of the Archduke Lewis and General Hiller; at the battle of Landſhut he took the centre of the Auſtrian communications, and the general depôt of their magazines and artillery; finally, at the battle of Eckmuhl, the four corps of Hohenzollern, Lichtenſtein, Kollowrath, and Roſenberg, were defeated. The corps of Bellegarde arrived the day after the battle, only in time to witneſs the taking of Ratiſbon, and then retired into Bohemia; with the exception of this corps, it was further obſerved, that the whole of the Auſtrian army, conſiſting of 220,000 men, had been engaged, while nearly one half of the French army had never fired a ſhot. It is difficult to aſcertain, with any certainty, the loſs of either party in theſe affairs. The French affirmed that they had taken 100 pieces of cannon, 40 ſtandards, 50,000 priſoners, 3,000 waggons, full of baggage, and all the cheſts of the regiments. Their own loſs they eſtimated at 1,200 killed, and 4,000 wounded. The Auſtrians, on the other hand, admitted a loſs but of 9,600 priſoners, 6,000 killed and wounded, and about thirty-eight pieces of cannon; and they calculated that of the French at 10,000 killed, wounded, and priſoners. As far as reſpects their own loſs, we ſuſpect that the account of the enemy approaches as nearly to the truth as their own.

The reſult of theſe diſaſters was the effectual expulſion of the Auſtrians from Bavaria, and the cutting off of the archduke's communication with the Inn and Vienna. The route to that capital now lay open to the enemy, who accordingly promiſed to his ſoldiers, before a month was elapſed, to plant his eagles on its ramparts. He was better than his word. Having ſent Lefebvre into the palatinate, and detached the Bavarians, under Wrede, againſt the Tyroleſe, he purſued his march along the courſe of the Danube. After the diſaſters of Abenſburg and Landſhut, the corps of the archduke and Hiller had retired in that direction, and taken up a poſition on the Inn, with the view both of covering Scharding and Brannau, where conſiderable maga-

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zines had been eſtabliſhed, and of maintaining the communications with the Tyrol. The approach of Beſſieres and Maſſena compelled them to fall back. Maſſena paſſed the river at Paſſau, and occupied Scharding, re-eſtabliſhing the bridges over the Inn. Beſſieres croſſed at Burghauſen, on the 28th. Oudinot entered Ried on the 1ſt of May, where he found magazines and ſtores of every kind. On the following day Buonaparte paſſed through the ſame place, on his way to Lambach, where he arrived in the afternoon. On the 3d Maſſena reached Lintz. The Archduke Lewis, and Hiller, were before the town, with about 35,000 men, but, threatened with a flank movement from Laſnes, they proceeded to Eberſdorf. Maſſena, who was now joined by the corps of Beſſieres and Oudinot, followed and came up with the Auſtrian rear-guard, as it was paſſing the Braun at that place. The French charged, drove into the river cannon, waggons, and eight or 900 men, and took about 3,000 in the town. General Claparede, with the advanced guard, purſued; the Auſtrians, threatened with ſuperior numbers, ſet fire to the town, and the flames reaching the bridge, Claparede's diviſion was for a while cut off. The Auſtrian general obſerving this, advanced three times againſt it, but without effect; according to the French account, their diviſion, only 7,000 ſtrong, maintained themſelves for three hours againſt 30,000 Auſtrians, till a paſſage was re-opened over the river, when reinforcements were puſhed acroſs, and the Auſtrians retreated precipitately, with the loſs, it is ſaid, of 12,000 men. They retreated rapidly upon Enns, where they arrived the ſame evening, burnt the bridge, and continued their flight on the road to Vienna. Two thirds of what remained of their force paſſed the Danube at Crems; the remainder made the beſt of their way, by forced marches, to Vienna, and endeavoured, as circumſtances would permit, by occupying the ſmall iſlands, to keep up the communication with the city, and the outlet acroſs the bridges. Buonaparte ſlept at Enns on the 4th; on the 8th his head quarters were at St. Polten. The large magazines which were every where diſcovered, facilitated the movements of his troops; and it was eſtimated that, ſince their paſſage of the Inn, not leſs than 40,000 quintals of powder, 400,000 rations of biſcuits, and ſome hundred thouſands of rations of bread, had fallen into their hands. On the 10th, at nine in the morning, he appeared before the gates of Vienna, at the ſame hour, on the ſame day, and preciſely one month after the Auſtrians had commenced the campaign by paſſing the Inn.

"Vienna," ſays the Auſtrian account of this campaign, "formerly an important fortreſs, was in vain beſieged by the Turks, and would even now, from the ſolidity of its ramparts, the ſtrong profile of its works, and the extenſive ſyſtem of its mines, be capable of making a protracted reſiſtance, had not, for upwards of a century back, the luxury of a large metropolis, the wants of eaſe, the conflux of all the magnates of the empire, and the pomp of a ſplendid court, totally effaced every conſideration of military defence. Palaces

laces adorn the ramparts; the caſemates and ditches are converted into the work-ſhops of tradeſmen; plantations mark the counterſcarps of the fortreſs, and the glacis is traverſed by avenues of trees." The population, conſiſts of between 250 and 300,000 inhabitants; of theſe, not above one-fourth are contained in the city, properly ſo named; which is ſurrounded by a baſtion and counterſcarp, and ſeparated by a large eſplanade from what are called the ſuburbs. Theſe compoſe by far the larger part of the town, and are covered on the ſide of the country by intrenchments. No oppoſition was offered, on the part of the ſuburbs, to the entrance of the French. In the city, however, ſome ſhew of reſiſtance was made by the Archduke Maximilian, who, a few days before, had thrown himſelf into the place with ten battalions of militia, and ten of the line, and announced his determination of defending it to extremities. Two attempts to open a parley with him received no other reply than a fire from the ramparts; and Buonaparte then proceeded to the arm of the Danube, which ſeparates the Prater from the city, to take meaſures for effecting his purpoſe by force. A ſmall pavilion on the left bank was occupied, under the fire of fifteen pieces of artillery, in order to cover the raiſing of a bridge, and at nine in the evening of the 11th, a battery of twenty mortars, at 100 fathoms from the place, began the bombardment. In four hours 1,800 ſhells had been diſcharged. The archduke having failed in an attempt to retake the pavilion, and perceiving that the enemy, availing himſelf of the numerous craft on the river, had croſſed the ſmaller branches, and diſlodging the troops from the neareſt iſlands, threatened the communication with the left bank, he judged that further reſiſtance would only entail the uſeleſs deſtruction of the city. Accordingly, in the courſe of the night, he departed, accompanied by the regular troops of the garriſon, along the bridge of Tabor, which he then demoliſhed, and at day-break it was announced to the advanced guard of the enemy, that a deputation was about to be ſent to their emperor. The ſame day a capitulation was agreed to, by the terms of which the garriſon were to become priſoners of war, and the inhabitants, of all ranks, were aſſured of protection in their property and privileges. On the following day Napoleon iſſued a proclamation, in which, after animadverting upon the conduct of the Auſtrian princes, and congratulating his troops on their ſucceſſes, he declared that he took the good inhabitants of the city under his ſpecial protection. He particularly admoniſhed the ſoldiers not to be proud of their triumphs, but to be good to the poor peaſants, and this good people, who had ſo many rights to their eſteem. To thoſe of the Auſtrians, who felt for the dignity of their country, there muſt have been ſomething inexpreſſibly galling in this tone of inſulting protection.

The addreſs which, two days after, was iſſued to the people of Hungary, contained ſomething more than mere inſult; it ſeemed to imply a fixed reſolution on the part of Napoleon, to diſmember

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the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. "Hungarians," ſaid he, "the moment for recovering your independence is arrived. I offer you the inviolability of your territory, of your freedom, and of your conſtitution. Your connection with Auſtria has been moſt unfortunate. For that connection your blood has often flowed in diſtant lands, and your deareſt intereſts have conſtantly been ſacrificed to thoſe of the hereditary Auſtrian ſtates. Reſume then your exiſtence as a nation. Have a king of your own chuſing, who ſhall govern for you only; who ſhall reſide in the midſt of you; who ſhall be ſurrounded only by your own citizens and ſoldiers. Aſſemble in a national diet, according to the cuſtom of your forefathers, upon the plains of Racos, and let me know your deciſion." To the countries already in the occupation of his forces, his language bore an import not leſs unequivocal. He iſſued orders for the immediate diſbanding of the landwehr, or militia; and, as though he were a lawful ſovereign, relenting towards rebellious ſubjects, an *amneſty* was promiſed to all thoſe who ſhould return to their homes within fourteen days; adding, that if the officers did not return within the time ſpecified, their houſes ſhould be burnt, and their property confiſcated. The Auſtrian priſoners, belonging to provinces already in his poſſeſſion, were ordered to be incorporated with the Bavarian armies, and compelled to march againſt their fellow ſubjects.

Another decree was iſſued on the 17th of May, for the union of the papal territories with the French empire. It is remarkable, that in this inſtrument no alluſion is made to the decree by which, in the preceding year, he had incorporated the ſame territories with his Italian kingdom. By this paper Rome was declared a free and imperial city; the monuments of Roman greatneſs were to be maintained at the expence of the French treaſury; the revenues of the pope were fixed at 2,000,000 of francs; his property and palaces were to be ſubject to no viſitation, or juriſdiction, and were to enjoy ſpecial prerogatives. An extraordinary commiſſion was appointed to carry into effect theſe decrees, and a proclamation was iſſued, on the 10th of June, in which the Romans were reminded of their ancient greatneſs, and promiſed a new æra of glory and proſperity, under the beneficent protection of Napoleon. On the ſame day the pope publiſhed his proteſt againſt theſe ſpoliations. "We reject," ſaid the pontiff, "with the firmeſt reſolution, any allowance which the Emperor of the French may intend to aſſign us, and to the individuals compoſing our college; for we ſhould all cover ourſelves with ignominy in the face of the church, if we ſuffered our ſubſiſtence to depend on the power of him who uſurped her authority. We commit ourſelves entirely to Providence, and the affection of the faithful, and ſhall be contented piouſly to terminate the bitter courſe of our ſorrowful days. Adoring, with profound humility, God's inſcrutable decrees, we invoke his commiſeration on our good ſubjects; and having, in this hardeſt of trials, done what our duties required of us, we exhort them to preſerve always inviolate their

their religion and their faith, and unite themſelves with us in conjuring, with ſighs and tears, the ſupreme Father of light, that he may vouchſafe to change the baſe deſigns of our perſecutors." In another decree, iſſued at the ſame time, "By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Peter and St. Paul," he excommunicated and anathematized Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, and all who had co-operated with him in this act of violence, declaring that they had incurred the greater excommunication, with all the conſequent cenſures and penalties. In another part, however, it was ſpecially provided, that no one ſhould, "on occaſion of theſe letters, or by any pretext derived from them, preſume to hurt, prejudice, or damage, in any matter whatever, the perſons, property, rights, or prerogatives, of the parties excommunicated."

In other quarters the Auſtrian arms had, in the firſt inſtance, proved ſufficiently ſucceſsful. On the Poliſh frontier, the Archduke Ferdinand entered Warſaw, and, April 13th, a few days after the paſſage of the Tagliamento, the forces, under the Archduke John, obtained, near Fontana, a deciſive advantage over the viceroy, Beauharnois, by which the French were compelled to retire beyond the Piave, with the loſs of ſixteen cannon, three eagles, and ſome thouſands of priſoners. The diſaſters in Bavaria, however, made it neceſſary to recall the Auſtrian troops from this quarter. On the 30th they began their retreat. The French followed, and, on the 8th of May, brought the archduke to an action on the Piave, in which he ſuffered conſiderable loſs, but continued to fall back, without interruption, upon Carinthia.

On the ſide of the Tyrol, the opening of the campaign had been ſignalized by ſucceſſes more intereſting in their nature, and more important in their conſequences. By the peace of Preſburgh, in 1806, that country had been tranſferred to Bavaria, and perhaps conſtituted the moſt painful of the ſacrifices which that treaty impoſed upon the houſe of Auſtria. But to the Tyroleſe themſelves this change was a ſubject of the deepeſt and moſt bitter indignation. This people had always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an inviolable attachment to the houſe under which it had, for ſo many centuries, enjoyed its ancient free conſtitution. The abrogation of this, together with every other of their hereditary privileges, was among the firſt acts of the Bavarian government; the whole courſe of which, during the period which elapſed, till the revival of hoſtilities in 1809, was marked by a ſeries of oppreſſive acts, which roufed to the higheſt pitch the indignation of the people, who only awaited a fitting occaſion to wreak a terrible vengeance upon the heads of their tyrants. The renewal of the war between France and Auſtria afforded them the opportunity ſo anxiouſly deſired. On the 10th of April, the day on which the archduke paſſed the Inn, a ſimultaneous riſing took place in every part of the Tyrol. At the head of the inſurgents appeared Andrew Hoffer, a native of Sand, in the valley of Paſſeyr, who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Bavarians in the war of 1805,

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and been rewarded for his ſervices with the order of Maria Thereſa. The whole plan of the inſurrection had been previouſly arranged by him, in concert with two friends, with the moſt perfect ſkill and ſecreſy; and it was as boldly and ſucceſsfully executed. The French and Bavarians were every where ſurpriſed. At Stergingen, at Inſpruck, at Hall, and the Convent of St. Charles, they were compelled to capitulate. An Auſtrian force, under the Marquis de Chaſtellar, had been diſpatched to aſſiſt the riſing of the inhabitants, but they found, on their arrival, that the work was already accompliſhed. They were received, however, with enthuſiaſm by the peaſantry, of all ages and ſexes, who every where haſtened forth and welcomed their friends, by the ſound of bells, mingled with the diſcharge of artillery and muſquetry, and the joyous acclamations of "Long live the Emperor Francis." The Auſtrians were deeply affected to ſee gathering around them, men of extreme old age, and boys of twelve years, armed with whatever had fallen into their hands, and exultingly diſplaying the trophies they had won from the enemy. Their ſucceſs had indeed been moſt deciſive: of 27,000 French and Bavarians which were in the occupation of the country, it is ſaid that the whole were either killed or taken.

Buonaparte was equally alarmed and enraged by the intelligence of theſe events, and he immediately availed himſelf of his victories on the Danube, to detach ſuch a force againſt the inſurgents, as he thought might effectually overpower reſiſtance. Lefebvre, with a Bavarian force of 24,000 men, marched through Salzburg, while three other diviſions, of about 8,000 each, endeavoured to penetrate on the ſides of Suabia, Carinthia, and Italy. The ſmaller corps were repulſed, and driven back; but the people had no means of openly reſiſting the force under Lefebvre, who, for a time, bore down every thing before him. Of this temporary ſuperiority he availed himſelf to commit upon the perſons and properties of the inhabitants, barbarities the moſt atrocious and revolting, with the purpoſe, no doubt, of ſtriking a terror into their minds, ſuch as might effectually repreſs their inſurrectionary movements for the future. The actual effect of his maſſacres was, however, the reverſe of what he anticipated; the Tyroleſe renewed their hoſtilities with redoubled vigour, and when the events near Vienna made it neceſſary to recall him to the Danube, he was glad to make ſuch a retreat as he could, with what yet remained of his forces. The Tyroleſe then again recovered the poſſeſſion of their country, and, not content with this, being joined with ſome thouſands of Auſtrian priſoners who had effected their eſcape, they made excurſions upon all ſides, and penetrated into Bavaria, Carinthia, Italy, and Switzerland, threatening at the ſame time both Munich and Verona.

CHAP. XII.

Poſitions of the Auſtrian Army after the Battle of Eckmuhl. Archduke marches upon Vienna, with the Hope of relieving it before attacked. Takes up a Poſition in its Neighbourhood. Account of the Iſlands in the Danube, below the City. They are occupied by Buonaparte, who conſtructs Bridges, and paſſes the River. Diſpoſitions of the two Armies. Battle of Aſpern, firſt Day. Attacks on the Villages of Aſpern and Eſsling. The Battle is renewed on the following Morning. Deſperate Conflict in Aſpern. The French Bridges deſtroyed. Different Accounts given of the Origin of this Accident. Difficulties of the French Army. Ineffectual Attacks on Eſsling. French Army retreats in the Night to the Iſland of Lobau, after ſuffering immenſe Loſſes. Severe Loſs of the Auſtrians. Their Exultation. Circumſtances which precluded an Attack on the French Poſition in the Iſland, which is ſtrongly fortified by the French. Archduke Ferdinand recalled from Poland. Archduke John retreats upon Hungary. Affair of Raab. Lefebvre withdrawn from the Tyrol. State of Popular Feeling in Germany. Singular enterprize of Schill. Leaves Berlin with his Regiments. Invades Saxony and Weſtphalia. Retires upon Stralſund. Attacked by the Dutch and Danes. Is killed, with the greater Part of his Followers. Operations of the Duke of Brunſwick. He overruns Saxony. Incapacity of the Auſtrian General Amende. Buonaparte collects all his Forces on the Danube. Completes the Bridges acroſs the River. Preparations of the Archduke for the approaching Battle. Buonaparte transfers his Head Quarters to the Iſland of Lobau. Prepares to paſs to the left Bank. Effects his Paſſage in the Night, with his whole Army, and takes up a Poſition which turns the whole of the Auſtrian Works. Diſmay of the Archduke, who abandons the Entrenchments with loſs. Battle of Wagram. Reſpective Diſpoſitions of the Armies. Errors of the Auſtrian Commander. Buonaparte ſkilfully avails himſelf of them. Outflanks the Archduke's left, and at the ſame Time breaks his Centre, when the whole Auſtrian Army retreats in Diſorder. Archduke John arrives too late, and retires upon Hungary. Amount of the Auſtrian loſs. The French purſue the vanquiſhed Army towards Bohemia. Propoſal for an Amiſtice accepted by Buonaparte, who returns to Vienna. Loſs of the Auſtrians in the late Battle. Bold Attempt of the Duke of Brunſwick. Marches through Saxony and Hanover to the Weſer. Embarks for England, and arrives at Harwich. Abandonment of of the Tyroleſe. Lefebvre re-enters the Country with a powerful Force. They ſend a Deputation to the Emperor Francis. Repulſe the Invaders on every Point, and purſue their Succeſſes on all Sides. Treaty of Peace between Auſtria and France ſigned at Vienna. Renewal of the Invaſion of the Tyrol by Buonaparte, who pours in upon it an overwhelming Force. Barbarous Inflictions upon the People. The Retreat of Andrew Hoffer is diſcovered. He is ſeized, tried, and ſhot.

AFTER the battle of Eckmuhl, and the capture of Ratiſbon, the Auſtrian army, which had been driven acroſs the Danube, took up a poſition near Cham, behind the river Regen. From thence, when the enemy began his march down the right bank of the Danube, towards Vienna, the archduke broke up, and proceeding by Kleutſh and Neumarkt, arrived on the 3d of May at Budweis, in the expectation of effecting a junction with the left wing of his army under Hiller, which he truſted would be enabled to execute the paſſage of the Danube near Lintz. Hiller, however, was too cloſely purſued, and it was not till after the murderous engagement at Eberſdorf, that he was able ſo far to get the ſtart of the enemy as to have it in his power to puſh a portion of his force acroſs the river at Stain, while he himſelf, according to the inſtructions of the archduke, haſtened on with the remainder to take meaſures for the temporary defence of the capital. A protracted reſiſtance could not, from the nature of the place, be expected; it was merely hoped that the city might, for a few days, ſerve as a tête de pont, to cover the paſſage of the river; and, in fact, had it been able to hold out for five days, it might have been relieved. The archduke was advancing to its ſuccour, by forced marches, through Bohemia, and directed all his operations with the view of gaining the bridges near Vienna, and of making a laſt effort to ſave it by a battle under its walls. With this purpoſe he marched by Newpolla and Horn, upon Stockerau. At Meiſſau, however, he received intelligence of the arrival of Napoleon before Vienna on the 10th, and of the ſubſequent capitulation of the town. The prince gave up his immediate intention of paſſing the Danube, for which he had no longer the ſame object, and, to give his troops ſome repoſe after their marches, he collected them under the hill of Biſamberg, diſpoſing them ſo as they might beſt obſerve the movements of the enemy, and oppoſe any attempt on his part to croſs the river. The chain of outpoſts extended on the left as far as the Marchfield, and on the right to Krems. The head quarters were at Ebersdorf, on the road to Brunn.

Oppoſite Kaiſers Eberſdorf, a village about ten miles below Vienna, and to which Buonaparte had lately transferred his head quarters, the courſe of the Danube is divided by two iſlands, of which the ſmaller is diſtant about fifteen or ſixteen hundred feet from the right bank, and is itſelf ſeparated from the greater iſland, which is called Lobau, by a channel about 800 feet broad. This laſt iſland, which is ſix miles long and four broad, is 150 yards diſtant from the left bank, and affords an excellent poſition for the paſſage of the river, as it at the ſame time covers the neceſſary operations for forming a bridge acroſs the right branch, and offers, by its extent, ſo many points by which a paſſage over the channel which ſeparates it from the left bank may be effected. On the 18th Buonaparte ordered Lobau to be occupied by Molitor's diviſion, and, next day he eſtabliſhed a bridge between it and the right bank. On the 20th he proceeded himſelf to the iſland, and cauſed a ſecond bridge to be thrown over the

the third branch of the river. This, from the narrowneſs of the ſtream, was eaſily effected in three hours. In the courſe of the night, and of the following morning, ſeveral diviſions were paſſed over, and diſpoſed under direction of Buonaparte, who, accompanied by Laſnes and Maſſena, inſpected the nature of the poſition, and poſted his right and left in the villages of Eſsling and Aſpern, the two firſt that appear after croſſing the Danube on this point. Every thing indicated a determination on his part to bring the Auſtrians to an immediate engagement. On the other hand, the archduke, who had attentively obſerved theſe movements from the Biſam Hill, was equally deſirous of trying the hazard of battle. He made no attempt to oppoſe the paſſage of the French; ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes took place with their advanced guard on the the 20th, after which the Auſtrian cavalry were ordered to fall back, and the enemy took up his poſition without moleſtation. The poſition itſelf was ſtrong. The large villages of Aſpern and Eſsling, which were ſurrounded by mounds of earth, formed as it were two baſtions, between which a a double trench, which had been dug for the purpoſe of drawing off water, ſerved as a curtain; and both villages had a ſafe communication with the buſhy ground near the river, by which the enemy could always deſpatch the neceſſary reinforcements.

On the following morning, at day break, the Auſtrian army was put under arms, and formed in two lines, on the riſing ground behind Gerarſdorf, in front of the vaſt plain of the Marchfield. The attack was to be ordered in five columns; the firſt three, conſiſting of the corps of Hiller, Bellegarde, and Hohenzollern; the fourth and fifth compoſed of that of Roſemberg. The chief object was to carry the two villages of Aſpern and Eſsling, and then drive back the enemy over the firſt arms of the Danube, deſtroying the bridges he had thrown over them, and occupying the banks of the Lobau iſland with a numerous force of artillery. The effective numbers of the Auſtrian army amounted to 75,000 men, with 288 pieces of cannon.

At twelve o'clock preciſely the columns began to put themſelves in motion. The day was ſingularly fine, and the moſt ardent enthuſiaſm pervaded the troops, who moved forward ſinging war ſongs, accompanied with Turkiſh muſic, and filling the air with acclamations of "Long live the emperor! Long live the Archduke Charles!"

The attack commenced on the right, where the firſt column advanced along the banks of the Danube, between Spitz and Leopoldau, upon Aſpern, before which the enemy was moſt ſtrongly poſted, in large diviſions, his right covered with a battery, and his left by a large and deep ditch; the Auſtrians advanced however, formed, and charging with the bayonet, drove him back into Aſpern, and took the village. Reinforcements arriving, the French regained the village; were again driven from it, and a ſecond time recovered it. Both parties, aware of the importance of the point, exerted every effort to remain maſters of it, and engaged each other in every houſe, in every ſtreet, and every barn,

which were alternately gained and loſt, as the fortune of the conflict varied. In the meanwhile the ſecond column advanced, and diſcovering from the heights by Hirſchſtetten the poſition of the enemy, detached the brigade Velſey againſt Eſsling, and the brigade Winzingerode againſt Aſpern, while it deployed in front, and advanced, leaving Aſpern to the right of it. The attack of Winzingerode on that place, however, was repulſed, and as it was found that an attack upon the front alone was hardly adviſable, a diſpoſition was made, by which a portion of the column was ordered to ſupport the attack. The regiment of Reuſs Plauen advanced upon the place, but loſing its commander, was driven back in diſorder. Bellegarde then ordered General Bacquant to move forward with his diviſion, and carry the village at all hazards. To fruſtrate this attack, the enemy advanced upon the main army with columns of infantry, ſupported by cavalry; they were received with a well directed fire, which followed by a charge, compelled them to retreat in confuſion, and in the mean time Bacquant finally ſucceeded in ſtorming the village, which, after a conflict of ſeven hours, remained in the hands of the Auſtrians.

The third column had moved by Breitenlee, and about three o'clock had fallen in with the left wing of the enemy, conſiſting chiefly of cavalry. The firſt line advanced reſolutely in cloſe columns of battalions, but the French horſe charged with ſuch impetuoſity, that there was ſcarcely time to ſave the artillery which had been brought up; the enemy turned the battalions on both wings, penetrated between them, and even ſummoned them to lay down their arms. The Auſtrians however ſtood firm, and after a deſperate ſtruggle ſucceeded in repelling him.

The fourth and fifth columns advanced upon Eſslingen. The enemy were driven into the village, but the attempts to diſpoſſeſs them of it were ineffectual—two ſucceſſive attacks were made, but Buonaparte felt that the ſafety of his army depended upon the maintenance of this place, which alone ſecured his retreat. Freſh reinforcements were continually poured into it, and, upon the approach of night, the Auſtrians were conſtrained to abandon the attempt. Upon every other point they had been ſucceſsful, and Aſpern remained in their hands. Towards the cloſe of the day the enemy attempted ſome charges of cavalry, but was uniformly repulſed, with ſlaughter, by Prince Lichtenſtein. The approach of night ſuſpended any further movements. The Auſtrians paſſed the night under arms on the field.

Both ſides availed themſelves of the little time that remained to make preparation for the approaching day, when the conflict would be equally obſtinate, and probably more deciſive. In the courſe of the night Buonaparte called in all the diſpoſable force he could collect from Vienna, and the Upper Danube, and they were carried in barges acroſs the Danube as faſt as they arrived; the archduke, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps to advance from Gerarſdorf. In the morning the enemy began by vehemently renewing the attack upon Aſpern; the Auſtrian troops ſtationed there, exhauſted by the inceſſant

inceſſant fire which had been kept up during the night, were unable to withſtand the aſſault, and for a time Maſſena became maſter of the place. The Auſtrians, however, returned almoſt immediately to the aſſault; and the regiment of Klebeck ſucceeded in penetrating into the village, which was now ſet on fire on all ſides. After a conflict of an hour they were again driven back. The regiment of Benjowſky ruſhed in, and once more gained the church-yard, of which Hiller immediately ordered the walls to be pulled down, and the church ſet on fire. Some battalions advanced to ſupport this regiment, which was at length enabled to maintain itſelf in the entrance of the place.

Early in the courſe of this conflict, Bellegarde was about to throw ſome ſuccours into the village, when he obſerved that the enemy, in heavy columns of infantry and cavalry, ſupported by artillery, were about to advance to the centre of the corps on the plain. According to the French account, Buonaparte obſerving that the Auſtrian general had a very wide ſpace between his right and left wing, determined to penetrate his centre. Laſnes led the attack. In a moment, ſays the bulletin, every thing was borne down before him; three columns of infantry were charged, and cut down by the cuiraſſiers: the Auſtrian army was on the point of being deſtroyed, when news was brought to the emperor, that by the ſudden ſwelling of the Danube large maſſes of wood, which had lately been felled, and left on the banks, were floated down the river, and by the impulſe of their weight had carried away the centre bridge between the ſmaller iſland and that of Lobau. By this accident the parks of artillery, containing the artillery and infantry cartridges, which were at that moment advancing, were detained on the right bank, together with great part of the heavy cavalry, and the whole corps of Davouſt. It became impoſſible to take advantage, by a forward movement, of the diſorder into which the Auſtrian line had been thrown, leſt they ſhould exhauſt the ammunition which remained to them, and which it was neceſſary to reſerve againſt the occurrence of any unforeſeen event. Laſnes was ordered to ſtop and take up a poſition, his left wing reſting on a curtain work, which Maſſena covered, and his right at Eſsling. The Auſtrians, perceived the ſlackening of the French fire, and the concentrating movement of their army; they ſoon became aware of the accident which occaſioned it, and, anxious to avail themſelves of it, continued, from nine in the morning till ſeven at night, to make moſt deſperate exertions, ſupported by 300 pieces of cannon, but invariably without effect. Thrice did the archduke attack the two villages, and thrice left them filled with his dead. At length, in the evening, he returned to his original poſition, and the French remained maſters of the field.

Such is the French account of this tremendous conflict, which differs materially from the more probable ſtatement contained in the Auſtrian bulletins. The important circumſtance of the breaking of the bridges is there attributed to the fire-ſhips which the arch-

duke had cauſed to deſcend the river for that expreſs purpoſe; and ſo far from that event having induced Napoleon to forbear any further offenſive movements, they contend, on the authority of priſoners, that he rode through the ranks, made his ſoldiers acquainted with the deſtruction of the bridge, and told them that he himſelf had ordered it, with the view of allowing them no other choice but that of victory or death. It is added, that he then gave immediate orders that the whole French line ſhould put itſelf in motion; making its principal attack on the point where Lichtenſtein's cavalry communicated with the left wing of the corps of Hohenzollern. The action became general, and was maintained, on both ſides, with the moſt obſtinate valour. The generals every where put themſelves at the head of their diviſions. The archduke himſelf ſeized the colours of Zach, and led the battalion, which had begun to waver, back with redoubled ardour to the conteſt. The Auſtrians at length prevailed. The enemy was beaten on all points, and compelled to abandon the field of battle. He ſtill, however, maintained the poſſeſſion of Eſsling, which in the courſe of the day had been the object of the moſt deſperate and ſanguinary conflict. The corps of Prince Roſemberg on this, as on the preceding day, directed their efforts upon this point with the ſame valour, and the ſame ſucceſs. The French felt ſtrongly that their exiſtence depended upon the keeping of this point, without which their retreat, which they now ſaw to be neceſſary, would be impracticable. Here therefore they concentered all their means of reſiſtance, and Roſemberg was finally compelled to deſiſt. The aſſaults ordered by the archduke himſelf, upon the ſame village, were equally ineffectual; the troops ruſhed five times to the attack, and were as often driven back. They volunteered to make a ſixth attempt, but the archduke, ſeeing the enemy in full retreat, refuſed to permit it. Darkneſs cloſed the fight. In the courſe of the ſame night the French effected their retreat to the Iſland of Lobau, evacuating Eſsling, and every other point on the left bank of the river.

Thus ended one of the moſt obſtinate and ſanguinary conteſts recorded in hiſtory. The loſs on both ſides was enormous. That of the Auſtrians amounted to 87 ſuperior officers, 4,199 ſubaltern and privates killed, and 663 officers, and 15,651 ſubaltern and privates wounded; in all nearly 21,000. The loſs of the French muſt neceſſarily have been much greater: according to their own account, the Auſtrians diſcharged againſt them 40,000 balls, while they, deprived of their parks, were obliged to reſerve their ammunition. The Auſtrian official narrative ſtates, that 7,000 French were buried on the field of battle, and above 5,300 wounded left in their hands; that at one time there were 29,773 wounded in Vienna and its ſuburbs, and that ſeveral hundred corpſes were floated down the Danube, and daily thrown upon its ſhores; 2,300 only were taken. Among the enemy's killed was Laſnes, Duke of Montebello, a favourite officer of Buonaparte's, who

who is described in the bulletin as being strongly affected by his death.

This was the first reverse which Napoleon had experienced in Germany, and the exultation of the victors was proportionately great. The charm of his invincibility, it was said, was at length destroyed; and new hopes would begin to animate oppressed nations; this conflict, which would ever be memorable in the annals of the world, was decisive for the glory of the Austrian arms, the preservation of the monarchy, and the correction of public opinion. The emperor wrote a letter to his brother, expressed in terms of the most ardent gratitude towards the general and the army, which had achieved so important a success. "It was reserved for you, the brother of my heart," said the emperor, "the chief support of my throne, to interrupt, for the first time these fifteen years, the good fortune of the adversary. You are the saviour of the country, which, as well as the monarch, will eternally thank and bless you."

These praises were well deserved. The immediate military consequences of the day, however, scarcely answered the general expectation. The progress of the enemy had indeed been effectually arrested, and he had been driven with immense slaughter from the left bank of the Danube; but his retreat had been effected with singular skill and courage, and in perfect order, under circumstances of the utmost difficuly, with the loss of few prisoners, and but three cannon. He still retained the islands in the river; and a long period of inaction which ensued, was assiduously employed by him in the restoration of the bridges, the strengthening of his position in Lobau, and the reinforcement and concentering of his armies. The archduke has been blamed for not having availed himself of his advantages, by immediately attacking the enemy while cooped up in this island; and it has been truly said, that success here would have insured the utter destruction of the French army. But this very circumstance, in their position, would necessarily have compelled them to the exertion of a most desperate resistance. The position itself was strong. The loss of the Austrian army in the battle had not, perhaps, in proportion to their numbers and resources, been very much inferior to that of the enemy, whose defeat, it must also be observed, had been accompanied by none of those symptoms of rout and disorder, which, by impairing the moral spirit of an army, so frequently renders it unavailable for immediate operations. Under these circumstances, we are disposed to think that a direct attack upon Lobau would scarcely have been successful. But, whatever might have been the event of an immediate attempt, in a short time the exertions of the enemy had made it impracticable. Works were thrown up on the island, such as to convert it into a regular fortress, to be approached only by trenches, and was lined with cannons of thirty and sixty pound calibre, and ten inch mortars. On the other hand, the archduke contented himself with strengthening, by every means in his power, his own position on the left bank. For a space of nearly seven weeks either party

forbore any movements of attack, confining their exertions to the preparing and completion of their means for another conflict, which it was expected would be decisive.

The military events which took place on other points, though not of essential importance, deserve notice. The Archduke Ferdinand had been recalled to the Danube, in consequence of the battle of Eckmuhl. He did not begin his retreat, however, till the 20th of May, when he retired from Culm and Thorn, upon the Silesian frontier, and soon after evacuated Warsaw. In the meanwhile Russia announced, in an official manifesto, that in consequence of her treaties with France, she was about to take a part in the war against Austria, and a considerable Russian force, under Prince Gallitzin, was put in motion against Gallicia. The army of Italy, under the Archduke John, continued to retreat upon Hungary, through Carinthia and Styria, closely followed by the French, under Beauharnois, who proceeding by Bruck, Neustadt, and Adenberg, at length came up with the Austrians strongly posted near Raab. On the 14th of June an action took place, which compelled the archduke to retreat upon Comorn. The French and Austrian bulletins, however, differ essentially, both in their accounts of the numbers engaged on either side on this occasion, and of the losses respectively sustained.

In the Tyrol, as we have already intimated, the recal of Lefebvre to Vienna, subsequent to the battles of the 21st and 22d of May, was the signal for the renewal of the insurrection throughout the whole of that district, the military possession of which was instantly recovered by the inhabitants.

In the north of Germany some events had taken place, which merit particular mention, less from their importance, in a military point of view, than their connection with the state of popular feeling, in those parts. In whatever degree the French ruler might have succeeded in bribing some of the vassal courts of his Rhenish league, to a co-operation in his machinations for the subjugation of Germany and of Europe, the German people themselves could not but be deeply and keenly sensible of the oppression and degradation of their political existence: more especially must this sentiment have prevailed in the northern circles, which were, by far, the most enlightened; and which, as in Prussia, Hanover, and Hesse, had been particularly subjected to the arbitary dispositions, and oppressive caprice of the foreign tyrant. The existence of this sentiment was well known. It is repeatedly appealed to in the proclamations, which were issued by Austria in the commencement of the war, and Buonaparte himself, by occasional allusions, in his public papers and bulletins, seems to have been fully aware of its nature, and of the extent of its diffusion. What, if any, measures had been concerted by Austria, to take advantage of this disposition, does not appear to be known. If any such were taken, the disasters which befel her armies in the first week of the campaign, had probably repressed their execution. It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that our own government did not more immediately

diately direct its attention to this point.

An appeal, however, was made to this presumed discontent among the people, and under circumstances sufficiently remarkable. An officer, in the Prussian service, of the name of Schill, had particularly distinguished himself, by his individual gallantry, in the war of 1806; he was in consequence promoted to the command of a regiment, and, amid the general indignation at the cowardice and imbecility of so many of his companions, became the favourite hero with the people. This man conceived the scheme of putting an end to the humiliation and oppression of his country, by a general insurrection of the German nation. On the 16th of April he led out his regiment a short distance from Berlin, communicated to them his design, and called upon them to follow him. Nearly 400 obeyed. He led them directly into Saxony, scattering proclamations wherever he went, and was soon joined by considerable numbers, from all parts, and of every description. Of the details of his subsequent operations we are but imperfectly informed. Buonaparte immediately took measures for crushing the danger which he felt to menace him, before it should become too formidable. Troops from all parts of the confederation, from Holland, and from Denmark, were immediately ordered to march against the heroic Prussian, who, being disavowed by his government, was designated in the French proclamation, as a species of land-pirate, and a price was set upon his head. For some time he baffled all his enemies; entering Dessau, Vittemberg, Halle, Halberstadt, and nearly all the principal towns of Lower Saxony, carrying off the government-money and property, and supplying himself with ammunition from their magazines. From Saxony he proceeded to spread alarm through the new kingdom of Westphalia, as far as Luneburg, where he pulled down the French arms, and replaced them by those of Great Britain. He then crossed the Elbe, marched through the Mecklenburg territory, by Wismar and Rostock, where he embarked his sick, to Stralsund, of which place he made himself master, after defeating a considerable body of Mecklenburgers that opposed him. The place was open, having been totally dismantled by the French. Schill, however, took every measure for his defence. His numbers consisted here of about five or six thousand. A large force, consisting chiefly of Dutch and Danes, came before the town on the 31st. An assault was given. Schill and his followers fought with desperation; but his death, and the overwhelming numbers of the assailants, rendered further resistance impossible. The greater part of his force was either killed, or taken wounded. Some escaped to Rugen, but were afterwards seized. Of the officers who were taken, the whole were shot by order of Buonaparte. Thus terminated this ill-fated, but heroic enterprize.

An attempt, of a nature not altogether dissimilar, was about to be made by the Duke of Brunswick. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, this prince had agreed with the Austrian government

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ment to raiſe, at his own expence, a force of a thouſand foot, and of an equal number of horſe, and the emperor engaged to ſupport him as an independent prince and ally. Circumſtances retarded the completion of his troops, and he was not able to take the field before the capitulation of Vienna. He then took up a poſition on the Saxon frontier of Bohemia, near Newſtadt. His intentions had been to forbear any hoſtilities againſt the Saxons, but an aggreſſion on the part of a Saxon corps, under Colonel Thielman, compelled him to adopt other meaſures. He entered Saxony, and made himſelf maſter of Zittau. Soon after, being joined by the Auſtrian General, Amende, he ſucceeded, by an able movement, in ſurprizing and making himſelf maſter of Dreſden. Thielman made an attempt to recover the city, in which he was completely defeated. Brunſwick ſoon after entered Leipzig, and gained ſome additional ſucceſſes over the Saxons, which would have been infinitely more deciſive, but for the obſtinate imbecility of the Auſtrian general, who retarded and thwarted the whole ſcheme of his operations. Thielman was thus permitted to form a junction with the Weſtphalian troops, under Jerome Buonaparte, and Amende then inſiſted upon retiring to Leipzig.

The Duke, however, was ſoon delivered from this incapable colleague. General Kienmayer was appointed to the command in this quarter, and in conjunction with him, Brunſwick, whoſe force had been conſiderably augmented in Saxony, quickly obtained the aſcendancy, notwithſtanding the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. By a victory over a conſiderable corps, commanded by Junot, Bayreuth was recovered, and a large portion of Franconia occupied by the Auſtrians. Their operations againſt King Jerome were equally ſucceſsful. The Weſtphalian monarch was driven back upon Erfurth, leaving the allies maſters of the provinces of the Upper Mayn and Middle Elbe, and a ſeries of ſucceſſes, ſtill more ſplendid, probably awaited their arrival in the Weſtphalian ſtates, when their career was arreſted by the intelligence of the events which had taken place on the Danube.

In the bulletin, which contained his account of the battles of Aſpern, Buonaparte had announced his intention of undertaking nothing further, until the bridges on the Danube were replaced, and completely ſecured againſt every ſpecies of accident, or attack. The enormous loſſes which he had ſuſtained in the late engagement, no doubt, contributed equally to this reſolution, and he made every exertion to replace them. Lefebvre and the Bavarians were recalled, by forced marches, from the Tyrol. Bernadotte and Vandamme arrived from the Upper Danube, and the Italian army, under Beauharnois, which had taken Raab, ſoon after effected its junction. In the meanwhile his attention was wholly directed to the ſecuring of the paſſage of the Danube. Marine engineers were ſummoned for the purpoſe from Boulogne; and ſeven machines were employed for the purpoſe of driving in the piles. The works were carried on under the direction of General Bertrand, and within

within little more than three weeks were almoſt completed. Over a breadth of 400 fathoms a bridge was thrown, built on ſixty arches, on which three carriages could paſs abreaſt. A ſecond bridge, upon piles, eight feet broad, was built for the infantry. Below theſe was a bridge of boats, and the paſſage of the river might thus be effected in three columns. The bridges themſelves were effectually ſecured from all injury by ſtoccadoes, raiſed in different parts of the river, and further protected by bridge-heads, in the Lobau iſland, each 1600 fathoms in extent, and formed of redoubts. One hundred pieces of cannon and twenty mortars were placed in the iſland; and the bulletin of the 3rd of July obſerved, that "now the bridges were completed, the fate of the Auſtrian monarchy would be decided in a ſingle battle."

On his ſide, the archduke had been anxiouſly and unremittingly taking meaſures for the approach of this momentous conflict. The reſerves had been brought up for the reinforcement of the army, which was further recruited by levies in Moravia and Hungary; the cavalry was remounted, and the draughts of artillery tripled by requiſitions of horſes and carriages. Every method had been employed for the ſtrengthening of their poſition near the Danube. The villages of Aſpern, Eſsling, and Enzerſdorf, and the intervals between them, were covered with redoubts, fortified with palliſades and frizes, and briſtled with battering cannon, drawn from the neighbouring fortreſſes. Behind theſe works were poſted the Auſtrian army; the right wing defended by the village of Aſpern, the left by that of Enzerſdorf.

To offer a direct attack upon a line of defence thus elaborately conſtructed, and backed by an army ſo powerful, ſeemed hardly to be conſiſtent with the ordinary dictates of military prudence; and it was generally expected, that Buonaparte would have thrown acroſs ſome freſh bridges lower down the Danube, and thus compelled the Archduke to meet him on another field of battle than that which had been ſo induſtriouſly prepared. But he dreaded to truſt his fate once more to the ſecurity of bridges, thus haſtily thrown over for the occaſion, and relied upon the reſources of his own genius to render ineffectual all the pre-concerted diſpoſitions of his adverſary.

On the 1ſt of July he tranſferred his head-quarters to the Iſle of Lobau. The ſeveral iſlands of the Danube were occupied; and upon three of theſe which bore upon Enzerſdorf, batteries, containing ſixty-two pieces of cannon, were conſtructed, with the view of deſtroying the works of that village. On another iſland, on the right, was poſted another battery, which was to bear upon the plain, and cover the bridges.

On the 2d a force was ſent to occupy the Mill Iſland, which was joined to the left bank by a ſmall bridge. A redoubt was here raiſed, and ſome cannon furniſhed, with the view of drawing the enemy's attention to this point, by threatening the works at Eſsling. The feint ſucceeded, and a fire was kept up from Eſsling, upon which it was expected that the attack would be commenced

commenced. On the evening of the 4th, however, the archduke, who, from the diſpoſitions of his enemy, began to fear, that his left flank might be taken in flank, ſent orders to the Archduke John, at Preſburgh, to advance immediately with his forces, to the ſupport of the main army, and co-operate with the left wing, as circumſtances might dictate. The order reached Preſburgh on the 5th, and early on the 6th, the day on which the action was expected to take place, it was calculated that Prince John would reach the point of junction at Marſheek.

Buonaparte, however, was, as uſual, too quick for them. At 10 on the night of the 4th, 1500 voltigeurs puſhed in boats acroſs the river, ſilenced the Auſtrian batteries, and drove their troops from the woods to Muhleuten. At 11 the batteries directed againſt Enzerſdorf, opened their fire, and in leſs than half an hour ſilenced thoſe of the enemy, the howitzers ſetting fire to the town. A force of 2,500 men, were embarked in barges, and landed to cover the meaſures which were now taken, for throwing the bridges over the ſmall arm of the Danube, which ſeparates Lobau from the left bank. By two in the morning, four bridges were completed, of which one, formed of a ſingle piece, had been fixed in five minutes, and the whole army now continued rapidly to paſs over, debouching to the left, about 1500 toiſes below Enzerſdorf. The right was ſtormy, and totally dark, and rain fell in torrents. Circumſtances particularly favourable to the operations of the French army.

At day-break, on the 5th, the archduke found that Napoleon had arranged his whole army, in order of battle, upon his left flank; Davouſt's corps forming the right, that of Maſſena the left, that of Oudinot the centre; the corps of Bernadotte, Marmont, and the viceroy, the guards and the cuiraſſiers, conſtituting the ſecond line, and the reſerve. By this poſition, the whole of the Auſtrian lines and entrenchments were turned; and a work of forty days was rendered uſeleſs; the expected junction of Prince John became precarious; the archduke was compelled to give battle at a diſtance from his redoubts, upon ground of his enemy's own chooſing; and which, in event of diſaſter, cut off his retreat from Hungary and Moravia. His diſmay may eaſily be conceived. Nothing, however, remained to him, but to avail himſelf of ſuch advantages as circumſtances might yet offer. The two armies manœuvred throughout the day upon the plain of the Marchfield. The whole of the entrenched camps, together with the works at Eſsling and Aſpern, were taken, and the troops within them put to the ſword. An attempt was made by the archduke to out-flank his enemy's right, by a movement upon the village of Rutzendorf, but without ſucceſs. On the other hand, an attempt, on the part of Napoleon, to interſect the Auſtrian line, by carrying the centre behind the Ruſsbach, near Wagram,

Wagram, was equally unſucceſsful. The village was burn in the conteſt.

In the courſe of the night which followed, both parties prepared for the approaching battle. Buonaparte, who had obſerved the extraordinary extenſion of the enemy's line, ſtill bent his purpoſes upon breaking through their centre at Wagram; and, accordingly, accumulated his own forces, ſo as to bear upon that point. With this view, Maſſena was directed to move from Aſpern upon the left of Anderklaa, and Davouſt, who was on the right, received inſtructions to evacuate Groſshoften, and to draw near to the centre, where the corps of Oudinot and Marmont, the imperial guard, and the cuiraſſiers, were formed in ſeven or eight lines.

The diſpoſition of the archduke was preciſely the reverſe, and the French obſerved, that inſtead of fighting for victory, he ſeemed to look only to the means of improving it. In ſpite of the warning, which the attack of the preceding day might have given of the nature of Buonaparte's purpoſes, he perſiſted in weakening his centre, to extend and ſtrengthen his extremities, where he poſted the greater part of his artillery; and Bellegarde's corps was ordered to move upon Stadelaw, at the very time that Davouſt was marching from the right of the French line to its centre. The Auſtrian right was connected with the poſition of Wagram, which was occupied by Hohenzollern, by the corps of Kollownath, Lichtenſtein, and Hiller, and with the left by that of Prince Roſemberg, who occupied Markgraf, Neuſiedel, and the heights beyond, with inſtructions to aſſure a communication with the force under the Archduke John, which was expected in the direction of Siebenbrunn. The whole of theſe diſpoſitions appeared ſo abſurd, that Buonaparte is deſcribed, as heſitating awhile to take the obvious means of availing himſelf of them, under the apprehenſion of a ſnare.

A little before day-break, on the 6th, Roſemberg's corps marched in three columns, of which one was of cavalry, to take the villages of Groſshoffen and Glinzendorf; at this time Davouſt was moving from the French right to the centre. The two corps fell in with each other, and began the battle. Buonaparte immediately ordered up a diviſion of cuiraſſiers to reinforce Davouſt, and cauſed Roſemberg to be attacked in flank by a battery of twelve guns. At the ſame time a French column croſſed the Ruſbach, near Lorberſdorf, and advanced to Siebenbrunn. The effect of this movement was, that the Auſtrian cavalry could not keep on a line with the other two columns; their left flank was thus expoſed, and the Archduke ſent orders to Roſemberg to deſiſt from the attack of the villages, juſt at the moment that the prince was preparing to carry them. The Archduke John did not appear, and Roſemberg in danger of being overpowered, fell back, with a ſevere loſs, upon his former poſition.

In the meanwhile the cannonade began, and the objects of the Auſtrian commander became more clearly developed. Theſe, as it ſhould ſeem, were to out-flank and turn

turn the left of the French; and, at the ſame time, to attack with the main force in front, in the ſpace between Aſpern and Wagram. Buonaparte, on his ſide, had ordered Davouſt to turn the Auſtrian poſition at Neuſiedel, and thence to puſh on for Wagram, upon which place he had prepared a ſtrong column of attack, to be moved forward the inſtant that Davouſt ſhould debouch, when he was informed, that the Auſtrians were out-flanking his left, and commencing their main attack in front, on the line between Aſpern and Wagram. Their deſtruction he now ſaw was certain. Two diviſions were immediately formed in columns of attack, under Macdonald. A battery of a hundred cannons advanced, without firing, at a trot, to within half gun-ſhot diſtance of their enemy. They then opened a tremendous fire, which ſilenced his batteries, and threw his ranks into confuſion. At this moment Macdonald charged, ſupported by a brigade of fuſileers, and the ſharp-ſhooters of the guard; and the Auſtrian centre was driven with ſlaughter and confuſion from the field. The right perceiving this, likewiſe fell back, and was immediately attacked by Maſſena, while the left was out-flanked and attacked by Davouſt, and the junction with the Archduke John completely fruſtrated. Wagram was then carried, and the whole Auſtria army retired in diſorder from the field. The corps of the Archduke John reached the environs of Siebenbrunn about five in the evening, and finding every thing loſt, retreated unobſerved acroſs the Marchfield. The cauſe of its delay is not explained, although it is to it chiefly that the Auſtrian account, attributes the loſs of the battle. The vanquiſhed, ſhut out by their poſition, from Hungary and Moravia, were compelled to direct their flight towards Bohemia. Maſſena purſued them by Stokerau and Hollabrunn. Marmont marched upon Znaim, and Davouſt upon Nicolſburg. On the 11th Napoleon arrived before Znaim, and had commenced an attack upon the town, when Prince John, of Lichtenſtein, arrived at his outpoſts, with a propoſal for an armiſtice. A ſuſpenſion of arms for one month, was ſigned the ſame night, and a line of demarcation agreed upon, by which Preſburgh, Brunn, and Gratz, were delivered to the French, and the Auſtrian troops were immediately to evacuate the Tyrol. Buonaparte then returned to Vienna.

By the official report, the loſs of the Auſtrians, from the paſſage of the Danube on the 4th, to the date of the armiſtice, is ſtated at 5,630 killed, 18,556 wounded, and 7,585 miſſing; in all about 31,000. The French ſtate, that they took 20,000 priſoners, and 40 pieces of cannon in the battle alone. Their own loſs they reckon at 1500 killed, and 4000 wounded. The archduke's army was greatly diminiſhed by deſertion, particularly of the new levies. Many of theſe, according to the Auſtrian account, had behaved extremely ill in the field, and greatly contributed by their miſconduct to the diſaſter of the day.

The Auſtrian cabinet now ſeemed to

to renounce all hope of a ſucceſsful protraction of the war, and to content itſelf with the hope of ſuch mercy, as might be obtained by negotiation. By the armiſtice it was provided, that the Auſtrian forces ſhould evacuate Saxony before the 27th. The ſituation of the Duke of Brunſwick was ſuch, that he would neceſſarily have been obliged to accompany them in their retreat, when a report, that a large Engliſh force had ſuddenly landed near the mouth of the Elbe, ſuggeſted to him the reſolution of making his way through the heart of Germany to join it. At any rate he ſhould thus have a chance of effecting his embarkation for England; and perilous as the attempt was, he thought it preferable to relapſing into inactive dependance upon the court of Vienna. On the 21ſt, accordingly, he marched from Schleitz to Zwickau. By this movement he deceived his enemies into an idea, that his intention was to fall back with the Auſtrians upon Bohemia. At Zwickau he had the mortification to find, that his cavalry-officers would accompany him no further. He contented himſelf with promoting others in their places, and purſued his march almoſt without interruprion, by Altenburg, Leipzig, Merſeburg, and Halle. At Halberſtadt they found the gates ſhut, and a body of 3000 Weſtphalian infantry in the town; the duke immediately attacked, forced an entrance, and after a ſevere conteſt made himſelf maſter of the place, together with 1600 priſoners, among whom was the commander, a Frenchman, dignified under Jerome Buonaparte, by the title of Count Wellingerode.

Next day he proceeded through Wolfenbuttel to Brunſwick. His reception among a people ſo warmly attatched to his perſon and to his family, was deeply affecting, but he had no time to indulge himſelf by any length of ſojourn in the city of his fathers. His poſition was, in fact, become moſt critical. Behind he was purſued by the Dutch corps, which, under Gratien, had already deſtroyed Schill, and a force under Reubell, was advancing upon him from Zelle. He knew not what might be the ſtrength of this corps, but it was neceſſary, immediately, to attack it. Accordingly he marched out, and ſome ſkirmiſhing took place. On the next day Reubel returned upon Zelle, and Brunſwick leaving fifty horſe, to keep up the ſemblance of a purſuit, marched rapidly towards the Weſer, where he intended to embark for England. The report of the arrival of Engliſh forces was found to have had no other foundation, than a caſual incurſion of a party of Britiſh ſailors up the country, near Cuxhaven. On the 3rd of Auguſt the duke paſſed through Hanover, and next day croſſed the Weſer, deſtroying the bridge at Hoya, and ſinking the ferry-boats. Reubel came up in time to witneſs the deſtruction of the bridge. A force of 150 men were then ſent to ſecure Bremen, and the remainder made the beſt of their way to Elsfleth, where meaſures were immediately taken for their embarkation. Here they were joined by the detachment from Bremen.

Bremen. On the 7th the whole were on board, and next day fell down the river. Notwithſtanding the fire from the Daniſh batteries at Bremenlee, they reached the mouth of the Weſer in ſafety, and ſoon hailed an Engliſh flag, under the convoy of which, they at length arrived at Harwich.

A more unhappy conſequence of the armiſtice was the abandonment of the Tyroleſe. The recal of the Auſtrian troops, conſiſting almoſt wholly of priſoners of war, that had eſcaped, left that gallant people no other reſource than their own native courage and perſeverance; but they did not, therefore, deſpair. They ſent a deputation to the Emperor Francis, remonſtrating upon this deſertion of them, after that, through his General, Jellachich, he had encouraged them to reſiſt the enemy. "It was not I," anſwered the unhappy prince, "that concluded the armiſtice. I did not know any thing about it; it was arranged by my brother Charles:" and he ſolemnly engaged never to ſeparate his cauſe from theirs. Deputies were ſent alſo to London, where they publiſhed a manifeſto on the 13th of November, deſcribing their ſucceſſes and their ſufferings, both in this and the preceding war, and declaring their determination, never to ſubmit to the tyrannous domination of Bavaria. Hoffer was choſen commander-in-chief of the whole province. He took up his head-quarters at Inſpruck, and concerted meaſures for the reception of the enemy. Buonaparte had, immediately upon the concluſion of the armiſtice, diſpatched a force of 40,000 Bavarians and Wirtemburghers to the Tyrol. The command was again committed to Lefebvre, who advanced upon Innſpruck, which Hoffer voluntarily abandoned upon his approach, taking up a formidable poſition at the Hermitage, in the Unterau. Lefebvre diſpatched a ſtrong force by Landeck, up the valley of the Inn, and leaving a diviſion to garriſon Innſpruck, marched with the remainder of his army againſt Hoffer, whom he ventured to attack in his poſition. He was repulſed, and after thrice renewing the aſſault, compelled to retreat with immenſe loſs to Innſpruck. The expedition up the Innthal was not more ſucceſsful. Hoffer had availed himſelf of all the advantages which the nature of the country offered; he lined the heights, which on both ſides overhang the road, with armed peaſantry, and provided maſſes of rock, and trunks of trees, to be rolled down upon the advancing enemy. The advanced guard was ſuffered to reach Pretz, where it was immediately enveloped, and made priſoners. When the main body of the diviſion had ſufficiently advanced up the ravine, a voice was heard from the ſummit of a high rock, *Steeven, ſhall I chop it off yet?* to which a loud *Nay*, was replied from the oppoſite ſide. The Bavarians continued to move forward, when ſhortly after they heard ſhouted over their heads, *Hans! for the moſt holy Trinity.* The anſwer was inſtant, *In the name of the moſt holy Trinity! cut all looſe above;* and in an inſtant they were cruſhed and overwhelmed

whelmed by a ſhower of broken rocks, trees, and ſtones. The Tyroleſe then poured down on all ſides; boys and girls joined in completing the deſtruction of an enemy, whoſe diſmay and confuſion left him no power of reſiſting. After flying ſix leagues, thoſe who eſcaped endeavoured to form; they were again attacked, and ſcattered by the impetuous charge of the patriotic peaſantry. Hoffer now marched againſt Innſpruck; after another deciſive victory the enemy was driven to Schwartz. Here again he was attacked and defeated, and was fain to eſcape as he could to Saltzſburg, with ſcarcely a fourth of his original force. The invaſion of an Italian corps, from Klagenfurt was equally repulſed, and the whole diſtrict effectually cleared of its oppreſſors. The Tyroleſe now only awaited the renewal of the war, which they fondly hoped might ſtill effect their re-union with the houſe of Auſtria.

Auſtria, however, was too effectually awed, to venture another experiment. The negotiations were now transferred to Vienna, and Europe expected, with anxiety, the reſult which was to determine the rank, which the vanquiſhed power was henceforth to be allowed to hold in Europe. The language which Buonaparte had held in his bulletins was ſuch, as to juſtify the ſuſpicion, that he purpoſed the entire diſmemberment of the Auſtrian dominions. The treaty was concluded at Schoenbrunn on the 14th of October. By its proviſions, the territories of Saltzburg and Berchtolſgaden were ceded to Bavaria; Weſt Gallicia, and a diſtrict round Cracow were made over to the Dutchy of Warſaw; and a tract of territory, containing a population of 400,000 ſouls, was given to Ruſſia. Trieſte, Carniola, Carinthia, and all the Auſtrian territory, to the right of the Saave, including the whole of its Adriatic coaſt, was ceded to France. All relations with England were to be broken off, and the changes which had taken place in Italy, and the Peninſula, were acknowledged. Buonaparte, on his ſide, guaranteed the inviolability of the Auſtrian empire, as limited by the preſent treaty, and engaged to procure a full and free pardon for the Tyroleſe.

The ſacrifices exacted from Auſtria by this treaty were, no doubt, conſiderable; there was, however, nothing in them, which could be ſaid eſſentially to affect the power of the monarchy; and conſidered, with reference to the diſaſters of the Auſtrian arms, they could not but be regarded as moderate. The ſecret of this lenity was afterwards explained, when the Archduchefs Maria Louiſa, a child of the houſe of Auſtria, a granddaughter of the Empreſs Maria Thereſa, was given in marriage to a Corſican adventurer.

Buonaparte now turned all his force againſt the Tyroleſe; and troops were poured in upon them on every ſide, ſo as to render all reſiſtance hopeleſs. A note was received from the Emperor Francis, in which he ſtated, that he had been compelled to make peace, and that he deſired them to be tranquil. Hoffer finding his countrymen thus abandoned, took ſteps to obtain a ceſſation of hoſtilitise, under which the country might

ſubmit, and the inhabitants return home. But an outrage of the Bavarians, in the Upper Innthal, provoked an attack from the patriots in that diſtrict, and renewed the war; which, however, carried on againſt forces ſo enormouſly diſproportionate, could only the more certainly inſure the deſtruction of this heroic people. The whole country became a ſcene, upon which the cowardly and unrelenting vengeance of the enemy exhauſted every reſource of barbarity and rapine. All the principal leaders in the inſurrection were hunted down, and put to death. Hoffer himſelf retreated to a chalet in the mountains, where, during the winter, he hoped to conceal himſelf. The treachery of a prieſt betrayed his hiding-place. In the night of the 27th of January, a party of French knocked at his door, which was opened by the hero himſelf, who immediately ſaid, "I am Andreas Hoffer. I am at the mercy of the French. Let me ſuffer death; but, for heaven's ſake, ſpare my wife and children." He was immediately conveyed to Mantua, tried by a military commiſſion, and ſhot on the 20th of February.

CHAP. XIII.

Peculiar Opportunities afforded by the Auſtrian War, for the co-operative Exertions of England, either in the Peninſula or the North of Germany. Expedition to Walcheren. Immenſe Preparations that had been made in the Courſe of the Spring. Lord Chatham appointed to the Command. The Nature of his Inſtructions. Diſcuſſion of the Policy and of the Practicability of the Enterprize. Deſcription of the Province of Zealand, and of the State of its Defences. Plan of the Operations propoſed. The ſeveral Diviſions of the Expedition ſet ſail. Sir Eyre Coote takes Poſſeſſion of Walcheren without Reſiſtance. Delay in attacking Cadſand, and conſequent Reinforcement of the Garriſon of Fluſhing. Sir John Hope occupies South Beveland. The Dutch Governor abandons the Fort of Bathz. Preparations for the Reduction of Fluſhing. Imperfect Conſtruction of our Works. Sortie of the Garriſon. The Bombardment is commenced, and continued unremittingly. Its horrible Effect upon the Town. The French Governor capitulates. Condition of the Town from our Fire. Procraſtination of the Commander-in-Chief. Operations of the Flotillas. The Iſlands of Schowen and Duiveland are occupied. Preparations of the Enemy for the Defence of the Scheldt, and of Antwerp. Propoſed Inundations. Dilatory Movements of Lord Chatham, who proceeds to Ter Goes, and Batz. Conſultation is held reſpecting the Practicability of proceeding upon the ulterior Objects of the Expedition. Memorial of the Quarter-Maſter General upon the Subject. The Enterpriſe is unanimouſly declared impracticable. Meaſures taken for the Return of the Troops. The Fleet departs. A Garriſon is left in Walcheren. Dreadful Epidemic Diſorder breaks out among the Troops in that Iſland. Account of the Nature of the Diſeaſe. The unexampled Rapidity of the Contagion. Propoſed Evacuation

Evacuation of Walcheren deferred by the Repreſentations of Auſtria. Meaſures taken for the Health of the Soldiers, and for the Defence of the Iſland. Opinions of Officers upon this laſt Point. The Iſland is evacuated, and the Works and Dock-yards at Fluſhing deſtroyed. Operations on the Coaſts of Calabria and Naples. The Iſlands of Procida and Iſchia are occupied.

AT a moment when Auſtria was making a third, and, apparently a laſt effort for the aſſertion of her own independence, and in fact of that of Europe, it was to be expected that England would not remain inert. Another opportunity ſeemed to preſent itſelf for effacing the reproach to which ſhe had ſo often, whether juſtly or not, ſubjected herſelf, of having diverted her efforts in the hour of danger from that open and effectual co-operation with the exertions of her allies for the deſtruction of the common enemy, to the purſuit of objects connected with her maritime or colonial power, and as ſuch affecting only her own individual intereſts. The political circumſtances of Spain, and the known ſtate of the popular feeling in the north of Germany, ſeemed to afford occaſions peculiarly inviting to the employment of a large Britiſh force. Combined with the troops already aſſembled in the peninſula, and ſeconded by the exertions of the Spaniards, it could ſcarcely have failed to have ſucceeded in recovering Madrid, and have driven whatever troops the enemy had ſtill in thoſe quarters beyond the Pyrenees, or the Ebro. On the other hand, a force of 30 or 40,000 men landed at the mouth of the Elbe, would probably have been quickly doubled, by the ſpontaneous flocking together of the inhabitants from every part of Hanover and the new kingdom of Weſtphalia. Pruſſia might have come forward on the firſt earneſt of ſucceſs—all Germany have riſen; and the very victories which had led Napoleon into the heart of Auſtria, have proved, in the event, the beſt aſſurances of his deſtruction. We have already alluded to the ſituation of the public mind in that part of Germany, and the circumſtances which attended the operations of Schill and the Duke of Brunſwick, are ſufficiently indicative, both of the reality of that ſpirit of indignation againſt French oppreſſion, as actually prevailing among the people, and of their impatience to act upon it, on the firſt proſpect of even poſſible ſucceſs. In Pruſſia, in particular, the feeling of the people was known to outrun even that of the government, in acute and bitter ſenſe of the degradation of their country. Nor can it be doubted, but that a fitting opportunity only was wanting to produce that general inſurrection, the hoſtility of which was infinitely more formidable to Buonaparte than any combination, however extenſive, of military power, acting merely from the ordinary ſtimulus, and under the uſual organization of regular warfare. An Engliſh army would have afforded the neceſſary point of union for the aggregation of theſe particles, and Engliſh ſuccours of arms and money have ſup-

plied unbounded means of giving efficiency to their operations.

That ſome ſuch effort was contemplated, became the general perſuaſion. Throughout the whole of the ſpring exertions had been unremittingly made for the fitting out of an expedition more extenſive, both in its naval and military means, than any which had for ſome centuries paſt left our ſhores. A fleet of thirty-five ſail of the line, two fifty gun ſhips, twenty-one frigates, and one hundred and ſeventy-nine ſmaller veſſels, were collected for the conveyance and convoy of a land force, amounting to within a few hundreds, of 40,000 men. The command of the troops was given to the Earl of Chatham, a nobleman of talent, but proverbially indolent in his diſpoſition, and who was at that time maſter-general of the ordnance and a member of the cabinet; that of the naval part of the armament was committed to Sir Sir Richard Strachan.

The object in view, however, was neither Germany, nor the peninſula. In the inſtructions which were given, under the ſign manual, to Lord Chatham, he was informed that the purpoſe of the expedition was to attack and deſtroy the naval force and eſtabliſhments which had been accumulated by the enemy in the Scheldt, in the iſland of Walcheren, and at Antwerp. With this aim, he was to direct his efforts to the capture or deſtruction of the enemy's ſhips, either building at Antwerp, and Fluſhing, or afloat in the Scheldt; the deſtruction of the arſenals and dockyards at Antwerp, Terneuſe, and Fluſhing; the reduction of the iſland of Walcheren, and the rendering, if poſſible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ſhips of war. In caſe the attainment of all theſe objects was found to be impracticable, the commander of the forces was directed to ſecure as many of them as circumſtances would permit, and then to take immediate meaſures for re-embarking the army, and returning with it to England, leaving a force ſufficient to aſſure the occupation of the iſland of Walcheren.

The attempt had been originally planned in March, at which time Fluſhing alone was the object of the intended attack, and for this a force of 15,000 men was held to be ſufficient; a number which, however ſmall, could not at that time be produced, on account of the diſabled ſtate in which ſo conſiderable a portion of the army had lately returned from Spain. It was afterwards determined to include Antwerp among the primary objects of the expedition. For many years paſt Buonaparte had been ſtrenuouſly and unceaſingly directing his exertions to the formation of a grand naval arſenal at this point, the poſition of which, by the circumſtances of its ſituation, and particularly from the appoſition of its ſite to the mouth of the Thames, had early awakened his attention to the importance of it. A large portion of this ancient city, including five hundred houſes, was deſtroyed, to make way for a magnificent dockyard. Ten eighty gun ſhips were at that period actually conſtructing, and there was ſpace enough for building as many more at the ſame time. Timber, from the

Black

Black Foreſt, was floated down the Rhine in inexhauſtible ſupply, and a regular ſyſtem was organized for the inſtruction and diſtribution of the mechanics.

The whole ſcheme and contrivance of this expedition has been long, and apparently very juſtly, the object of ſevere animadverſion. The deſtruction of the fleets and arſenals in queſtion was, no doubt, to be reckoned among the more obvious and important of thoſe objects, which are comprehended in that ſyſtem of mutual annoyance, of which the courſe of ordinary warfare for the moſt part conſiſts, and as ſuch, under other circumſtances, its practicability might very properly have merited the conſideration of government; but it is clear that it was only in this point of view that it could poſſibly deſerve attention, its effects were neceſſarily confined to the mere actual loſs and damage ſuſtained by the enemy in his eſtabliſhments; a loſs and damage, be it obſerved, operating upon that part of his force only from the action of which we had the leaſt cauſe to dread annoyance or attack. Conſidered in relation to the particular circumſtances of the war at that moment, which of courſe is the only reaſonable point of view in which it can be conſidered, the impolicy of the whole project ſeems altogether inconteſtable. Whether the enterprize were ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, it was obvious that the great reſults of the hoſtilities then pending on the continent could in no degree be affected by it. The conflict, indeed, the event of which our armament was to influence, was already decided, and even known to be ſo before it ſet ſail for its deſtination; but, ſetting aſide the conſideration of this fact, and allowing that it was impoſſible to controul the circumſtances which brought the Auſtrian war ſo rapidly to its concluſion, it is ſtill apparent that the fate of the war could not poſſibly have any connection with the deſtruction of the enemy's naval arſenal at Antwerp. As a diverſion it might, no doubt, operate in ſome degree; as, in fact, the threat of a deſcent upon any part of the enemy's coaſt would neceſſarily tend to diſtract his attention, but, even in this point of view, its effects were neceſſarily feeble, and at the moſt would merely prevent the march of a few regiments to the theatre of war in Germany. There was nothing, either in the nature of the country, or in the known diſpoſition of the people, of which we might avail ourſelves to ſtrengthen or extend the operation of our limited force, ſo as to render neceſſary the employment of any diſproportionate number of troops on the part of the enemy. On the contrary, by contenting himſelf, in the firſt inſtance, with merely defenſive meaſures, the cutting of the dikes and the defence of the fortreſſes, he was clearly able, for a time at leaſt, to occupy our army by a force numerically much inferior to our own; whereas in the north of Germany the ſame body would have threatened to form a nucleus of revolt and revolution, the progreſs and operation of which would, probably, have more thoroughly alarmed our enemy, and as ſuch ſeemed more to deſerve his attention, than all the

force of the Auſtrian monarchy accumulated in his front.

The practicability of the attempt itſelf appeared very problematical, and nothing can be more looſe and indefinite than the information upon which it was grounded. Little more ſeems to have been known, than that the neighbourhood of Antwerp was, at that time, unuſually deſtitute of troops. Of the ſtate of the fortifications of that city, it appears that the lateſt information concerned only the condition of them in 1794, and even of their ſtate at that period no accurate plan was at hand. Moſt of the officers conſulted ſeem to have given it as their opinion, that even, under the moſt favourable circumſtances, the attempt would be attended with conſiderable riſk, and to have reſtricted the poſſibility of a ſucceſsful reſult to circumſtances in the amount and diſpoſition of the enemy's force, of the actual exiſtence of which they profeſſed to have no means of judging.

The province of Zealand, is compoſed of ſeven iſlands, of which the three principal ones, Walcheren, North Beveland, and South Beveland, are formed by the Eaſt and Weſt Scheldt; two arms of the ſea thus denominated, which are united by the canal of Bergen-op-Zoom, and receive in a bay at the eaſtern extremity of South Beveland the river from whence they derive their name. The channel of the Weſt Scheldt runs between Walcheren and South Beveland on one hand, and the iſland of Cadſand on the other, the diſtance between which and Fluſhing is about three miles. The entrance is rendered difficult by ſeveral dangerous ſhoals, the paſſages beween which unite in the great channel of the Weſt Scheldt, which, to the weſt of Fluſhing, is about eight or ten fathoms in depth, and, above the town, runs for the moſt part along the ſhore of South Beveland. From Fluſhing to Batzh the courſe along the channel is about forty miles; here the ſea extends itſelf over the banks of Saftingen, on the Flanders ſide, and becomes about ſix or ſeven miles in breadth. The channel, however, becomes more confined and more intricate upon entering the Scheldt, properly ſo called, between the dikes of Doel and Sandvliet. From Batzh to Antwerp the diſtance is about twenty miles. The river is navigable for ſhips of war, even above Antwerp, but the navigation is one of much intricacy and difficulty. The entrance of the Eaſt Scheldt is known by the name of the Roompot, and affords an anchorage which, however, is not tenable during the prevalence of the north-weſterly winds. The deep water channels run, for the moſt part, along the ſhore of North Beveland; it is navigable for line of battle ſhips as far as Wemelding, in South Beveland; and for frigates as high as the town of Tholen. The channel of Bergen-op-Zoom, which connects the Eaſt and Weſt Scheldt between South Beveland and the dikes of Ooſendrecht and Woonſdrecht, is about two and a half miles in breadth, and ſo ſhallow as to be fordable at low water.

The iſlands themſelves have, in general, one character. They are below the level of the ſea at high water

water, and are only protected from its inroads, in ſome parts by low ſand-hills, and in others by dikes; the ſoil is alluvial, and well cultivated, and for the moſt part abundant in its produce. The climate is very unhealthy, from the prevalence of agues and intermitting fevers, and it is calculated that above two-thirds of the inhabitants are annually ſubject to an attack from what is called the koorts, or marſh fever, the effects of which, however, are infinitely more fatal to ſtrangers. Of the iſlands, Walcheren is the moſt important, and contains Middleburg, the capital of the province. It is about thirty-ſix miles in circumference. A range of ſand hills, from thirty to ſixty feet above high water mark, commences from the Haak battery, and extends nearly to Fluſhing, protecting it from the North Sea. Its defences, at the time of the expedition, conſiſted of the Haak battery on the north, a miſerable work commanding the entrance of the Veere Gat, the town of Veere, which was ſurrounded by a rampart and ditch, and Fluſhing.

Fluſhing contained two baſons, of which the larger was conſiderable, and capacious for line of battle ſhips. The dock-yard was furniſhed with ſlips for the building, at the ſame time, of a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, a frigate, and a brig. The town was defended towards the land, by a line of baſtions, ſufficiently imperfect in their conſtruction, and by a wet ditch, but without glacis, or outwork, and about fifty pieces of artillery were mounted on this range; but towards the ſea the batteries were more powerful. The works, in general, were in a weak and neglected ſtate, and the French, to whom the town had been formally transferred by the Dutch government in 1807, had for ſome time paſt projected an entire reparation and completion of them. It appears, by an order of Buonaparte's, dated March 1808, reſpecting the defence of Fluſhing, that he was already aware of the poſſibility of an attack upon that point, and the defence of Fluſhing is there ſtated to be founded upon the power of inundating the iſle by cutting the dikes. At the time of the ſailing of our expedition, the whole of Zealand was remarkably deſtitute of troops. There were about 4,000 in Walcheren, almoſt wholly compoſed of Dutch and Germans, Iriſh and Spaniards. In South Beveland there were none, and even Bergen-op-Zoom contained no regular garriſon.

Of the other defences of the Scheldt, the fort of Batzh was a wretched earth-work, mounting fourteen guns toward the ſea. Above Batzh lie the forts Lillo and Liefkenſhoek, commanding the entrance of the river, of which the former was caſemated, and capable of ſuſtaining a ſhort ſiege. Some other, and leſs conſiderable works, occur between theſe forts and Antwerp, which is defended by a regular citadel, and the approach from the left bank of the Scheldt covered by an outwork, called the Tete de Flandres; the ground in front of which is capable of being inundated upon emergency. The city is very extenſive; but it was expected to be poſſible to effect the deſtruction of the arſenal and dock-yards with-

out obtaining poſſeſſion of the citadel. The ſhores of the eaſt, from the Roompot to Bergen-op-Zoom, were without any defence whatever.

This general account of the country is, in ſome meaſure, neneſſary for the proper underſtanding of the narrative which we are about to give. The plan of operations, as concerted previous to the departure of the expedition, was as follows:—The left wing of the army, conſiſting of 10,000 men, under Sir Eyre Coote, was deſtined to take poſſeſſion of Walcheren. The point of landing was to depend upon the wind, and their ſubſequent operations on the iſland were to be left to be guided by circumſtances. Lord Huntley, with 5,000 men, was ordered to diſembark upon the iſland of Cadſand, and there take up an intrenched poſition, for the purpoſe of cutting off any communication between Flanders and the town of Fluſhing. An equal force, under General Groſvenor, was intended to occupy the iſland of Schowen, to the north of the Eaſt Scheldt, while General Sir John Hope, with the reſerve, conſiſting of 7500 men, proceeded to take poſſeſſion of South Beveland, and protected the operations carrying on in Walcheren. The remainder of the forces, conſtituting Lord Roſslyn's diviſion, and including all the cavalry, were to remain, in the firſt inſtance, on board, until theſe preliminary operations ſhould be effected. The naval force was diſtributed ſo as moſt effectually to co-operate n the proſecution of theſe objects.

On the 28th of July Lord Chatham ſailed from the Downs in the Venerable, accompanied by the diviſions of Sir John Hope and Lord Huntley, and anchored the ſame evening off the weſt coaſt of Walcheren. The left wing, under Sir Eyre Coote, followed on the next day, and General Groſvenor's diviſion, from Harwich, arrived in the Roompot on the 1ſt of Auguſt.

On the 30th July, a detachment of Sir Eyre Coote's diviſion landed, without impediment, on the northern point of the iſland, carried the Haak battery immediately, and advanced the ſame evening upon Veere. On the following morning the remainder of the left wing was diſembarked, and a force being left to maſk Veere, the troops proceeded upon Middleburgh, which being without any means of defence, capitulated on the 31ſt. Next morning Veere ſurrendered, and the garriſon, conſiſting of about 500 men, became priſoners of war. We then advanced upon Fluſhing; every exertion was made for the immediate diſembarkation of the heavy artillery, and the haſtening of all the arrangements neceſſary for the inſtant attack of the town.

On the 3d the fort of Rammikins, with 127 men, ſurrrendered; and our flotilla was enabled to advance upon the Sloe canal, and co-operate for the inveſtment of Fluſhing towards the eaſt. The iſland of Cadſand was, however, ſtill unoccupied. Preparations had been made for a landing on the 30th, but it was found that boats could not be collected for the diſembarkation of more than 600 men at a time; a number, it was ſuppoſed, too ſmall to effect a deſcent in the face of the enemy. Lord Huntley's

Huntley's diviſion therefore remained for ſome time on board. The enemy availed himſelf of this to puſh reinforcements acroſs to Fluſhing; nine ſchuyts, full of troops, got over on the night of the 1ſt, and others were afterwards ſeen to effect the paſſage, without any interruption from our fleet.

In the meanwhile the reſerve, under Sir John Hope, had taken poſſeſſion of South Beveland. On the morning of the 31ſt of July, they weighed anchor, and proceeded towards Zierickzee, in Schowin. The ſame day a diviſion of fourteen of the enemy's gun-boats eſcaped from Veere, through the channel which runs between North Beveland and Wolphartſdyck. On the following morning a landing was effected on the dyke between Wemelding and Kattendyk, about five miles from Ter Goes, the chief town of the iſland; the magiſtrates of which almoſt immediately preſented themſelves, and placed the town under the protection of the Engliſh. Head quarters were here eſtabliſhed, and the ſurrounding villages occupied without oppoſition. A detachment of about an hundred men, part of a detachment that had made its eſcape the day before from Walcheren, fell in with our advanced guard, and were made priſoners. The enemy offered no reſiſtance, but abandoned their batteries, after ſpiking the guns, and deſtroying the ammunition. Upon arriving at Waarden, Sir John Hope ſent forwards a party to reconnoitre the fort of Batzh, the defences of which were expected to be conſiderable; but the march of the party was arreſted by the intelligence that General Bruce, who commanded in the fort, had ſuddenly paſſed over with his garriſon to Bergen-op-Zoom. A ſmall detachment was in conſequence ſent forward to occupy Batzh, and the whole of the iſland had ſubmitted within thirty hours after our landing. The works of the fort at Batzh are deſcribed as contemptible; but a broad wet ditch protected it from aſſault, and its reduction, by the eſtabliſhing of batteries, would undoubtedly have occaſioned ſome delay. The miſconduct of the governor, in abandoning it, even before the approach of our troops, was the more fortunate for us, inaſmuch as Sir John Hope had not with him a ſingle piece of heavy artillery. From this time the operations of this diviſion were reſtricted to the occupation of South Beveland, and was conſidered merely as a corps of obſervation during the ſiege of Fluſhing. General Groſvenor's diviſion, finding the iſland of Schowen altogether defenceleſs, landed in Walcheren, and proceeded to co-operate in the ſiege.

The reduction of the town it was reſolved to effect by a bombardment; a meaſure which has been reprobated, not only as in itſelf leſs effectual than a regular and ſcientific attack, but as a uſeleſs and wanton aggravation of the miſeries of war. The operations concerted in purſuance of this mode of proceeding, were equally looſe in their plan, and in the manner of their execution. There appeared neither method or arrangement in the conſtruction of the batteries. Before the ſtores were landed, the troops were actually placed

placed within range of the enemy's guns. The French piquets, in many inſtances, were ſuffered to remain two muſquet ſhots diſtant from the town, and to avail themſelves of a circumſtance, which is commonly conſidered to be a diſadvantage to the beſieged, the wooded and incloſed nature of the country. The batteries were in general unneceſſarily diſtant from the place, and the proſecution of the works was extremely tardy, from the want of arrangement and order in the diſtribution of the working parties.

In the meanwhile the enemy's means of defence were daily increaſing. Cadſand, the only place from which he could be reinforced, remained unoccupied. On the 5th eleven boats, with troops, effected the paſſage; they were followed, in the night of the 6th, by nine others, and it is calculated that, in the courſe of three days, about 3,000 men were puſhed over. Monnet, the French governor, now aſſumed the offenſive, and, in the afternoon of the 7th, a body of 2,000 men, under General Oſden, made a ſortie from the place. They directed a vigorous and well ſupported attack on our right, but after a conflict of ſome obſtinacy were driven back upon the place with great ſlaughter. Our loſs on the occaſion conſiſted of fourteen killed and 141 wounded. This attempt ſeemed to indicate in the French governor a diſpoſition for vigour, which his ſubſequent conduct did not ſupport. The circumſtance upon which the defence of the place chiefly reſted, and to which Buonaparte's order had particularly adverted, was ſtill neglected; and no decided meaſures were taken for the inundation of the country in his front. Some ſmall ſluices in the counterſcarp of the ditch were opened upon the news of our firſt landing, and the cutting of the dyke to the eaſt of the town had been begun, but was afterwards ſuſpended. It was not till our veſſels had taken up a poſition ſo as effectually to deſtroy the communication with Cadſand, and complete the inveſtment of the place, that Monnet thought proper to renew the meaſure; and the water, which ſoon began to flow through the opening, rendered many parts of our trenches uſeleſs, and ſo far overflowed the platforms of ſome of the batteries, as to impede the working of the artillery. Under theſe circumſtances, it became neceſſary to uſe all poſſible expedition in completing the preparations for the bombardment. A violent ſtorm, which took place on the evening of the 10th, by increaſing the inundation, occaſioned a little further delay. On the morning of Sunday, the 13th, all the batteries were mounted with artillery, and the bombardment ſoon after began.

Previous to the commencement of the bombardment, Lord Chatham ſent a flag of truce to the town, informing the governor that the fire would be very heavy, and adviſing him to ſend away the women and children, who ſhould be allowed a free paſſage through the lines. Monnet, however, refuſed the proffered arrangement, and replied, that he was perfectly able to defend the women and children. The batteries were opened ſoon after noon. The wind did not permit the co-operation of our line of battle ſhips, but a flotilla

flotilla of bomb veſſels and gun-boats took up a poſition on each ſide of the town, and aſſiſted in the bombardment; the artillery was directed wholly againſt the town, with the expreſs purpoſe of deſtroying the houſes, and other buildings. Ten thouſand rounds of ammunition were expended, and the town was ſhortly ſeen to be on fire in ſeveral parts; the fire continued throughout the day. Soon after nightfall the batteries ceaſed, and the gun boats having exhauſted their ammunition drew off, but throughout the whole night an unremitting fire of ſhells, carcaſſes, and rockets, was continued to be poured upon the devoted town.

The effect of the bombardment upon the garriſon was however ſtill doubtful, and the inundation made ſuch a progreſs, as materially to impede our operations in the low grounds. Sir Eyre Coote therefore reſolved to puſh the attack along the dikes, on both flanks of the place, and the neceſſary lodgments were made with a view to this effect. On the morning of the 14th the ſeaman's battery was alſo completed, and the line of battle ſhips being enabled to advance, ſeven ſail of the line opened their fire, which was alſo renewed along the line with redoubled fury. That of the enemy was now nearly ſilenced, and the town was obſerved to be in flames on every ſide. About four in the afternoon Lord Chatham ſuſpended our firing, and ſent to offer terms to the garriſon. Monnet returned for anſwer, that he would decide as ſoon as he could obtain the opinion of a council of war. At nine in the evening, he was informed that hoſtilities would be reſumed in half an hour; and accordingly the batteries recommenced their firing; ſoon after ten he ſent to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms for forty-eight hours, but this was of courſe rejected.

The bombardment continued throughout the night. Some of the batteries were found to be too diſtant from the place; with the view of remedying this defect, and at the ſame time of checking the progreſs of the inundation, and filling up the cut, Sir Eyre Coote ordered that the dyke ſhould be occupied one thouſand yards in front of the preſent batteries. About midnight, when the tide was at its loweſt ebb, Colonel Pack advanced along the dyke with detachments from the thirty-ſixth and ſeventy-firſt regiments, and croſſing the cut, attacked and carried a French battery, which was advanced about five hundred and ſixty yards in front of the works. In this little affair we took forty priſoners; our own loſs, in killed, wounded, and miſſing, amounted to thirty-eight men.

About two in the morning, of the 15th, Monnet ſignified his willingneſs to ſurrender, and on the ſame day the terms of capitulation were agreed to, by which the garriſon, conſiſting of 5,803 perſons, were to lay down their arms in front of the place, and be ſent as priſoners of war to England. We had thus attained one of the objects of the expedition, but, as it is ſaid, at the expence of a moſt unneceſſary delay. It has been aſſerted, that 3,000 men, in ſeventy hours, would, under proper management,

management, have conſtructed the works and batteries which it coſt an army ten days to complete.

The next day we entered the town, which was in many places a heap of ruins, from the effects of our fire. The ſtadthouſe, two churches, and above two hundred and fifty houſes were deſtroyed; and there was hardly a building in the city, whether public or private, which eſcaped damage. In the courſe of the bombardment above 335 of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were killed. The garriſon ſuffered comparatively little, being for the moſt part poſted on the right of the town, in a ſituation where, from the unuſual diſtance of the batteries oppoſed to this part, they were ſcarcely at all expoſed to the fire of them. The duty on the ramparts was impoſed on the burghers, who were kept in their poſt by French bayonets. In the dock-yard we found a ſhip of the line, a frigate, and a brig, nearly finiſhed.

The fall of Fluſhing left nothing to diſtract our attention from the immediate proſecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition. With this view, the fort of Batzh was of importance, both as a point of obſervation for the mouth of the Scheldt, and as affording a place of depôt in the caſe of our advance upon Antwerp. The intelligence of its ſurrender reached Lord Chatham early on the 3d, and it has been made a ſubject of reproach to him that he did not immediately in perſon proceed thither, by which he would have had the earlieſt means of judging how far the continued proſecution of the expedition was practicable. Sir John Hope, upon his arrival at Batzh, immediately made every exertion for the re-eſtabliſhment of the batteries, and the improvement of the defences of the place. On the 5th the enemy cannonaded the fort from their flotilla, but from ſuch a diſtance, that their fire was altogether ineffectual. The ſame evening a ford acroſs the Bergen-op-Zoom channel was diſcovered, which appeared to be practicable for an hour in the courſe of each tide. On the 8th, the enemy recommenced his cannonade, but as ineffectually as before. Next day the diviſions of Lords Roſslyn and Huntley landed on South Beveland, and took up cantonments on the iſland.

An attempt was made, on the 11th, to puſh two diviſions, of ſix gun-boats each, from Lillo to Bergen-op-Zoom. The firſt ſucceeded in reaching its deſtination; the ſecond diviſion ran aground, and was deſtroyed by the enemy. On the following morning, a light ſquadron of Britiſh veſſels, conſiſting of ten ſloops and forty gun boats, arrived by the Veergat and Weſt Scheldt, and, combining with a conſiderable force of armed flat boats and launches from the Eaſt Scheldt, took up an anchorage in front of the fort. There appeared to be no ſufficient reaſon for the delay which had occurred in the arrival of theſe veſſels. The enemy's flotilla now proceeded to take a ſafer anchorage between the forts of Lillo and Liefkenſhoek, and their ſhips of war were lightened of their guns, and carried up to Antwerp. On the 15th a capitulation was arranged for the iſlands

iſlands of Schowen and Duiveland, and a detachment of 100 men proceeded to garriſon the town of Zierickzee. On the morning of the 16th two frigates arrived before Batzh, in addition to the naval force already aſſembled there.

The enemy in the meanwhile had not been idle. Every poſſible effort was made to prepare for the reception of the invaders. Batteries were eſtabliſhed on both banks of the Scheldt, a boom was thrown acroſs the river from Lillo to Liefkenſhoek, and meaſures taken to ſink veſſels in the channel, ſo as to impede the navigation to Antwerp. On the land ſide the arrangements made were equally formidable. Advantage was every where taken of the nature of the country to render the advance of an enemy almoſt impoſſible. Preparations were made to cut the dykes of Tholen, ſo as to inundate the tract between that place and Bergen-op-Zoom; and in the ſame manner it was intended to lay the low ground near Lillo and Liefkenſhoek, and the whole of the Polders, between Hulſt and the *Téte de Flandres* under water. Reinforcements were daily pouring into Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp, at which laſt place Marſhal Bernadotte had arrived, to aſſume the direction of the operations.

Under theſe circumſtances it began to be doubted whether any further attempt was practicable. The commander-in-chief, however, who, in fact, by his continued reſidence in Walcheren, would ſcarcely ſeem to have given himſelf the means of forming an opinion upon the ſubject, gave orders which appeared to imply an intended advance in the direction of Antwerp. A diviſion of line of battle ſhips proceeded up the Weſt Scheldt to the mouth of the river. On the 17th General Alten's corps was paſſed over from Walcheren to South Beveland, and the diviſions of Generals Groſvenor and Graham were embarked in tranſports, and ordered, together with the horſe tranſports, ſtore ſhips, and artillery ſhips, to proceed to Batzh.

Theſe movements ſeemed to indicate the intended adoption of more active meaſures; and the expectation of the army was confirmed when at length it was announced, on the 19th, that the commander-in-chief was about to put himſelf in motion, by tranſferring his head-quarters to Ter Goes. On the 20th, however, it was ſtated, that the removal would not take place till the 21ſt, on which day the noble lord did, in fact, quit Middleburg, and leaving General Frazer, with eight or 9,000 men to garriſon Walcheren, proceeded to Ter Goes, a diſtance of fourteen miles. On the 22d he went to Schar, a village ſeven miles from Ter Goes, on the road to Batzh, and after holding a conference with Sir John Hope, returned the ſame evening to Ter Goes. On the 23d he ſet out for Batzh, and reached that day the village of Krabbendyk, about thirteen miles from Ter Goes; and by the following noon performed the remaining ſix of the nineteen miles between Ter Goes and Batzh; at which place he then eſtabliſhed his head-quarters: eight days and a half after the ſurrender of Fluſhing.

On the 25th Lord Chatham held conferences

conferences with ſeveral of the general officers, and on the following days councils of war were convened, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the actual ſtate of affairs. On the 27th the Quarter-Maſter-General Brownrigg ſubmitted a paper to the lieutenant-generals of the army, the ſubſtance of which we ſhall give. It ſtated, that uncontroulable obſtacles having prevented the occupation of Cadſand in the firſt inſtance, the enemy had availed himſelf of the opportunity to more than double his garriſon. From this circumſtance, a large portion of the force deſtined to proceed by the Weſt Scheldt to the more diſtant points of attack, was neceſſarily detained to co-operate with the beſieging corps; the enemy had been enabled to protract his defence for fifteen days, and it became no longer poſſible to carry, as had been intended, by a rapid and ſimultaneous movement, the object of the expedition to its ultimate extent. Such were the actual circumſtances under which the armament had arrived in its preſent ſituation.

With reſpect to its future operations, the paper obſerved, that it appeared, by concurring intelligence, that the enemy's whole force, in and near Antwerp, amounted to 35,000 men. Our total numbers did not exceed 30,000 effectives. Of theſe 6,000 muſt be left in Walcheren, and 2,000 in South Beveland, giving a diſpoſable force of only 22,000 men for the ſiege of Antwerp, and the other operations connected with it. But to ſecure in theſe meaſures the co-operation of our naval force, it would become neceſſary to reduce Liefkenſhoek and Lillo, and to maſk Bergen-op-Zoom; and after the detachment of the troops, neceſſary for the effecting theſe objects, there would remain for the ſiege of Antwerp, a body of 10,000 men; a force inferior to that which was known to form its garriſon. The plan was, therefore, clearly impracticable; and yet it was the only one by which we could avail ourſelves of the co-operation of our naval means. Any attempt at a movement, independent of the naval force, would be attended by increaſed difficulties, in the tranſport of our artillery and ſtores. The inveſtment of the place could not be complete, and the enemy would have the means of indefinitely increaſing his force during the period of our preparation for the attack, which would neceſſarily occupy a ſpace of three weeks, from the time of landing. The defences of the town itſelf were ſtated to be reſtored; the demi revettment, and ſodded parapet, to be in good repair; the ditches deepened and full; guns mounted on the baſtions; and batteries conſtructing on the quay.

Under theſe circumſtances, it was the unanimous opinion of the lieutenant-generals, that the undertaking the ſiege of Antwerp was impracticable; and that the great object being thus abandoned, no poſſible advantage could reſult from attempting any minor operations.

Purſuant to the reſult of theſe deliberations, Lord Chatham, on the 29th, wrote home to announce the neceſſity he found himſelf under, of abandoning all further

ther profecution of the propofed plan of operations; on the fame day he removed to Ter Goes, and returned, on the 2nd of September, to Middleburgh. Arrangements were immediately made for removing the ſick, and re-embarking the ſeveral corps in South Beveland. The iſlands of Schowen, and North Beveland, were at the ſame time evacuated, and on the 4th of September, the rear-guard of the reſerve proceeded down the Weſt Scheldt, on board a ſquadron of frigates. The line of battle-ſhips, armed veſſels, and tranſports, having previouſly taken their departure upon the firſt intimation of the intended retreat. Walcheren was now the only part of Zealand ſtill occupied by our troops. On the 14th Lord Chatham ſet ſail for England, leaving 15,000 men to garriſon Walcheren, under the orders of Sir Eyre Coote, who, on the 24th of Oct. was ſucceeded in the government of the iſland, by General Don.

Such was the unhappy cloſe of the operations of an armament, which, perhaps, more than any which had ever left our ſhores, had excited the hopes and expectations of the country. But bitter as was the diſappointment, the darker portion of the ſtory remains yet to be told. It will have been obſerved, that in the quarter-maſter general's report, the total of our effective force is ſtated at 30,000 men. This diminution is to be accounted for. About the middle of Auguſt, the effects of the climate began to ſhew itſelf, by its operation on the health of the army, and the diſeaſe ſoon ſpread with tremendous rapidity. At the time of the holding of the council of war, the number of ſick amounted to 3,500, and by the next day it was augmented to 4,000; a fortnight after, when Lord Chatham embarked for England, the numbers on the ſick-liſt were not leſs than 8,000.

This was a calamity, which does not appear to have been in the leaſt foreſeen, inaſmuch as no eſpecial preparations had been made, either to counteract or alleviate it. It was, however, known, that the province of Zealand, is one of the moſt baneful climates in the world. Low and ſwampy from its ſite, it is every where ſurrounded and interſected by the oozy beaches of the different branches of the Scheldt, and an atmoſphere is thus generated, of which the inhabitants ſufficiently feel the baneful effects, by all the ſymptoms of habitual relaxation and diſorder. But to others than natives it is peculiarly pernicious. The garriſons which are ſent from other parts of Holland, to do duty in Walcheren, are accuſtomed to take leave of their friends, with the ſame gloomy forebodings, as if their deſtination were to Surinam, or Batavia; and it is ſaid, that of a Dutch regiment, which had three years before arrived 800 ſtrong, only 85 ſurvived at the time our expedition landed. The ſickly ſeaſon commences in June, and continues till October; our troops were thus expoſed to it preciſely at the period of its peculiar prevalence. But it is obſervable, that in the firſt inſtance they felt nothing of its effects, for at the time of the ſurrender of Fluſhing, not a man had

had died of the diſeaſe. This has been accounted for, both from the nature of its operation, which in the firſt inſtance is ſlow, and from the counteracting effect of the exertion and excitement, attending the more active duties connected with the proſecution of the ſiege; and when the diſorder at length began to manifeſt itſelf, it was attributed rather to accidental and temporary cauſes, than to any ſuſpected depravity of the climate. They were, however, ſoon undeceived upon this point. Before the cloſe of Auguſt the guards were relieved twice in the courſe of a day, in conſequence of the men becoming ſick; and, towards the middle of September, when the diſeaſe was at its height, the average number of the deaths was from 2 to 300 in a week. Alarmed at this ravage, it was ordered, that no funeral ſhould take place till after dark, in order that the ſoldiers might, as much as poſſible, be kept ignorant of the prevailing mortality. Many were ſent to England, under the hope, that the change might promote their recovery, but the contrary effect was found to enſue; and, of the ſick that remained in the iſland, a larger proportion recovered.

The general character of the diſeaſe was, that of continuous, or intermittent fever, but aggravated by a variety of anomalous ſymptoms, equally afflicting the ſufferer, and embarraſſing to the phyſician. When its progreſs had aſſumed a character decidedly epidemic, it became neceſſary to take into conſideration, the propriety of wholly withdrawing our troops from a ſtation, that appeared to enſure their deſtruction. That this reſolution was not earlier adopted, is chiefly, it is ſaid, to be attributed to the repreſentations of the Auſtrian miniſter, who, during the negotiations for peace at Altenburg, was inſtructed by his court, to inſiſt particularly upon the neceſſity of our continuing our operations in Holland, in which place, more than any other, it was ſaid, that the employment of our troops would afford an effectual diverſion. It remained, therefore, only to conſider the means, whereby it might be poſſible to counteract the deleterious operation of the climate upon our garriſon. With this view it was recommended, that the troops ſhould, as much as poſſible, be poſted on the higher grounds; particularly on the range of Sand-hills on the weſt and north-weſt ſhores of the iſland, where, between Weſt Capelle, and Bree-Land, 20,000 men might without difficulty, have been diſpoſed of. The advantage of this ſituation had not eſcaped the French: between Domburg and Weſt Capelle they had formed a hutted camp for 2000 men, which was always occupied during the ſickly ſeaſon; and it was obſerved, that the royals, who had been quartered near Weſt Capelle, were by much the moſt healthy of any regiment on the iſland. In fact any, even the ſlighteſt elevation was, in this reſpect, found to be attended with beneficial effects; the troops quartered in the upper ſtories appeared to be leſs liable to the diſeaſe, and to take it, when attacked, in its mildeſt character. Attention was alſo paid to the dreſs and the diets of

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men. On this laſt point a higher and more generous ſyſtem of diet was recommended, together with a frequent uſe of ſpirits and ſpices.

At the ſame time a plan of defence for the iſland, in the event which was to be expected of an attack from the French, was drawn out at the deſire of the admiralty, by Sir Richard Strachan. According to the ſcheme detailed in Sir Richard's memorial, a force of 12,000 men was to be conſidered as ſufficient for the garriſon of Walcheren, ſupported by the co-operation of our naval means. The poſſeſſion of the iſland itſelf, he ſeems to have conſidered as of great importance, and he ſtrongly diſſuaded its evacuation. Captain Cockburn, who was alſo conſulted upon the ſubject, thought differently. He ſaw no other uſe that we could make of Walcheren, but to prevent the eſcape of the French fleet from the Scheldt; and the only conſequence would be, that their fleet would remain where it was, and where, as had been proved, we could not get at it. In the other caſe, favourable circumſtances might, indeed, enable the enemy to eſcape, but it would be at conſiderable riſk; and he added, that he could not but think, that a French fleet being at ſea was more advantageous to us, than the knowledge of its exiſtence in a ſafe harbour. In the latter caſe, it is a conſtant ſource of anxiety to us; in the former it is impoſſible to deſcribe the energy, ſpirit, and hope, with which the chance of its deſtruction fills every breaſt: eſpecially of thoſe who have ſpent many a long and dreary night, blockading them.

The treaty of Vienna was ſigned, on the 14th of October, and miniſters, at length, came to the reſolution of evacuating their conqueſt. On the 13th of November orders were diſpatched to General Don, enjoining him to take meaſures for the evacuation of the iſland, and for the deſtruction of the baſin of Fluſhing, and of the naval defences of the iſland. Accordingly, on the 26th, the parapet of the ſea-lines was deſtroyed. On the 9th of December, the greater part of the troops were embarked, and, on the following day, the piers of the flood-gates of the naval baſin were blown up. The eaſt ſide of the baſin had already been deſtroyed by the ſailors. The weſt ſide was ſuffered to remain, upon a repreſentation from the inhabitants, that its removal would occaſion the deſtruction of a great part of the town; the arſenal and naval magazines in the dock-yard were then burnt. On the 22nd the rear-guard was embarked, and, by the next day, not a Britiſh ſoldier remained in the iſland.

We have given the details of theſe tranſactions, at a greater length, not than their actual importance demands, but than the kind of intereſt attached to them will, perhaps, appear to juſtify. Our notice of another expedition, of which the chief purpoſe was, alſo a diverſion in favour of Auſtria, will be more brief. A body of 15000 Britiſh troops, under the command of Sir John Stuart, ſailed on the 11th of June from

Sicily, with the view of menacing the city of Naples, and were afterwards joined by a diviſion of Sicilian troops, under the command of Prince Leopold of Sicily. On the morning of the 13th they appeared off the coaſt of Calabria, and the enemy, with the view of concentrating his forces, immediately abandoned all his poſts along the ſhore. Thoſe oppoſite Meſſina were immediately occupied and diſarmed by a force, which had been detached for this purpoſe, under Colonel Smith, who was then proceeding to attempt the reduction of the caſtle of Scylla, when the ſudden re-appearance of a large body of the enemy, compelled him haſtily to embark, and make for Meſſina, with the loſs of the whole of his beſieging train. The loſs, however, was but for a moment. On the night of the 2nd of July, the enemy, after blowing up the works of Scylla, again fell back from the coaſt, and abandoned to us, not only our captured train, but a large quantity of their own ordnance and ſtores, which had, for ſome time, been collecting in depôt at that point, apparently with reference to the long-threatened invaſion of Sicily.

In the meanwhile the remainder of the fleet purſued its courſe, and on the 24th of June, anchored off Cape Miſeno. Preparations were immediately made for a deſcent upon the iſland of Iſchia; and, on the following morning, a body of 2,300 effected a landing, under the fire of our ſhips, and aſſiſted by a ſtrong diviſion of Britiſh and Sicilian gun-boats. The ſhore, wherever acceſſible, was ſtrongly fortified by a chain of batteries; which, however, were inſtantly turned, and about 250 priſoners fell into our hands. The commander, General Colonna, retired into the caſtle. A ſummons to ſurrender was ſent to him, which he rejected. On the 30th a breaching battery was completed, and, on a repetition of the ſummons, he agreed to capitulate. A ſimilar requiſition was then ſent to the commandant of the neighbouring iſland of Procida, which was immediately complied with; a circumſtance, which fortunately contributed to the deſtruction, or capture, of a large flotilla of forty heavy gun-boats, which, in endeavouring to paſs from Gaeta to Naples, expected to find protection under the artillery of the iſland, but were either taken or deſtroyed, by a detachment of our naval force, under Captain Stains of the Cyane. This gallant officer was ſubſequently ſeverely wounded, in a brave but unſucceſsful attempt upon a frigate and corvette of the enemy in the bay: and it was amuſing to obſerve, the tone of triumph and exultation with which this inſtance of our failure was announced and deſcribed in the Neapolitan papers. In theſe operations above 1500 priſoners were taken, together with nearly 100 pieces of artillery; but their moſt important conſequence was, the recall of a large body of troops from the viceroy's army in Italy, together with that of the greater part of thoſe which had taken poſſeſſion of the Papal dominions. In the face of theſe forces, aided by an extenſive national guard, it

it became impoſſible to do, or attempt any thing againſt the capital, but the purpoſe of diverſion was for the moſt part fulfilled, by continuing the occupation of the iſlands, and compelling the employment of a conſiderable corps of obſervation by the enemy.

CHAP. XIV.

Naval Affairs. Eſcape of the Breſt Squadron, which ſucceeds in liberating that at L'Orient. Sir J. Duckworth diſpatched in Purſuit. Admiral Stopford attacks ſome French Frigates off Sable d'Olonne. French Fleet reaches Aix Roads. Blockaded by Lord Gambier. Poſition of the French Ships. It is reſolved to attack them by Fire-Ships, and Lord Cochrane is appointed to direct the Operation. Proceeds towards the Enemy's Line. Failure of the Attempt. The French Ships run aſhore, and Means are taken to deſtroy them. Impatience of Lord Cochrane. Five of the French Ships of the Line are taken, burnt, or wrecked. Diſcontent of Lord Cochrane with the Conduct of Lord Gambier, who demands a Court-Martial, by which he is honourably acquitted. Court-Martial on Admiral Harvey. Attack on Martinique. Surrender of Fort Bourbon, and Capitulation of the Iſland. The L'Orient Squadron takes Refuge in the Saints. Blockaded by an Engliſh Squadron, but eſcapes with the Loſs of one Veſſel. Mr. Stephen calls the Attention of Parliament to a Paſſage in the Proclamation of General Beckwith. Mr. Marryat's Motion reſpecting the Importation of Martinique Produce. Summary of his Arguments. Surrender of Cayenne to an Engliſh and Portugueſe Force. French Frigate taken. City of St. Domingo blockaded by the Spaniſh Coloniſts: is taken by the Aſſiſtance of an Engliſh Force. Commercial Regulations. French Settlements at Senegal are taken. Lord Collingwood attacks and deſtroys a French Convoy near the Mouths of the Rhone. Part take Refuge in the Bay of Roſas, where they are burnt or brought out. State of our American Relations. The Circumſtances which induced the Hope of effecting an Arrangement of our Differences with that Country. Modifications of the Orders in Council. Mr. Canning's Inſtructions to Mr. Erſkine reſpecting the Accommodation of the Affair of the Cheſapeake, and the Repeal of the Orders in Council. Singular Departure from his Inſtructions in the Conduct of Mr. Erſkine. His Admiſſion of offenſive Expreſſions in a Note reſpecting the Cheſapeake. Concludes an Arrangement with the American Secretary, which is immediately diſavowed by the Britiſh Government. He is ſucceeded in his Miſſion by Mr. Jackſon. Unpopularity of that Miniſter in America. Angry Correſpondence between him and the American Secretary, who breaks off all further Communication with him. Mr. Jackſon retires to New York. Reſolutions of Congreſs approving the Conduct of the executive Indian Affairs. Diſturbances at Madras, occaſioned by a Diſpute between the Military and the Civil Authorities. Arreſt of Colonel Monro, his Liberation by an Order from the Government, and the ſubſe-

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quent General Orders from General Macdowal. Steps taken by the Governor to repreſs the growing Diſcontents. Impoſition of a Teſt on the Officers, which is refuſed. Removal of the recuſant Officers. The Troops at ſeveral Stations break out into open Mutiny. Ineffectual Miſſion of Colonel Cloſe to Hydrabad. Proceedings at Seringapatam. Fatal Rencontre between the King's Troops and the Chittledroorg Sepoys. Arrival of Lord Minto at Madras. Submiſſion of the Officers, and cloſe of the Diſturbances. General Conſiderations upon the Subject, and upon the Conduct of the Governor.

THE record of our naval tranſactions for the preſent year, like that of the two or three preceding, will be ſhort, and comparatively not important. The mighty victory of Trafalgar had, in fact, eſtabliſhed beyond all riſk of diſpute, our dominion on the ocean, and the employment of our marine became, thenceforth, of a nature more analagous to the quiet exerciſe of ordinary garriſon duties in a conquered country, than any thing reſembling the grapple and conflict of actual war. The moſt daring attempts of the French were confined to the puſhing of a ſquadron from one port to another, or the reinforcement and proviſioning of a Weſt India iſland; and if in the courſe of theſe hazardous enterprizes, they contrived to avoid, or eſcape a Britiſh ſquadron, they conſidered themſelves juſtly entitled to the praiſe of the moſt complete and unqualified ſucceſs.

An effort of this nature was attempted, about the middle of February, by the Breſt ſquadron, which, availing itſelf of the temporary abſence of our blockading force, occaſioned by a long prevalence of tempeſtuous weſterly winds, got out of port, and made for L'Orient, where, according to the French account, they liberated the ſhips under Captain Tronde, and enabled him to proceed upon the miſſion confided to him. Lord Gambier was ſpecifically enjoined by his inſtructions, in the event of ſuch an occurrence, to detach the ſenior-officer in purſuit of the enemy, with ſuch force as he might think adequate, and to return himſelf to Cawſand-bay, and wait for farther orders. Sir John Duckworth was accordingly diſpatched with the reſt of the fleet, and the commander-in-chief made ſail for port, with his own ſhip the Caledonia. Admiral Duckworth proceeded in the firſt inſtance to Cadiz, and thence to Madeira, in the hope of falling in with the enemy; but in vain. In the mean time Admiral Stopford being at anchor, off the Chaperon light-houſe, with three ſhips of the line and two frigates, obſerved, on the evening of the 23rd, ſeveral ſtrange ſail to the eaſtward, to which he gave chace till daylight, when he diſcovered them to be the Breſt ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, and two frigates, and ſtanding in to the Pertuis d'Antioche. The Naiad frigate was immediately detached to acquaint Lord Gambier: ſhe had made a few miles, when ſhe made the ſignal, for three ſail appearing ſuſpicious, and Admiral Stopford immediately gave chaſe. They proved to be three

three French frigates, which were to have joined Willaumet, at L'Orient, but could not get out in time, and were now ſtanding in for the Sable d'Olonne. They anchored in a poſition which the admiral conceived to be attackable; he brought up his veſſels as near as the depth of water would permit, and opened a fire, which ſoon compelled the frigates to cut their cables, and run on ſhore. But the ebb-tide making, and the water falling faſt, we were obliged to ſtand out.

On the 26th the enemy weighed for the Baſque-roads, and proceeded to the Iſle of Aix, where they joined the Rochefort ſquadron; but one of their veſſels, the Jean Bart, a new eighty gun-ſhip, ſtruck on a ſhoal, and was totally wrecked. Their whole force was now compoſed of eleven ſail of the line, four frigates, and the Calcutta. Admiral Stopford being reinforced, his ſquadron conſiſted of ſeven ſail of the line, and five frigates, and with theſe he reſumed the blockade. On the 7th of March, Lord Gambier arrived with five ſail of the line, and anchoring in the Baſque-rods, proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's poſition.

The French were anchored in two lines, very near to each other, in a direction due ſouth from the fort on the Iſle of Aix, and the ſhips in each line not more than their own length apart; by which it ſeemed that their anchorage was ſo confined by ſhoals, that ſhips had not ſpace to run in and anchor clear of each other. The moſt diſtant ſhips of their two lines were within point blank ſhot of the works upon the iſle of Aix. Under theſe circumſtances, an attack upon them by line of battle ſhips was deemed impracticable; our veſſels would have been expoſed to be raked by the red hot ſhot from the iſland, and in the event of their being diſabled in their maſts, muſt have remained within range of the enemy's fire till deſtroyed, as there was not a ſufficient depth of water to allow them to moor out of diſtance to the ſouthward. The enemies veſſels, however, appeared to be very much expoſed to operation of fire-ſhips, and Lord Gambier wrote home, ſuggeſting the expediency of an attack of that nature. The admiralty, it ſeems, had already determined to make the experiment. Twelve tranſports were fitted out as fire-ſhips, five bomb-veſſels, and a large aſſortment of rockets, under the direction of Colonel Congreve, received orders to put to ſea with all poſſible expedition. Lord Cochrane, who happened at that time to arrive from Catalonia, was appointed to the immediate conduct of the enterprize, and inſtantly joined the fleet in the Imperieuſe. This appointment of a junior officer to a ſervice, upon which ſo many older officers were eager to volunteer, was a ſubject of conſiderable diſguſt to the fleet.

On the 10th of April the twelve fire-ſhips arrived from England, eight others had been prepared off the ſtation, and next evening meaſures were taken for the attack. Three exploſion-veſſels, which had been prepared by Lord Cochrane, were to precede the fire-ſhips, under his immediate direction, for the purpoſe of pointing out, by their exploſion, the proper time for

kindling the fire-ſhips. In the largeſt of theſe veſſels Lord Cochrane led the way himſelf. It contained 1500 barrels of gunpowder, ſtarred into puncheons, and placed end upwards. Upon theſe were diſpoſed between 300 and 400 ſhells, charged with fuſees, together with 2 or 3000 hand-granades. The puncheons were faſtened to each other by cables, and jammed by wedges, ſo as to render the whole, from ſtem to ſtern, as ſolid as poſſible. Into this veſſel Lord Cochrane committed himſelf, with one lieutenant, and four ſeamen, and proceeded towards the enemy's line. It ſhould be recollected, that the batteries on ſhore were provided with furnaces for firing red-hot ſhot.

The wind blew a gale, and the tide ran three knots an hour. Lord Cochrane approached the enemy as near as poſſible, and ſetting fire to the fuſee himſelf, puſhed off with his little crew in a boat. Whether from the ſtrength of the wind, or whatever other cauſe, the fuſee burnt too quickly, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they got out of reach of the exploſion which followed a few minutes after. This premature exploſion occaſioned the failure of the whole attempt. The fire-ſhips were immediately kindled, and ſome of them before they were in a ſituation to bear down upon the enemy, who in their terror immediately cut their cables, and endeavoured to get up the Charente. Two only of the fire-ſhips fell on board them, and theſe without effect.

A little before ſix next morning, Lord Cochrane made ſignal by telegraph from the Imperieuſe, that ſeven of the enemy's ſhips were on ſhore, and might be deſtroyed; two others had eſcaped towards the Charente, and two lay near their former anchorage, with their broadſides bearing upon any thing that might approach to attack the ſhips aground—the tide was then nearly at the laſt quarter ebb. Lord Cochrane was anxious that a force ſhould be ſent in ſo as to have arrived before low water, by which means he was of opinion, that the whole of the enemy's ſhips aground might have been deſtroyed; and for this purpoſe, he thought two ſail of the line, together with the frigates, would have been fully ſufficient. Lord Gambier, however, conceived that the tide was far too much ſpent to admit of ſending in a force with the hope of effecting any thing before the making of the flood; in which caſe, our ſhips would have been locked in during the whole of the tide, expoſed to the point blank ſhot from the batteries, and to the broadſides of the two veſſels in Aix roads. He therefore determined to defer the attack till the next tide; in the mean while, the fleet unmoored, and anchored again about three miles diſtant from the forts on the iſland.

The enemy, in the interval, made every exertion to warp their veſſels into deep water, and in fact ſucceeded in getting all but five towards the entrance of the Charente, before the commander-in-chief thought it practicable to attack them. In the mean while, Lord Cochrane was impatiently waiting the moment to begin the attack. The fire-ſhips had failed, and a little longer delay might irrevocably

irrevocably deſtroy the only opportunity which remained to him of fulfilling the public expectations, and retrieving the honour of the day. At length, without waiting for ſignals, he weighed anchor, ran in, and went beyond the poſſibility of returning. He immediately opened a fire upon the Calcutta, which ſoon ſtruck her colours; the Valiant and the Revenge, ſhips of the line, with ſeveral frigates and bombs, ſoon after joined the attack upon the Ville de Varſovie and Aquilon. After ſuſtaining a heavy fire, theſe veſſels alſo ſtruck about ſix o'clock, and were taken poſſeſſion of by the boats of the advanced ſquadrons. The priſoners were removed, and the veſſels ſet on fire. The Tonnerre, another line-of-battle ſhip, was burnt by the enemy himſelf.

This was about the cloſe of the afternoon. Five other of the enemy's ſhips were aground near the mouth of the Charente, and Lord Gambier ſent Rear-Admiral Stopford in the Cæſar, with the Theſeus and fire-ſhips, to effect their deſtruction, if it ſhould be practicable; but on reaching the Aix roads, the Cæſar grounded. The night was dark, and the enemy on the iſland did not perceive that ſhe lay for nearly three hours within range of ſhot from the batteries. The rear-admiral finding that if any thing further was to be done againſt the enemy, it muſt be effected by ſmaller veſſels, availed himſelf, before day-light, of a ſhift of wind, and returned to the Baſque roads. Lord Cochrane remained in the road of Aix during the 13th and 14th, together with the Pallas frigate, the ſloops, and gun-brigs, and the Etna bomb. But nothing further was attempted, and on the 15th the Imperieuſe was ſent to England with the diſpatches. The attack on the enemy's ſhips on ſhore was continued till the 25th, but without effect. The enemy had, by lightening his veſſels, ſucceeded in getting them ſo far up the river, that even our gun-brigs frequently grounded in endeavouring to approach them. The Indienne frigate, however, was burnt by the French themſelves at the mouth of the Charente, and the Tourville, a ſeventy-four, was completely wrecked higher up. Of the whole fleet, one or two line-of-battle ſhips, and two frigates, were ſuppoſed to be all that had eſcaped injury; the remainder, having been ſo long and ſo often aground, muſt have been rendered for ſome time totally unſerviceable. Our loſs amounted only to 10 killed, 37 wounded, and one miſſing.

The ſucceſs achieved was of conſiderable importance. The deſtination of the fleet, which had thus been either deſtroyed or diſabled, was generally ſuſpected to be Ferrol, of courſe with the view of bringing out the Spaniſh fleet which had been betrayed into the hands of the French. Lord Cochrane, to whom the chief merit of the day was unqueſtionably due, was rewarded by the order of the Bath. He himſelf, however, felt diſappointed and diſſatisfied that he had not been allowed to attempt more; and when Lord Mulgrave informed him of his intention to move in Parliament a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief, and the officers and ſeamen employed upon this occaſion, Lord Cochrane ſtated, that he ſhould

conſider it as his duty to oppoſe any vote of approbation to Lord Gambier for his conduct in the affair. Under theſe circumſtances, Lord Gambier felt himſelf obliged to demand that a court-martial ſhould be appointed, to inquire into the whole tranſaction. From the details and circumſtances which came out in the evidence given upon this occaſion, Lord Gambier appears to have been perfectly juſtified, according to the ordinary rules of military prudence, in acting as he did. But ſtill it is impoſſible to reſiſt the perſuaſion, that had Lord Cochrane been in fact ſuffered to follow unreſtrictedly his own impulſe in the enterprize, his efforts, though doubtleſs attended with ſome conſiderable degree of hazard, would have been crowned by the entire deſtruction of the greater part of the enemy's veſſels. The ſentence of the court was of courſe one of the moſt honourable acquittal.

Another court-martial took place in connection with this tranſaction. We have already alluded to the diſcontent occaſioned by the appointment of Lord Cochrane to the command of the fire-ſhips. Admiral Harvey in particular felt irritated, and ſuſpecting, though moſt groundleſsly, that Lord Gambier had ſuggeſted it, he expreſſed himſelf in language ſo intemperate, that the commander-in-chief was compelled to bring him before a court-martial. Admiral Harvey was in conſequence ſentenced to be diſmiſſed the ſervice, but after ſome time, the king was pleaſed to reinſtate him in his former rank.

The ſucceſs at the Baſque roads enabled Lord Gambier to detach two ſquadrons of five ſail each in purſuit of the veſſels which had eſcaped from l'Orient under Capt. Tronde. The deſtination of this ſquadron, which conſiſted of three ſail of the line and two frigates, had been to reinforce Martinique, but before their arrival, that iſland was already in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. On the 28th of January, a force had ſailed from Barbadoes, under the command of Lieutenant-General Beckwith, and landed in two diviſions on the 30th. The chief ſtrength of the iſland lay in the armed militia, which was numerous and well diſciplined; but in conſeqnence, as it would ſeem, of an underſtanding between them and the Britiſh commanders, no reſiſtance was offered on their part, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants in general ſeemed equally favourable; ſo much ſo, indeed, that a force of two hundred men only was detached to take poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, the capital of the colony, a conſiderable city, defended by ſtrong works, and it met with no oppoſition. General Beckwith advanced towards the heights of Surirey, and falling in with the enemy, defeated him with conſiderable loſs. He then proceeded to occupy the heights which command the Fort Bourbon, and preparations were quickly made for the reduction of the fort. On the 19th, a heavy fire was opened upon the enemy from ſix points, with fourteen pieces of battering cannon and twenty-eight howitzers. The cannonade and bombardment was continued unremittingly till the 23d, when the enemy ſent a flag of truce, propoſing to ſurrender upon condition that the garriſon be ſent to France without

without reſtriction as to ſerving again. This was rejected, and the fire was recommenced the ſame evening. The next morning a communication was again made from the fort, and the garriſon agreed to ſurrender upon condition of being conveyed to Quiberon Bay, and to be there exchanged rank for rank. The Captain-General Villaret Joyeuſe, together with his aides-de-camp, was permitted to return to France without reſtriction as to exchange. The French, on the arrival of our troops, had already deſtroyed all the ſhipping in the harbours of the iſland, among which were two frigates, the Amphitrite and Carnation.

In the meanwhile the l'Orient ſquadron arrived in the Weſt Indian ſeas, and learning the fall of Martinique, took ſhelter in the Saints, where they were immediately blockaded by Sir Alexander Cochrane. A force of about four thouſand men was at the ſame time detached from Martinique, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands. They landed on the 12th of April, and immediately made themſelves maſters of Mount Ruſſel, a ſtrong poſition, from which the enemy was driven with conſiderable loſs.—This ſucceſs compelled them to puſh out their ſquadron. The nature of the port was remarkably favourable for evading the vigilance of a blockading enemy, having three outlets, which it was impoſſible to watch with five ſail only. Accordingly they contrived to eſcape from the harbour; but the Pompée ſucceeded in getting up with one of their veſſels, the D'Hautpoult, of 74 guns and 680 men, and ſeconded by the Caſtor frigate, compelled her to ſtrike, after a ſevere action of an hour and a quarter. The iſlands ſoon after ſurrendered; the garriſon, conſiſting of near eight hundred men, becoming priſoners of war.

There was a circumſtance in the reduction of the iſland of Martinique, to which the attention of the Britiſh parliament was called by Mr. Stephen. In the proclamation of the Engliſh general, iſſued previous to the attack, a diſtinction was made between the people of colour who ſhould make reſiſtance, and the negroes found with arms. The latter were to be called before a military tribunal, and treated, as it ſhould ſeem, with greater ſeverity than the former. Mr. Stephen objected to this, both becauſe a conſiderable portion of our own troops in the expedition were negroes, and becauſe it might afford Buonaparte an excuſe for the ſavage practices to which he reſorted againſt thoſe who, out of loyalty to their government, reſiſted him. The diſtinction, he contended, was, moreover, unjuſt and impolitic. The black troops had behaved with the utmoſt gallantry on ſeveral occaſions, and were of infinite importance for the defence of our Weſt India poſſeſſions; and he concluded by moving for a return of the number of ſuch employed in the late operations. Lord Caſtlereagh replied, that this part of the proclamation had attracted the attention of government. An explanation had been aſked for, and nothing farther could be done till that arrived. He hoped, therefore, that Mr. Stephen would think

think the motion unneceſſary at preſent; and it was accordingly withdrawn.

The capture of Martinique was on another point, and one of more importance, the occaſion of a parliamentary diſcuſſion. Shortly after the intelligence of that event had reached England, the chancellor of the exchequer, in anſwer to a queſtion from Mr. C. Ellis, announced that it was not the intention of government that any part of the produce of Martinique ſhould be admitted in this country for home conſumption, but merely for the purpoſe of exportation. A bill was accordingly introduced for regulating upon that footing the trade of the captured iſland. It was oppoſed by Mr. Baring and Mr. Marryat. In the infancy of our Weſt India ſettlements, Mr. Marryat admitted that the monopoly of the home conſumption of the mother country was a moſt valuable privilege to the planter. For many years paſt, however, the cultivation of the Britiſh Weſt Indies has been ſo much extended, that the conſumption of the mother country is inſufficient to take off the produce; and a conſiderable portion of their ſugars has neceſſarily been re-exported. In this ſtate of things, it is not Great Britain, but Europe at large, that the Britiſh planter muſt conſider as his market. While ſugar is dear upon the continent, it can never long continue cheap in Great Britain, nor when cheap upon the continent, can it long be dear with us; for the price which the ſurplus will produce for exportation, regulates the price of what is ſold for home conſumption. If the Britiſh market is depreſſed below the ſtandard of the continental markets, the foreign buyer finds it his intereſt to purchaſe, and continues to do ſo as long as it will afford him a profit on exportation. When this competition ceaſes, as the importation exceeds the home conſumption, the ſtock accumulates, and the price falls till it becomes the intereſt of the foreign buyer to purchaſe as before.

"I allow," ſaid Mr. Marryat, "that had miniſters, at the commencement of the war, adopted the plan of excluding the produce of all the conquered colonies from Britiſh conſumption, they would have given a moſt important advantage to the Britiſh planter; becauſe the home conſumption and the diſtilleries would, in that caſe, have rendered him independent of the foreign market. But we have captured French, Dutch, and Daniſh ſettlements, and admitted their produce to an extent that puts this independence out of the queſtion. In 1807 we exported 95,000 hogsheads of ſugar; in 1808 about 50,000; and had alſo the benefit of the diſtilleries; notwithſtanding which, a ſurplus of 40,000 hogsheads remains on hand. I farther admit, that if a total ſtop could be put to the exportation of ſugar, any addition to the quantity imported for home conſumption would prejudice the intereſts of the Britiſh planter; but experience has ſo clearly ſhewn the inefficacy of Buonaparte's decrees to prevent our commercial communication with the continent, that I conſider this as in fact an impoſſible caſe."

Having thus ſhewn the fallacy of attempting to benefit the Britiſh planter

planter by the excluſion in queſtion, Mr. Marryat proceeded to point out other parties (viz. the ſugar-refiners) to whom the meaſure was pregnant with the moſt ſerious injury. "An act was lately paſſed, permitting the exportation of refined ſugar in a cruſhed ſtate, ſo as to imitate the French clayed ſugars; and nearly two-thirds of the whole quantity of refined ſugar exported laſt year was of that deſcription; but if the clayed ſugars of Martinique are imported for exportation alone, they will ſupply the place of theſe cruſhed lumps on the continent, and the Britiſh plantation ſugars, from which they are made, will neceſſarily be left a dead weight upon the home market."

"The three principal deſcriptions of refined ſugar now exported, are the cruſhed lumps, the Hambro' loaves, and the double-refined loaves; the two former being four-fifths of the whole quantity. If we export all the Martinique clayed ſugars, they will ſuperſede the demand for the cruſhed lumps, as foreigners will prefer the originals to the copies; they will alſo ſuperſede the demand for the Hambro' loaves, as we ſhall give foreigners the excluſive right of uſing the choiceſt and beſt materials from which they can be manufactured. Thus the export trade of the Britiſh ſugar-refiner will be reduced to one-fifth of its actual amount by the operation of this bill; and nearly one-third of the refineries at preſent at work in this metropolis will be thrown out of employment."

"It may be proper to ſay a few words on the value and importance of the ſugar refinery to this country. The buildings and utenſils employed in that manufactory, occupy a capital of about two millions of money, excluſive of a much larger capital for carrying it on. The annual expenditure of the ſugar-refiners amounts to about one million, and perhaps ſcarcely any million of money is expended by any ſet of men in a manner ſo beneficial to the country; it being principally expended in giving value to the produce of our mines, coals, lead, iron, and copper; and in furniſhing employment to a great number of artificers, manufacturers, and workmen of various deſcriptions. Some notion of the employment furniſhed to the potteries by the refiners may be formed, when I ſtate, that 80,000 pots and moulds may be found in a ſingle ſugar-houſe of this metropolis, and that a very large portion of the quantity in uſe is annually conſumed by heakage.—This manufactory, too, poſſeſſes an advantage of which few can boaſt; that both the raw materials it works upon, and all the articles uſed in carrying it on, are the growth, produce, and manufacture, either of Great Britain, or her colonies."

Mr. Marryat then went on to argue upon the injuſtice of the propoſed enactment, as it affected the inhabitants of Martinique, who, he contended, had aſſiſted in the ſurrender of the iſland, with the hope of being admitted to the participation of that freedom of commerce allowed to the other captured ſettlements; a condition which, he ſaid, was even implied in the terms of the proclamation preceding the diſembarkation.

Little was urged in refutation of

of the reaſoning of Mr. Marryat. Mr. Roſe admitted the injury to the ſugar-refiners, but could not help thinking the Britiſh planters the beſt judges of their own intereſts. Lord Caſtlereagh proteſted againſt the public faith having in any way been pledged to the adoption of any particular commercial regulation. There had been no ſtipulation or underſtanding between the commanding officers and the inhabitants upon that ſubject; the officers having been eſpecially enjoined to abſtain from any ſuch. He only lamented that the ſame principle had not been taken up at an earlier period, as much benefit would have reſulted from it. No diviſion took place, and the bill paſſed without further oppoſition.

The French had already, in the courſe of the preſent year, been deprived of another of their colonies in this quarter. A Portugueſe force, aſſiſted by Captain Yeo, in the Confiance, had proceeded againſt Cayenne, and, after ſome ſlight oppoſition, the commandant, Victor Hugues, ſurrendered the ſettlement to the Prince Regent, upon condition that the garriſon ſhould be permitted to return to France. A ſhort time before the capitulation, the Topaze, a French frigate, of 48 guns, arrived from Breſt with a reinforcement of an hundred men.—Captain Yeo, who was up the country with the troops, had left only twenty-four ſailors and twenty negroes in his veſſel, which muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of the Frenchman, had he ventured to try his ſtrength with it. Happily he made no ſuch attempt, but fled in alarm to Guadaloupe, where he met with three of our cruiſers, and was taken.

Jan. 12.

Another, and not the leaſt important, of the enemy's colonial poſſeſſions in the New World, was wreſted from him ſhortly after. As ſoon as the news of the Spaniſh revolution had reached Hiſpaniola, the coloniſts roſe up, and, aſſiſted by a force of five or ſix hundred men from Cuba, beſieged the French in St. Domingo. Without artillery or engineers, however, their ſiege was little more than a blockade; and it had continued nearly eight months, without any viſible effect, when a force of twelve hundred men, under General Carmichael, arrived from Jamaica, and more vigorous meaſures were immediately taken for preſſing the reduction of the place. Barquier, the French commandant, endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negotiation; but threatened with an inſtant aſſault, he ſurrendered, and was ſent to France with his garriſon, upon condition of not ſerving again till exchanged. The place was then given up to the Spaniards, and a treaty ſigned, ſubject to the approbation of the two governments, by which all Britiſh veſſels were allowed free acceſs to the Spaniſh ports of the iſland, paying the ſame duties, and enjoying the ſame privileges, as the ſhips of Spain.

July 3.

Nearly at the ſame time the French loſt their only ſettlement upon the coaſt of Africa. A ſmall detachment of the garriſon of Goree, conſiſting of one hundred and ſixty men only, arrived on the 7th of July at the mouth of the Senegal river, and after paſſing with

with ſome difficulty the bar at the mouth of that ſtream, proceeded againſt St. Louis, a little iſland in the river, forming the principal ſeat of the colony, but which ſurrendered immediately, and without ſtriking a blow. The garriſon, it was agreed, ſhould be carried to France, and it is ſingular that, on their arrival in the Baſque roads, they were not permitted to land. We afterwards contrived to put them on ſhore in Quiberon bay. It is difficult to conjecture the motive of this conduct in the enemy; unleſs it ſhould be that Buonaparte began to ſuſpect that an anxiety to return home relaxed a little the vigour of reſiſtance in his colonial garriſons.

The only naval event of importance, which remains to be noticed as diſtinguiſhing the preſent year, occurred in the Mediterranean. Early in October, Lord Collingwood received information which led him to ſuſpect an attempt on the part of the enemy's ſquadron blockaded in Toulon, to relieve Barcelona; and, accordingly, he changed his ſtation to the neighbourhood of Cape St. Sebaſtian. On the 22d, the admiral was informed, by one of the frigates which had been left to watch Toulon, that ſeveral of the enemy's ſquadron in that port had put to ſea, with a numerous convoy, and as this movement had taken place upon the firſt ſhifting of the wind to the eaſt, there was no doubt but that their deſtination was weſtward. Every diſpoſition was immediately made to intercept them. Next day it was diſcovered that the ſhips of war, conſiſting of three ſail of the line and two frigates, had ſeparated from the convoy; and Rear-Admiral Martin was directed to give them chaſe. He fell in with them on the 24th, near the mouths of the Rhone, and on the following morning drove them on ſhore off Frontignan, where two of them, the Robert, eighty-four guns, and the Lion, of ſeventy-four, were ſet fire to by the enemy himſelf. The Borée, of ſeventy-four guns, and a frigate, were ſtranded and wrecked near the entrance of the port of Cette. The other frigate eſcaped into the road of Marſeilles. In the mean while the convoy was purſued by the Pomone frigate, which ſucceeded in deſtroying five of the veſſels, and compelling the remainder to take refuge in the bay of Roſas. Here, on the 30th, they were attacked by a diviſion of boats, and notwithſtanding a ſpirited reſiſtance on the part of the veſſels, of which five were armed, aided by the fire of the batteries and gunboats, the whole were either burnt or brought off.

About the ſame time an expedition was concerted between Lord Collingwood and the Britiſh commander in Sicily, againſt certain of the Ionian iſlands, then in the occupation of the French. On the 23d of September the Warrior ſailed from Meſſina, accompanied by tranſports containing 1600 troops, under the command of General Oſwald, and arrived on the 28th off Cephalonia, where they were joined by the Spartan from Malta, and by the ſquadron blockading Corfu. On the 2d of October a landing was made. The enemy capitulated without reſiſtance, and the government of the Septinſular republic was declared to be reſtored

ſtored in the iſlands of Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca, and Cerigo.

The ſtate of our American relations underwent no ſubſtantial improvements in the courſe of this year, although the expectation was, at one period of it, entertained that the ſubſiſting diſputes would at length be arranged in a manner ſatisfactory to both parties.

We have ſtated, in our laſt volume *, the propoſals which the American miniſter at London was inſtructed to make to the Engliſh government, reſpecting the repeal of its orders in council. Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of that overture, ſome circumſtances ſhortly occurred which encouraged the hope of a favourable change in the political relations of the two powers. Compelled, by the preſſure of its operation upon her citizens, America had ſuſpended the embargo, aud ſubſtituted in its ſtead a *non-intercourſe bill*, which confined the interdiction to the two belligerent powers, and their dependencies; and, in reciprocation with this meaſure of mitigation,

April 26. our government repealed ſo much of the orders of council as went to prohibit the commerce of neutral nations with any other part of the continent except France, Holland, and the north of Italy. By the ſame inſtrument, the proviſions compelling neutrals to touch at this country, and the order for condemning all veſſels having a certificate of origin on board, were reſcinded. The partial change of adminiſtration, neceſſarily attendant on the acceſſion of Mr. Maddiſon to the preſidency, as ſucceſſor to Mr. Jefferſon, contributed further to the hope that a new turn might be given to the progreſs of our negotiations at Waſhington; and the tone and tendency of the occaſional and unofficial communications of our miniſter, Mr. Erſkine, with the leading members of the new cabinet, led him confidently to report to his own government the perſuaſion of their ſerious diſpoſition to arrange and accommodate, as far as poſſible, whatever differences yet continued to diſturbthe harmony of the two countries.

The firſt of theſe points was the affair of the Cheſapeake. On this ſubject Mr. Roſe had already been ſent to offer in reparation, a formal diſavowal of the act, the reſtoration of the men thus forcibly taken, and a pecuniary proviſion for the widows and orphans of thoſe who had been killed on board of the veſſel attacked. The difficulty which had hitherto prevented the amicable concluſion of the buſineſs, was the refuſal of the American government to withdraw its proclamation of July 1807, excluding Britiſh ſhips of war from the harbours of the United States. The late meaſures of congreſs, extending that interdiction to the ſhips of war of France, evidently took away its character of partiality and hoſtility towards this country; and Mr. Erſkine was inſtructed no longer to inſiſt upon its formal recal as a preliminary. It was ſtill neceſſary that the proclamation be either withdrawn, or its operation declared to be at an end; but it would be ſufficient if that withdrawal, or declaration,

* Hiſtory of Europe, p. 163.

was

was recorded in the ſame inſtrument, or, at the ſame time, with the terms of reparation now offered. Theſe terms were the reſtoration of the men taken out of the Cheſapeake; to which the king was ſtill willing to add a proviſion for the families of thoſe who had fallen, but this merely as an act of his own ſpontaneous generoſity.

The only other topic of importance which remained to be diſcuſſed, was the ſyſtem of reſtriction on the neutral trade. From the account which Mr. Erſkine had given of his converſation with Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Galatin, and Mr. Smith, miniſters were led to believe; in the firſt place, that in the event of Great Britain's conſenting to withdraw her orders in council of January and November 1807, America would contemporaneouſly on her part withdraw the interdiction of its harbours, and all non-intercourſe and non-importation acts, as far as reſpected Great Britain, leaving them in force with reſpect to France, and the powers which ſhould adopt her decrees. Secondly, that America was willing to renounce, during the war, the pretenſions of carrying on, in time of war, all trade with the enemy's colonies, from which ſhe was excluded in time of peace. Thirdly, that Great Britain, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the operation of the embargo, and the *bonâ fide* intention of America to prevent her citizens from trading with France, was to be held at liberty to capture all ſuch veſſels as may be found attempting to trade with that power and its dependencies. This condition, which the American miniſter at London had lately expreſſed his perſuaſion that his government would not be indiſpoſed to adopt, was clearly neceſſary for the obſervance of the embargo, the raiſing of which nominally, with reſpect to Great Britain alone, would in fact raiſe it with reſpect to all the world. Upon the diſtinct and official recognition of theſe three conditions, on the part of the American government, Mr. Erſkine was inſtructed to inform it, that no time would be loſt in ſending to America a miniſter fully empowered to conſign them to a formal treaty; but, in the meanwhile, to avoid the inconveniencies of delay, it was added, that upon the receipt of an official note, containing an engagement for the adoption by the American government of the three conditions, his Majeſty would be prepared, on the faith of ſuch engagement, reciprocally to recal the orders in council, without waiting for the concluſion of a treaty.

Such was the ſubſtance of Mr. Erſkine's inſtructions, upon which he immediately began to act, but in a manner as little conſiſtent with the ſpirit as with the letter of them. Omitting all mention of the proclamation of July 1807, and of the reſervation of his Majeſty's right to claim the deſerters in a regular way, he proceeded (in contradiction to a ſpecific inſtruction that the arrangement ſhould be ſettled either by a regular convention, or by the exchange of miniſterial notes, dated the ſame day, and *mutually delivered at the ſame time,*) to ſtate at once, in a formal note, to Mr. Smith, that the late acts of the American government being conſidered as placing the relations of Great Britain with

with the United States on a ſimilar footing in all reſpects with thoſe of the other belligerent powers, he was authoriſed to offer, on the part of his Majeſty, an honourable reparation for the aggreſſion on the Cheſapeake, the reſtoration of the men forcibly taken from that veſſel, and a ſuitable proviſion for the unfortunate ſufferers on that occaſion; making this laſt condition an act not of voluntary generoſity, but of poſitive obligation on the part of the king. The American government had no difficulty in acceding to a propoſal that ſeemed to imply a conceſſion of every point in diſpute; and Mr. Smith was inſtructed to ſignify to Mr. Erſkine, that the reparation offered would be conſidered as ſufficient, but that the preſident, in forbearing to inſiſt on a farther puniſhment on the offending officer, was not the leſs ſenſible of the juſtice and utility of ſuch an example, nor the leſs perſuaded that it would have beſt comported with what was due from his Britannic Majeſty to his own honour. The overſight and admiſſion, without remonſtrance, of expreſſions ſo offenſive, in a note to be tranſmitted and laid before his Majeſty, was not the leaſt extraordinary of the effects of Mr. Erſkine's apparent anxiety to be himſelf the inſtrument of the final adjuſtment of theſe long pending differences.

Upon the ſubject of the orders in council, his departure from his inſtructions was ſtill more remarkable. In his official note to the American ſecretary he contents himſelf with ſtating ſummarily, that his Majeſty, anticipating the favourable change in his relations with the United States which had been produced by the non-intercourſe act, had commanded him to announce to the American government his intention of ſending out an envoy with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points in diſcuſſion between the two countries; and that in the mean time his Majeſty would conſent to withdraw his orders in council of January and November 1807, ſo far as they reſpected America, in the perſuaſion that the preſident would iſſue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourſe with Great Britain; adding, that whatever difference might ariſe in the interpretation of the terms of ſuch an agreement, would be removed in the courſe of the ſubſequent negotiation. In this paper no mention whatever appears of the ſecond and third conditions, the recognition of which had been laid down in Mr. Canning's diſpatch, as indiſpenſably preliminary; and even of the firſt condition, the more important point, viz. the proviſion, which coupled with the repeal of the acts in queſtion with reſpect to Great Britain, their continuance in force againſt France, appeared to have been entirely overlooked, or conceded. The American ſecretary immediately ſignified to our envoy the preſident's readineſs to accede to the propoſition. On the following day, April 19, Mr. Erſkine declared himſelf authoriſed to announce, that the orders in council of January and November would be withdrawn, as far as reſpected the United States, on the 10th of June following; and an aſſurance was returned, that on the ſame day the preſident would iſſue a proclamation, re-opening the trade of the United

United States with Great Britain. The whole correſpondence was then immediately publiſhed, and excited the greateſt exultation among all parties in the union *.

Mr. Erſkine's diſpatches, and the public prints containing this correſpondence, reached England by the ſame ſhip, on the 22d of May. Miniſters immediately diſavowed the proceeding of their envoy, in both houſes of parliament, and the ſecretary for foreign affairs haſtened to notify to that gentleman the king's diſpleaſure, at a proceeding which had reduced his Majeſty to the neceſſity of diſavowing an engagement taken in his name, by an accredited agent. In order to provide for the inconveniences which might ariſe to ſuch Americans as had acted upon Mr. Erſkine's arrangement, a proclamation was iſſued, ſuſpending the orders in council in favour of all American ſhips which ſhould have ſailed for Holland between the 19th of April and the 20th of July. Before that day the news of the refuſal of our cabinet to ratify the agreement reached America, and the government immediately publiſhed a proclamation, renewing the prohibitory laws againſt Britiſh commerce.

Mr. Erſkine was of courſe recalled, and Mr. Jackſon, our late miniſter at Copenhagen, ſent out as his ſucceſſor. This gentleman, from his connection with the late attack on Copenhagen, had the misfortune to find himſelf, from the beginning, the object of general miſtruſt in America; and the event of his negotiations was poſſibly, in ſome degree, connected with this inauſpicious circumſtance of his political career. After ſome ſlight conference, he was informed by Mr. Smith that all further diſcuſſion muſt take place in writing. The American ſecretary then proceeded to complain, "that an arrangement which had been formally determined upon by the United States with Mr. Erſkine, ſhould have been diſavowed by his Britannic Majeſty, at a time when it had been faithfully carried into

* The grounds of Mr. Erſkine's proceeding, as explained in his diſpatches to miniſters, are ſhortly as follows. With reſpect to the withdrawing of the proclamation of July, 1807, he conceived it to be the leſs neceſſary to inſiſt upon its formal recal, as, in fact, the very act upon which it was founded, had been wholly abrogated by the firſt ſection of the non-intercourſe bill. Again, the formal recognition of the three conditions, upon which Mr. Canning grounded his propoſal to repeal the orders in council, was not exacted becauſe the American executive had not the power to decide upon points which were properly in the reſort of congreſs; to whom, alone, it belonged to decide of the continuance of the non-intercourſe law, with reſpect to the other belligerents. But every aſſurance was given of the determination to inforce it againſt France, or any other power, which ſhould continue to infringe the neutral rights of America. With reſpect to the ſecond condition, Mr. Erſkine was given to underſtand, that although it was at preſent impoſſible to give it an official recognition, as no commerce, of any kind, was permitted to be carried on with France, or her dependencies, yet there would be no difficulty in adjuſting the point conformably to his Majeſty's views, among the other articles of a commercial treaty. The ſame kind of aſſurance was given reſpecting the laſt condition, Mr. Smith obſerving, that however objectionable it might be, to make ſuch a right the ſubject of expreſs ſtipulation, in practice it was evident, that no American citizen could claim redreſs againſt its exerciſe, for an injury ſuſtained in conſequence of a direct breach of the laws of his country.

effect on the part of the American government, and under circumſtances rendering its effects on their relative ſituation irrevocable, and in ſome degree irreparable. The American government had, under theſe circumſtances, conceived itſelf intitled to an explicit explanation of the grounds of this diſavowal, but the preſident had learnt, with no leſs ſurprize than regret, that Mr. Jackſon was not empowered to offer any ſuch explanation."

Mr. Jackſon, in reply, began by proteſting againſt the extraordinary manner in which all verbal communications between himſelf and the American government had been declined; with reſpect to the explanation required, he obſerved, that it had been made by Mr. Erſkine, before his arrival; and as Mr. Smith, in the converſation which they had held, had made no complaint of the diſavowal, it was evident that he himſelf muſt have conſidered it unreaſonable to complain of the diſavowal of an act done under circumſtances ſuch as could only lead to the conſequences which had actually followed. From Mr. Erſkine's official correſpondence, it was evident, that although he had not, as he was authoriſed to do, communicated his inſtructions in full to Mr. Smith, he had, however, ſubmitted to him the three conditions ſpecified in theſe inſtructions. Mr. Smith, in his previous interviews had ſtated, that he underſtood Mr. Erſkine to have had two ſets of inſtructions, and that upon one of them, not hitherto communicated either to him or to the public, depended the juſtification of the terms which he had finally arranged. This was, in fact, after the aſſertions of the Britiſh government, to charge it with poſitive and intentional falſehood; and, Mr. Jackſon added, "it is my duty, Sir, ſolemnly to declare to you, and, through you to the preſident, that the diſpatch from Mr. Canning to Mr. Erſkine, which was read by the former to the American miniſter in London, is the only diſpatch by which the conditions were preſcribed for the concluſion of an arrangement with this country, in the matter to which it relates."

In his anſwer to theſe declarations, Mr. Smith obſerved, that what were the real and entire inſtructions given to Mr. Erſkine, was a queſtion between him and his government; that, however, he had, or believed he had, ſufficient authority to conclude the arrangement, could not, after his formal aſſurances during the diſcuſſion, remain a matter of doubt. He had it was true made known the three conditions which now appeared in his printed inſtructions, and was diſpoſed to urge them more than their nature would permit; two being probably inadmiſſible, and one more than inadmiſſible: but finding they were thus conſidered, he had recurred to the more reaſonable terms on which the arrangement had been concluded. What was there in this, which could countenance his Britannic Majeſty in his aſſerted right to diſavow the proceedings? Nothing was more common than that an ambaſſador ſhould be provided with two or more ſets of inſtructions, or two or more grades of propoſitions in the ſame ſet of inſtructions, that he might begin with what was moſt deſirable, and

end

end with what ſhould be found admiſſible, in caſe the more deſirable was not to be obtained. The arrangement would never have been made, had it been known that the propoſitions preſcribed in the diſpatch containing Mr. Erſkine's inſtructions were the only ones on which he was authoriſed to negotiate. To this Mr. Jackſon replied, "that it appeared, from Mr. Smith's own language, that the inſtructions in queſtion had been made known to him in ſubſtance at the time; and no other proof than a reference to the terms of the agreement could be required to ſhew that that agreement was in violation of thoſe inſtructions. Upon that ground his Majeſty diſavowed it, Mr. Erſkine having been altogether without authority to ſubſcribe to ſuch terms."

In expreſſing himſelf thus, Mr. Jackſon aſſerted only the integrity of his own government; and it is not eaſy to underſtand the grounds of that indignation which appears to have dictated the rejoinder of Mr. Smith. Mr. Jackſon's letter, he obſerved, contained ſeveral irrelevant and improper alluſions, and he muſt revert to his repetition of expreſſions, implying a knowledge on the part of the American government, that Mr. Erſkine's inſtructions did not authoriſe the arrangement which he had concluded. "After the explicit and peremptory aſſeveration that this government had no ſuch knowledge; and that with ſuch a knowledge, no ſuch arrangement would have been entered into, the view which you have again preſented of the ſubject, makes it my duty to appriſe you, that ſuch inſinuations are inadmiſſible in the intercourſe of a foreign miniſter, with a government that underſtands what it owes to itſelf." Mr. Jackſon replied, that where there was not freedom of communication, in the form ſubſtituted for the more uſual one of verbal diſcuſſion, there could be little uſeful intercourſe between miniſters; and one, at leaſt, of the epithets which Mr. Smith had thought proper to apply to his laſt letter, was ſuch as neceſſarily abridged that freedom. That any thing therein contained might be irrelevant, it was of courſe competent in the American ſecretary to endeavour to ſhew, but as to the propriety of his alluſion, he muſt be allowed to acknowledge only the deciſion of his own ſovereign, whoſe commands he obeyed, and to whom alone he conſidered himſelf reſponſible. Beyond this it ſufficed that he did not deviate from the reſpect due to the government to which he was accredited. "I have carefully," ſaid Mr. Jackſon, "avoided drawing concluſions that did not neceſſarily follow from the premiſes advanced, and leaſt of all ſhould I think of uttering an inſinuation when I was unable to ſubſtantiate a fact. To facts, ſuch as I have become acquainted with, I have ſcrupulouſly adhered, and in ſo doing I muſt continue, whenever the good faith of his Majeſty's government is called in queſtion, to vindicate its honour and dignity, in a manner that appears to me beſt calculated for the purpoſe." This brought matters to the point which the American ſecretary apparently intended: "Finding," he ſaid, "that Mr. Jackſon reiterated, and even aggravated, the ſame groſs

insinuation, it only remained, in order to preclude opportunities which were thus abused, to inform him that no further communications would be received from him, and that the necessity of that determination would, without delay, be made known to his government. Meantime a ready attention would be given to any communications affecting the interest of the two countries, through any other channel."

Upon receiving this intimation, the English envoy immediately left Washington, and proceeded to New York, accompanied by every member of his Majesty's mission. The notification of Mr. Smith, he conceived left him no other alternative, consistent with what was due to the king's dignity, but to withdraw from the seat of the American government, and to await the arrival of orders from home upon this unexpected condition of affairs. A circular was sent to the British consuls at the several ports, announcing this step and explaining the circumstance which had rendered it necessary. In this a short and simple justification of his conduct was included. One of the facts alluded to, he observed, had been admitted by the secretary of state, namely, that the three conditions forming the substance of Mr. Erskine's original instructions, were submitted to him by that gentleman. The other, that that instruction was the only one in which the conditions were prescribed to Mr. Erskine, for the conclusion of an arrangement on the matter, was known to Mr. Jackson by the instructions which he had himself received: and in stating these facts, and adhering to them, as his duty imperiously injoined him to do, he could not imagine that offence could be taken by the American government, as most certainly none was intended on his part.

An interruption thus angry in the diplomatic relations of the two countries, seemed to argue nothing less than the approach of open hostilities; a consummation so ardently desired by the French party throughout the union, who hailed the probable approach of it by expressions of unrepressed and unqualified exultation. One method by which it was thought proper to give vent to this triumph, was that of gross and insolent contumely towards Mr. Jackson, which was kept up through the medium of the public press; and that gentleman was at length obliged, for his own safety, and for that of his family and of those attached to his mission, to call upon the American government for special passports and safeguards; and this, he said, was the more necessary, because some of the newspapers of the United States were daily using language, of which the only tendency could be to excite the people to commit violence upon his person.

The American legislature met shortly afterwards, on the 27th of November. In his opening discourse, the president dwelt strongly upon the conduct of the British government, in disavowing Mr. Erskine's arrangement; and justified the necessity of breaking off all further intercourse with Mr. Jackson, after the language which he had held in his correspondence. Resolutions were passed in the house of

repreſentatives, approving, to the fulleſt extent, of the conduct of the executive in this point, and ſolemnly pledging the aid of congreſs to ſupport and ſtand by the executive on this point, and, if neceſſary, to call into action the whole force of the nation, to repel the repetition of ſimilar inſults. Thus gloomy and diſcouraging was the ſtate of our political relations with the United States, towards the cloſe of the preſent year; and the evident diſpoſition to hoſtility, which ſeemed more than ever to mark the conduct and feeling of that government towards this country, gave but too much reaſon to fear that pretences would not long be wanting for the recurrence to meaſures more directly and decidedly expreſſive of the ſentiments in queſtion.

In India, under the mild and pacific adminiſtration of Lord Minto, all was tranquil, as far as reſpected our relations with the native powers. A quarrel between the civil and military authorities at one of the preſidencies gave riſe to diſturbances, which, though important neither from their immediate occaſion nor their actual conſequences, became of moment from the conſideration of thoſe peculiar circumſtances in the nature of our Indian dominions, which render no occurrence too ſlight to be overlooked, as affecting the ſecurity of its tenure. We ſhall give a brief account of the occurrences in queſtion, a narrative of which will alſo, in ſome degree, be found to throw a new light upon the character and operation of our government in that country.

In the year 1807, Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, received orders from the court of directors to ſet on foot an immediate inquiry into ſuch branches of the ſervice as might admit of any reduction in their expenditure. In the courſe of this inveſtigation, the ſeveral details of the military eſtabliſhment came neceſſarily under reviſion; and, among other points, the propriety of continuing to the officers, commanding native troops, a certain monthly allowance, for the proviſion of camp equipage, and which was known by the name of the tent-contract, engaged conſideration, and the commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, ordered Colonel Monro, the quarter-maſter-general, to draw up a report to him upon the ſubject. The report, which was altogether unfavourable to the contract in queſtion, received the unqualified aſſent of the Madras authorities, and was then tranſmitted to Calcutta, where it was equally approved of, and an order was returned by the ſupreme government, for the immediate diſcontinuance of the allowance. Accordingly, in May, 1808, it was aboliſhed by a general order of Sir George Barlow, who had lately ſucceeded Lord William Bentinck in the preſidency at Madras.

This meaſure, it may eaſily be imagined, was by no means agreeable to the officers; but there was an unfortunate expreſſion in the report of Colonel Monro, which infinitely more than the meaſure itſelf contributed to inflame their reſentment. In the preliminary part of that paper, the objections againſt the ſyſtem of camp-equipage equipment, were ſtated to be grounded "upon an attentive ex-

amination of its operation ſince the period of its introduction;" and it was obſerved, that among other diſadvantages attending it, "it placed the intereſt and duty of commanding officers in direct oppoſition to one another." This remark, coupled with the previous intimation, which ſeemed to point it out as ſuggeſted by actual obſervation, was conceived by the officers to imply an imputation upon their conduct. They immediately complained to General Macdowal, who had lately been appointed commander-in-chief, and demanded that Colonel Monro ſhould be brought before a court-martial, for having made uſe of falſe and ſcandalous inſinuations, injurious to the character of the army. General Macdowal referred the charges to the advocate-general, who declared them to be illegal. Nothing farther was done for ſome time, when, ſuddenly, on the 20th January, 1809, the general, who was then almoſt immediately about to return to Europe, gave orders, that Colonel Monro ſhould be put under arreſt, in order that he might be brought to his trial by the ſucceeding commander in chief. The colonel, aware that he had acted throughout by the ſanction and with the approbation of the civil government, reſolved to appeal to its authority; and he was ſhortly after liberated in conſequence of a poſitive order from the chief ſecretary, directed to the commander-in-chief.

General Macdowal ſailed from Madras on the 29th of January, intending, it ſeems, to ſend in the reſignation of his command, from Ceylon. In the meanwhile he availed himſelf of its authority, to publiſh, on the day previous to his embarkation, a general order, in which he ſtated, that his departure for England would prevent his deſign of bringing Colonel Monro to trial, for contempt of military authority, in having reſorted to the power of the civil government, in defiance of the judgment of the commander-in-chief, who had placed him under arreſt, on charges preferred againſt him. Such conduct, on the part of Colonel Monro, was farther ſtigmatiſed, as deſtructive of ſubordination, ſubverſive of military diſcipline, and holding out a moſt dangerous example to the ſervice; and the commander-in-chief conceived it, therefore, to be his duty to reprimand Colonel Monro in general orders, and he was, thereby, reprimanded accordingly.

The members of the government conceived themſelves to be purpoſely and groſsly inſulted by this paper, which, it appears, had been in circulation before the general embarked, though it was not till afterwards that it reached their hands. The veſſel was ſtill in ſight of the coaſt, and a ſignal was inſtantly made for its return; but without effect. General Macdowal, however, was immediately removed from the office of commander-in-chief, and the deputy-adjutant-general, Major Boles, who had counterſigned his orders, was ſuſpended. The ſame ſentence was afterwards extended to the adjutant-general, upon his avowal, that he had equally concurred in the promulgation of the obnoxious paper.

At the period of theſe occurrences, a very conſiderable ſpirit

of diſcontent already prevailed among the officers of the company's army; and, in fact, not very long before, General Macdowal had laid before the government, a memorial from the Madras army to the court of directors, enumerating their ſeveral grievances, among the more prominent of which, appears to have been the ſyſtem of retrenchment as to many points of their emolument which had lately been acted upon, particularly the abolition of the tent-contract, the favour which they imagined to be ſhewn the king's forces, and the excluſion of the commander-in-chief from a ſeat in the council of the preſidency. This laſt, it ſhould be obſerved, was a ſubject of diſcontent with General Macdowal himſelf, and ſufficiently explains the ſpirit which ſeems to have governed a conſiderable part of his conduct.

The government now publiſhed a proclamation, with the view of allaying the ferment which was obviouſly prevailing among the officers. They explained and vindicated the principle upon which they had acted, in commanding the liberation of Colonel Monro from an arreſt grounded ſolely upon charges connected with a report which had been approved and acted upon, by the conſtituted authorities, both at Madras and Calcutta, and they utterly diſclaimed the offenſive interpretation which had been put upon certain expreſſions in that inſtrument. The officers, however, were not thus to be ſoothed. Meaſures, as they conceived, of retaliation upon the government were debated; among others, it was propoſed, to preſent a petition to the ſupreme government, for the removal of Sir George Barlow from the preſidency; and a paper was drawn up to this effect, in which they animadverted on the proceedings of the governor, as ſubverſive of the fundamental laws of military diſcipline, and expreſſed their "alarm, leſt a ſeries of acts, which were not guided by any rule, might tend to wean their affections, and diſpoſe them to conſider as enemies thoſe whoſe ſituations ſhould make them their friends." Another addreſs was, at the ſame time, preſented to Major Boles, expreſſive of their marked approbation of his conduct, requeſting to be allowed to make up, by private ſubſcription, for the loſs of his appointments, and declaring their intention of equally ſupporting every one who might ſuffer in the ſame cauſe.

The addreſs to the ſupreme government was not ſent, probably becauſe it was ſoon learnt, that the meaſures in queſtion were perfectly approved of at Calcutta. Both papers, however, came into the hands of government, and ſteps were immediately taken to puniſh, as far as that was practicable, ſuch officers as might appear to have been more directly concerned in the drawing up and circulation of inſtruments ſo diſquieting in their tendency. Several were ſuſpended, others deprived of their ſituations. The perſons thus removed, demanded that their conduct ſhould be ſubmitted to a court-martial. But this was denied to them, though their memorials were allowed to be tranſmitted to the court of

directors at home. In the meanwhile the ſupreme government, at Calcutta, tranſmitted a long and elaborate diſpatch to Madras, in which was expreſſed, the moſt unqualified approbation of the whole conduct of the Madras government.

The orders, announcing the ſuſpenſion of the officers, were publiſhed on the 1ſt of May. In the ſame paper the government took an opportunity, to expreſs its approbation of the conduct of the king's troops, and of that of the ſubſidiary force ſtationed at Hydrabad, which was contraſted with the ſpirit of inſubordination and diſaffection which had marked the proceedings of the troops at Madras. The compliment was unfortunate, as the officers of the Hydrabad corps immediately diſclaimed any difference of feeling upon the acts in queſtion, with thoſe prevailing among their brethren. And on the 18th of May they publiſhed an addreſs to that army, in which they profeſſed their entire concurrence with thoſe meaſures which had drawn down the diſpleaſure of government, and their readineſs to co-operate, by all legal means, for the reinſtatement of the ſuſpended officers. The ſupport and example of this corps, gave courage to the others. Committees were formed among the officers, and communications opened, by which ſuch meaſures might be concerted between the ſeveral ſtations, as might beſt conduce to the attainment of the objects in view.

The effects of this combination was ſoon perceived. An addreſs was tranſmitted to the governor, from the officers at Hydrabad, in which they openly intimated, that his meaſures might lead to "a ſeparation of the civil and military powers." Two days afafter, June 24th, upon the arrival of an order at Maſulipatam, commanding the embarkation of a detachment of the company's European regiment at that place, to ſerve as marines on board of the king's ſhips, the regiment openly reſiſted, refuſed to embark, and put the commander of the garriſon under arreſt. Intelligence of this event was ſent to Hydrabad, where the officers unequivocally gave notice to the government, of their determination to afford every aſſiſtance to the regiment at Maſulipatam.

Theſe were evidently overt-acts of rebellion againſt the authority of the government. It ſhould be obſerved, however, that the diſaffected officers ſtudiouſly confined their complaints to the conduct of the Madras government, and profeſſed throughout the moſt entire attachment to their king and country.

Under theſe circumſtances it remained to decide what courſe the government ſhould adopt. The motives which guided the reſolutions of the council at Madras, will be beſt gathered from a ſhort extract from the diſpatch in which they were explained to the court of directors. "Conceſſion, it was obſerved, would have effectually confirmed the ſpirit of ſedition and inſubordination which pervaded the army; and ſtrengthened the preſumption, contempt for authority and confidence in their own power, which was already but too prevalent. Any attempt, even for the purpoſe of conciliation

conciliation in the exiſting ſtate of things, would have been productive of equally pernicious effects. It would naturally have induced the concluſion, that the meaſures of government were dictated by a conſciouſneſs of its weakneſs. The demands of the army required the repeal of orders iſſued by the government for the puniſhment of officers who had committed great offences. The repeal of theſe orders would, in fact, have been an acknowledgement, either of their being unjuſt, or of the army having a right to ſkreen perſons from the puniſhment due to their offences. It was reſolved, therefore, to maintain the juſt rights and power of government, by a prompt employment, for that purpoſe, of all the means in their power. No doubt was entertained of the ſufficiency of thoſe means; the reſponſibility attaching to the attempt was, of courſe, great, but the ultimate ſucceſs was conceived to be certain, and they were perſuaded, that it would involve no conſequences which were not infinitely leſs dangerous to the national intereſts, than thoſe which would inevitably have reſulted from ſubmiſſion to the menaces of a revolted army."

The meaſures adopted, in conſequence of the line of conduct thus reſolved upon, were, unqueſtionably, ſomewhat hazardous in their nature. The government had at their command a conſiderable body of king's troops, upon whoſe fidelity they repoſed every confidence, and ſteps were taken to procure reinforcements, of the ſame kind, from Ceylon and Bombay; it was then propoſed to break the diſaffected corps, as much as poſſible, into ſmall bodies, and to diſtribute them in the neighbourhood of the king's troops in ſuch a manner, as might moſt effectually tend to overawe them. With this view, it was intended, detachments of ſepoys ſhould march from Hydrabad, Travancore, and Seringapatam, but the orders ſent for this purpoſe were, in the event, diſobeyed at all thoſe ſtations.

Among the other ſteps taken by the government upon this occaſion, were ſome of a more doubtful policy. The native troops were in no reſpect concerned with the ſubject which formed the matter of complaint; and, from obvious circumſtances, were not likely to be ſtrongly influenced by thoſe feelings which, in other armies, ſo frequently attaches ſuch ſtrength to the relation between the ſoldier and the officer. The government reſolved to take advantage of this peculiarity to detach the ſoldiery from the cauſe of the diſaffected, and with this view, orders were ſent to the commanders of diviſions to impreſs, as much as poſſible, upon the native troops, a ſenſe of the irregular and improper conduct of their officers, and of their own duty of obedience and ſubmiſſion to the ſtate. At the ſame time a teſt was framed, to be adminiſtered to the officers, requiring from them a ſolemn promiſe, upon their word of honour, of obedience to the governor in council of Fort St. George. This teſt was to be adminiſtered by the commanding officers at the ſeveral ſtations, and ſuch officers as ſhould refuſe it, were to be, for a time, removed from their regiments, without

without, however, any ſuſpenſion of their pay.

All the officers in the company's ſervice at Madras, with ſcarcely any exception, refuſed the engagements required; they were immediately removed, and others ſubſtituted in their room. The whole paſſed with the utmoſt regularity and quiet. The native troops unanimouſly profeſſing their fidelity to the ſtate, and willingneſs to obey ſuch officers only as it might pleaſe to appoint.

The ſame facility in effecting the removal of the mutinous officers, was not expected at the other ſtations, and preparations were made to repreſs by force any material reſiſtance to the orders of government. At Travancore, after ſome delay, theſe orders were ſucceſsfully executed. But at Seringapatam, and the ſtations north of the Kiſtna, greater difficulties preſented themſelves. On the 21ſt of July, the officers at Hydrabad preſented a paper to their commander, Colonel Montreſor, in which they demanded, as the neceſſary conditions of their return to their duty, the revocation of the orders of May, the reſtoration of the ſuſpended officers, the removal of all ſuch officers on the ſtaff, as had been acceſſary, by their advice, to the late meaſures, and, finally, a general amneſty. In the event of the refuſal of theſe conceſſions, it appeared to be their reſolution to proceed to Seringapatam and combining with the diſaffected in that quarter, to march direct upon Madras.

With the purpoſe of trying what effect remonſtrance or perſuaſion might yet have, Colonel Barry Cloſe was deputed, by the government, to Hydrabad, as colonel commandant of the ſubſidiary force there ſtationed; and it was truſted that however ineffectual his endeavours might prove with the officers, the native troops might not be altogether inſenſible to his exhortations. His miſſion, however, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertion of all his firmneſs, and of the influence of his character, was altogether without effect. His authority was diſowned, and he returned to Madras, leaving the regiments in open rebellion to the ſtate, and apparently determined upon the adoption of the moſt deſperate meaſures to compel its acquieſcence in their demands.

At Seringapatam, affairs bore the ſame character. The officers indignantly rejected the teſt. They then arreſted and expelled their commander Colonel Davis, ſeized the public treaſure, drew up the draw-bridges of the fort, and took meaſures for collecting within it as large a force as was within their power. With this view they ſummoned to join them two battalions, which were ſtationed at Chittledroog, about 120 miles from Seringapatam. The officers of this detachment were perfectly in uniſon with thoſe at Seringapatam, and in order to induce their troops to march, perſuaded them that the Myſore rajah had made war upon the company, and that their preſence was, therefore, neceſſary at the capital.

Colonel Davis, in the mean time, had retired to Myſore, the reſidence of that rajah, with whoſe miniſter, Poorneah, he concerted ſuch meaſures as appeared calculated to defeat the deſigns of

of the mutineers. To prevent the intended junction of the battalions from Chittledroog, he ſent a requiſition to Bangalore for the immediate diſpatch of a detachment of king's troops, and prepared a conſiderable body of Myſorean force, to act againſt the battalions which were now underſtood to be advancing. The Chittledroog ſepoys when they found themſelves oppoſed by the rajah's troops, were confirmed in their belief, that the object which their officers had aſſigned for their movements was the real one. The officers themſelves demanded a parley with the Myſorean commander, Ram Row, in which they gave him to underſtand, that however he might act, they, on their ſide, were reſolved not to draw a ſword. The Myſorean, who felt a good deal embaraſſed, ſent to Myſore for inſtructions; in the meanwhile he contented himſelf with harraſſing the march of the inſurgent battalions, who, at length, moved within ſight of the town of Seringapatam. But the Bangalore detachment had arrived there before them. On the 11th of Auguſt they, unexpectedly fell in with the advance of it; and Colonel Gibbs, who commanded it, ſent an officer with a white flag to open a conference. On approaching the inſurgents, the officer ſuddenly received in his face a ſhot, accidentally fired, as it is ſaid. The dragoons, however, put another conſtruction upon it; they inſtantly charged the ſepoys, who amazed by this unexpected attack from troops which they conſidered as brethren, made little or no reſiſtance, but fled in diſorder, leaving about 200 of their number, killed or wounded, on the field. The officers, with the exception of the commander, who was wounded and taken, all effected their eſcape.

Colonel Davis then proceeded to blockade Seringapatam, the garriſon of which continued to maintain their mutinous diſpoſitions, affirming that they would never give up the place, but upon a direct order from Lord Minto. In a few days intelligence arrived, that the Hydrabad corps had ſubmitted, and conſented to take the teſt required by government. The immediate occaſion of this change of reſolution is not very well explained; but the probability is, that they had gone far enough to feel at once the danger of their ſituation, and the utter inadequacy of their means for the attainment of the objects propoſed. The other ſtations, north of the Kiſtna, almoſt immediately followed their example. The troops at Seringapatam ſurrendered at diſcretion; and the teſt was taken by all the garriſons in the ſouth, without any exception.

Such was the termination of theſe commotions, which had, at one time, ſeemed to threaten conſequences a little more important. The government, it will have been ſeen, obtained a clear and unqualified victory over the army; but a long and paſſionate controverſy took place, as well reſpecting the policy of the means by which this ſucceſs was atchieved, as the diſtribution of the blame of the original quarrel. We ſhall not go out of our way to enter into any conſideration of the details of the arguments on both ſides. With reſpect to the immediate occaſion of the

the diſturbances, we muſt obſerve, that whatever apology may be offered for the diſcontents of the military, we cannot but think that it was, under all circumſtances, imperative upon the government to act as they did, both in the liberation of Colonel Monro, and in their ſubſequent meaſures reſpecting the ſuſpenſion of Colonels Capper and Boles. It is not ſo eaſy to decide whether there exiſted any better method of repreſſing the growing diſcontent of the army, than by the orders of the 1ſt of May. The provocation given was, unqueſtionably, ſufficient to juſtify the degree of ſeverity exerciſed upon that occaſion; and our doubts relate merely to the *policy* of the proceedings adopted. It is not clear to us, that the employment of more conciliatory meaſures, might not, at that time, have better fulfilled the objects propoſed, though we quite agree with the government, that at a later ſtage of the buſineſs the reſort to all ſuch was impoſſible.

But the great point of accuſation againſt the conduct of the Madras government, on this occaſion, reſpected the means taken to diſarm the expected revolt, by an appeal to the native ſoldiery againſt their European officers. It was obſerved, that upon *opinion*, upon the moral aſcendancy of the European over the native ſoldier, eſſentially depended the whole ſyſtem of diſcipline and military controul in our Indian armies; and that to deſtroy, or weaken that feeling or opinion, in the private, was directly to attack the great, and indeed, the ſole link, which held together the heterogeneous maſs of which, not merely our army, but our empire in the eaſt was compoſed. The attempt was, undoubtedly, hazardous and critical in the extreme, and would, in itſelf, be juſtified, neither by the precedent which was adduced of Lord Clive, in 1765, nor by the ſucceſs which in the event attended it. But ſtill it muſt be allowed, that the caſe of the civil government was one exceeding difficult; and, it has been juſtly obſerved to be problematical, whether the loyalty of the troops would ſuffer more, in the attempt of the government to divert it from their officers, than in that of the officers to divert it from the government. In either caſe, the experiment was deeply hazardous; and if exiſting circumſtances rendered a recurrence to ſuch meaſures abſolutely neceſſary, we can only repeat our regret that means were not found of anticipating the approach of a criſis ſo pregnant with danger.

Upon the whole it is, perhaps, but fair to infer, that whatever, in the policy of the meaſures purſued by the government, wears to us a doubtful aſpect, was, in fact, to be juſtified by that diſpoſition of actual circumſtances, of which the government itſelf could alone be the competent judge. But whatever difference of opinion might exiſt upon this ſubject, it is not poſſible, we think, to refuſe our reſpect for that firmneſs and deciſion which characteriſed throughout the proceedings of the governor, Sir George Barlow. Among the other difficulties of his ſituation, he had to contend with a very conſiderable degree of unpopularity, ariſing, it is ſaid, from

from a certain coldneſs and repulſiveneſs of manner. Another topic of diſcontent was ſaid to be, the diſpoſition which he betrayed, to regulate the management of the Madras government, upon too ſcrupulous an adherence to the ſyſtem adopted in Bengal. This unpopularity gave occaſion to a ſeries of frivolous diſputes and bickerings, with reſpect to treats and invitations, and ſimilar points, to which the governor, rather injudiciouſly we think, gave importance, by making them the ſubject of his official diſpleaſure. At the beginning of theſe troubles, it ſeems that the officers in general, at Madras, declined the governor's invitations to dinner. This was taken up as a breach of military diſcipline, and the meaſures which followed upon it were, in many inſtances, unneceſſarily harſh. A battalion of ſepoys was ordered acroſs the peninſula to Goa, becauſe the officers of it had refuſed to dine with the governor; and the young men of the military inſtitutions were commanded to rejoin their corps, upon declining to attend a ball given by Lady Barlow. There would appear as little of dignity, as of policy in theſe proceedings, and by the ſymptoms of irritability and obſtinacy which they betray, they, perhaps, detract a little from the credit of that firmneſs of character, which his conduct, upon higher and more appropriate occaſions, had ſo eminently evinced.

CHAP. XV.

Tranſactions in the North. Revolution in Sweden. Singular Miſmanagement of the Affairs of that Country by Guſtavus. Impolitic Attack upon Norway. Miſconduct of the Campaign againſt that Country and in Finland. Contagious Diſorder breaks out among the Troops. Unaccountable Conduct of the King towards Great Britain. His obſtinate Adherence to the War againſt France. Demands an Increaſe of the Engliſh Subſidy, and upon receiving a Refuſal, impoſes an Embargo on Britiſh Shipping, and prepares for Hoſtilities with this Country. His Deſign is ſuſpended. Diſordered State of the Swediſh Finances. Obſtinacy of Guſtavus upon the Subject. Calamitous Condition of the Swedſh Population, ariſing from the War, and the unuſual Severity of the Seaſon. Threatened Partition of the Kingdom. Advance of the Ruſſian armies. General Diſcontent with the Government. Conſpiracy againſt the King. The original Plan of the Conſpirators to ſeize the Perſon of the King is rendered abortive. Diſaffection of the Guards, and how occaſioned. March of the weſtern Army towards Stockholm. They publiſh a Proclamation explanatory of their Object. Alarm of Guſtavus. He takes immediate Meaſures for leaving the Capital. The Conſpirators reaſſemble, and reſolve to prevent his intended Departure. They ſeize his Perſon in the Palace. Circumſtances of his temporary Eſcape. He is conveyed to the Caſtle of Gripſholm, and the Duke of Sudermania aſſumes the Adminiſtration of Affairs. Manifeſto publiſhed on the Occaſion. An Armiſtice concluded with Ruſſia. The Engliſh Miniſter leaves Stockholm. The Diet

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is assembled; an Act of Abdication sent in by Gustavus, who is declared to have forfeited the Throne, for himself and Children. The Russians renew Hostilities. New Constitution drawn up for Sweden. The Duke of Sudermania proclaimed King, and the Prince of Augustemberg elected Crown Prince. Protracted Confinement of Gustavus at Gripsholm. A Provision settled upon him and his Family. He is permitted to leave Sweden, and proceeds to Switzerland. Negotiations with Russia broken off. Progress of the Russian Armies. A Treaty at length signed, by which Finland is ceded to Russia. Naval Operations in the Baltic. Affairs of Turkey. Restoration of Peace between that Power and Great Britain. Consequent Rupture of the Armistice by Russia. Operations on the Danube and in Servia. The Russians cross the River. Bloody Defeat of the Turks. The Russians take Ismael and besiege Silistria. A Turkish Army marches to its Relief. The Russians are defeated in two successive Battles, and compelled to repass the Danube.

EARLY in the spring of the present year, a revolution took place in Sweden, which, at any other period of modern history, would have deeply engaged the interest of all Europe. We have described in our last volume, the events of the war in Finland, down to the signing of the convention which virtually placed the whole of those provinces in the occupation of the Russian government. The general impolicy of the war in its origin, and the mismanagement of the campaign on the part of the Swedish cabinet, naturally aggravated the discontent which so important a dismemberment could not fail to excite in the nation. Instead of bending all his efforts to the defence of his own provinces, already threatened by the inroad of superior forces, Gustavus had dissipated his means in a senseless attack upon Norway; an expedition, for which, in the want of more reasonable objects, no better motive has been assigned, than a propensity to imitate his predecessor, Charles the Twelfth. Troops were collected, accordingly, on the Norwegian frontiers, but unprepared with either arms, clothing, or provisions. The exertions of the officers to whom the supply of these necessaries was unexpectedly assigned, in some measure made up for the deficiencies which the remissness of the government and the distress of the provinces, had occasioned. But the conduct of the invasion bore the same character of incapacity which had marked the military operations of Gustavus in other quarters. Norway was invaded on all sides, but notwithstanding the decided numerical superiority of the Swedish force in the field, nothing of importance was effected. The Swedish army was divided into detachments, which, in some instances, were so small, and so insulated, that they were surrounded and destroyed by the Norwegians. A victory was obtained at Lier; and affairs equally honourable to the Swedish arms occurred in other quarters, but from the very nature of the campaign, nothing decisive could occur, and the troops were wasted and wearied in these unavailing operations, till they were at length recalled in haste

haſte to the protection of their own frontiers. The Norwegians now advanced in their turn, and the defenſive meaſures adopted betrayed the ſame want of arrangement and foreſight, which had diſtinguiſhed the former part of the campaign. In Värmland, it was ordered that no place nearer the frontier than Carlſtadt ſhould be defended; a large and important diſtrict was thus left open to the unreſtricted ravage of the enemy. The troops, moreover, were encamped in huts of mud and twigs, during a very ſevere ſeaſon; and a deſtructive fever, which ſpread over the whole country, was the conſequence. Denmark, however, poſtponed till the following year, the exertions by which ſhe might have availed herſelf of this ſyſtematic miſmanagement, on the part of her enemy.

The conduct of Guſtavus towards his ally, was ſcarcely leſs unaccountable than the fatuity which ſeemed to direct his operations with hoſtile powers. A coolneſs toward the court of London had ſubſiſted ever ſince the affair of General Moore; and the king entertained an invincible diſlike towards the Engliſh miniſter, Mr. Thornton, which that gentleman's continual exhortations for the adoption of a more pacific diſpoſition towards Ruſſia and Denmark, did not, by any means, tend to diminiſh. Towards the cloſe of the laſt year, Mr. Merry arrived to ſuperſede Mr. Thornton in his functions. He was, however, equally with his predeceſſor, inſtructed to enforce on the Swediſh government, the neceſſity of making peace with its enemies, but Guſtavus, conſtant to the reſolution which he had always acted upon, declared in a note compoſed by himſelf, his unalterable determination never to admit of pacific propoſals from the actual ruler of France.

Further diſagreements enſued in the ſubſequent negotiation reſpecting the ſubſidies to be ſupplied by England. The king demanded not only a larger ſum for the following year, but an addition to the ſubſidy for 1808; and he, moreover, inſiſted upon an advance of 300,000*l.* to be paid before the 12th of December, threatening in caſe he ſhould be refuſed, to cloſe the Swediſh harbours againſt our veſſels. Mr. Merry replied, that he had no authority to accede to ſuch demands; in order, however, that the friendly relations of the two nations might not be interrupted, he would, though unempowered by his government, permit the 300,000*l.* to be drawn for, provided the king would wait till January next, for the anſwer of the Britiſh government; and the condition was at length acceded to.

The anſwer from England did not arrive till the 22d of February, 1809. The Britiſh cabinet, to which Mr. Merry had faithfully reported the demands and the menaces of his Swediſh Majeſty, could put no other conſtruction upon ſuch conduct, than that he was anxious to ſeek a pretext for deſerting the alliance. Payment was of courſe refuſed of ſuch bills as had been drawn without the conſent of the Engliſh government, and Mr. Merry was inſtructed to demand, that the king of Sweden ſhould immediately declare his acceptance

ceptance of the ſubſidy which had been propoſed for 1809. In caſe of a refuſal, he was immediately to leave the capital. The Britiſh ſhips of war, which had wintered in the Swediſh harbours, were ordered to return home, and meaſures were taken for the ſecuring ſuch Engliſh veſſels as remained at Gothenburgh. The admiral commanding on the Swediſh ſtation, had already deſired to be allowed to return to England, as the Swediſh coaſts in winter required no protection, and the ſame requeſt was enforced by Mr. Merry; but the only anſwer which the king condeſcended to give, was that the Britiſh government had expreſsly ſtipulated that the ſhips ſhould winter in Sweden, and that conſequently their departure would not be allowed.

The diſaffection and diſtruſt of the king towards the Engliſh cabinet, was ſoon after evinced in a more extraordinary manner. The Britiſh miniſters auguring from theſe proceedings of their ally, that his object was to bring about a rupture with Great Britain, tranſmitted a diſpatch to Mr. Merry, which he was ordered to read to the king. This paper, which was dated the 10th of January, 1808, declared "that if Sweden found it neceſſary either for its domeſtic tranquillity, or for ſecurity againſt invaſion, to make peace with one or more of the belligerent powers, and ſhould find a proper opportunity for that purpoſe, the King of Great Britain would not in any degree oppoſe it; but, on the contrary, would with pleaſure releaſe the King of Sweden from every obligation, expreſs or implied, which might appear to prevent ſuch a ſtep; and that after the concluſion of ſuch peace his majeſty would always maintain undiſturbed his relations with Sweden." Guſtavus took ſuch unexpected offence at this letter, that he inſtantly commanded an embargo to be laid on the Engliſh merchants' ſhips at Gothenburg, and iſſued orders to refuſe pilots to the ſhips of war which might wiſh to put to ſea; with inſtructions that in caſe they made ſuch attempt to treat them as enemies. In order that the news of theſe proceedings might not immediately reach England, it was enjoined to the preſident of the chancery, to refuſe the Britiſh miniſter a courier-paſs in caſe he ſhould require it. His purpoſe would ſeem to have been to commence immediate hoſtilities againſt England, and with this view he wrote inſtantly, and without the knowledge of his cabinet, to the King of Denmark; propoſing an immediate ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and declaring that Sweden was already in a ſtate of war with Great Britain. It does not appear, that in the mean while his indiſpoſition towards a pacification, either with France or Ruſſia, was in the leaſt abated. But at the moment when the letter to the King of Denmark was about to be ſent off, advices arrived from Scania, announcing that proclamations had been ſent over by a balloon from Zealand, inviting the people to put themſelves under the protection of the Daniſh government. The king now changed his reſolution as ſuddenly as he had formed it. He tore to pieces the letter intended for the King of Denmark, and deſpatched counter-orders with reſpect

ſpect to the embargo, which, on account of a delay in the departure of the former courier, was only five hours in duration. A treaty of ſubſidy was a few days after concluded by Mr. Merry, by which a ſum of 300,000*l.* was to be paid every three months by England. It was endeavoured to engage the Engliſh government to ſtipulate the reſtoration of Finland by Ruſſia at the peace; but the Britiſh miniſter refuſed to make any ſuch engagement. He, at the ſame time, delivered a note in which with reference to ſome opinions expreſſed in a letter from Guſtavus to the King of England, it was ſtated, "that if the King of Sweden had reſolved never to make peace with France, but upon condition of the reſtoration of the Houſe of Bourbon, the King of Great Britain could not enter into ſuch views, nor extend ſo far the obligation contained in the treaty of ſubſidy, never to make a ſeparate peace."

The finances of the kingdom were in a ſtate of diſorder ſimilar to that which prevailed in every other department of the government. The Engliſh ſubſidies did not nearly cover the extraordinary expenſes created by the war. The Swediſh army in the preceding ſummer, amounted, including the new levies, to above 100,000 men. An enormous force when conſidered comparatively with the reſources and population of the country. The ſtates, at their laſt aſſembly, had authorized the king to draw upon the bank for one million of rix dollars, but this would not ſupply the expenditure of a ſingle month, and every method attempted, by means of loans, or increaſed taxation, to meet the exigencies of the ſtate, were found to fail in the reſult. The war, it was eſtimated, beſide the loſs of territory and population, had occaſioned a new national debt to Sweden of above 13,000,000 rix dollars, and that from the commencement of 1808 to the 29th of May, 1809, the expenſe had exceeded 20,000,000 rix dollars, beſide the intereſt of ſeveral loans. The expenſe of the laſt campaign was above 14,000,000 rix dollars, or about 3,000,000*l.* ſterling. Nearly double that ſum, or 26,000,000 rix dollars, was required for the ſervice of the current year. The committee of finances made a report to the king, ſtating that this ſum exceeded the whole circulating capital of the kingdom, and made at the loweſt, three-and-twenty per cent. upon the aggregate property of the whole country, in money, goods, and eſtates of every deſcription. This repreſentation however drew forth no other anſwer, than an order to produce a plan, within four-and twenty-hours, for raiſing the ſum required.

A ſeaſon of peculiar ſeverity occurred to aggravate the general calamity and diſcontent of the nation. It began early in November, and continued with unabated ſeverity till March, when the whole face of the country was ſtill covered with ice and ſnow. The laſt crop had been deficient. The herring-fiſhery had failed almoſt entirely. Diſeaſes, as we have already mentioned, broke out in the army, and ſoon extended their ravages to the reſt of the population. The loſs of Finland and Pomerania cut off the chief

ſources from whence the capital and the maritime provinces had been accuſtomed to derive their proviſions of corn and fuel, and the conſequent diſtreſs was almoſt univerſal. The political poſition of the kingdom was at the ſame time moſt critical. The fineſt provinces were already in the hands of the enemy, whoſe troops were rapidly advancing towards Aland and Stockholm. The final diſmemberment and partition of the monarchy between Denmark and Ruſſia, was commonly ſpoken of as inevitable; and it was ſaid, that the river Motala, and the ridge of mountains which ſtretches from thence towards the north, were deſtined to form the boundary between the dominions of Ruſſia and Denmark. Every thing appeared in readineſs to put this deſign into execution. The Ruſſian army was to have croſſed the eaſtern frontier on two points, while the army of Norway ſhould invade the weſt; and a deſcent from Zealand upon Scania would have completed the circumvention of the country, the natural reſources of which were little adequate to reſiſt a combination ſo formidable, but miſdirected and miſapplied as they were in the hands of Guſtavus, the event of the conteſt could not for a moment ſeem doubtful. The inaptitude of the king reſulted, it is ſaid, not from any natural imbecility of intellect, but from a certain perverſeneſs and impatience of temper, which, liſtening to no remonſtrance, and enduring no delay, continually hurried him into meaſures and ſchemes, of the folly and impracticability of which, no one when cool was better qualified to judge. There appears, however, in certain parts of his conduct, a degree of ſelf-willed obſtinacy in error, which it is not eaſy to account for upon any other ſuppoſition than that of the temporary prevalence of a degree of mental derangement.

Under theſe circumſtances the diſcontent became univerſal. The many excellent qualities of the king, and the irreproachable integrity of his private life, had hitherto aſſured him a conſiderable degree of popularity, eſpecially with the middling and lower claſſes of the nation. The errors of his political conduct were in fact long unknown to them; the ſeverity of the cenſorſhip, both upon the public journals, and upon the importation of foreign books, having effectually obſtructed the principal ſources of information upon that topic. But towards the autumn of 1808, the preſſure of the general diſtreſs began to operate a conſiderable change in the public opinion. The neceſſity of a great and radical change in the adminiſtration of affairs became manifeſt and urgent; and to bring about this, a revolution in the government appeared to be the only effectual meaſure. About the beginning of the year, various conferences were held among the principal nobles and merchants at Stockholm, reſpecting the preferable mode of effecting the object propoſed. It was at firſt propoſed, as a meaſure of leſs violence, that all the officers of ſtate ſhould ſuddenly and at once throw up their ſituations, and call upon the king to ſummon a diet; but the ſcheme was rejected, as having no tendency in itſelf to ſubdue the obſtinate adherence of Guſtavus to his preſent

preſent ſyſtem of foreign policy, and as threatening to occaſion an actual diſſolution of the government.

The depoſition of the king was at length reſolved on. The meaſure was violent and hazardous; but it was now deemed to be abſolutely neceſſary for the well-being of the ſtate, and there was a particular circumſtance attached to the perſon of Guſtavus, which rendered the recourſe to it a matter probably of leſs danger, and of leſs reluctance, than it otherwiſe might have been. A perſuaſion had long prevailed at Stockholm, that the late king, from the effects of early diſſipation upon a conſtitution naturally weak, was incapable of giving an heir to the Swediſh crown. The birth of a ſon, the preſent king, by no means put an end to theſe ſlanders; and it was aſſerted, that a colonel in the guards, of the name of Monck, had been appointed by Guſtavus to ſupply his place, on a certain occaſion, with the young queen. However unfounded the imputation, a belief in the truth of it was by no means uncommon in Sweden, and the rumour was revived with malignant aſſiduity, to ſever whatever ties yet bound the affections of the people to the perſon of their unhappy ſovereign.

The chief actors in the intended enterprize were neceſſarily at Stockholm, but correſpondence was held with the leaders of the ſeveral armies, among which that upon the Norway frontier was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the alacrity with which it entered upon the propoſed conſpiracy. The conſultations upon the ſubject were long and inconcluſive, and, under a more vigilant and active adminiſtration, would have inſured the deſtruction of the conſpirators. At length, the 8th of February was fixed upon as the day for ſtriking the important blow. It was reſolved to ſeize upon the perſon of the king oppoſite to a tavern in a ſtreet through which he uſually paſſed in the afternoon, on his way from Stockholm to the palace of Haga. He was then to be conveyed to the fortreſs of Vaxholm, the garriſon of which was to be relieved by a troop of the guards from Stockholm. The regiment of cuiraſſier life-guards was equally prepared to aſſiſt in the execution of the deſign. Guſtavus had in fact diſguſted the whole body of his guards by one of thoſe fits of extravagant violence to which he occaſionally gave way. A battalion of the guards had behaved ill in the campaign in Finland, and Guſtavus inſtantly diſgraced the whole body, wherever ſtationed, to the bottom of the liſt. By this he irreparably affronted a great number of officers, many of whom he was at that very moment diſtinguiſhing with decorative orders, in reward of their ſervices. When the arreſt of the king ſhould have been effected, it was arranged that one of the principal conſpirators, accompanied by a ſquadron of the guards, ſhould march up to the court of the palace, to wait the orders of the Duke of Sudermania; whom, it was propoſed, ſhould be entreated to take upon him the government of the country, until the ſtates ſhould be aſſembled. A ſolemn oath was adminiſtered that nothing ſhould be offered againſt the life of the king, but that every regard ſhould be ſhewn to him,

compatible with the ſafety of the attempt.

All this was arranged on the 6th. Among the conſpirators was one, of whoſe name we are not informed, though he ſeems to have particularly enjoyed the confidence of the reſt, who conceived that the day aſſigned was much too early, and could not be perſuaded to alter his opinion. It was nevertheleſs reſolved by his companions to adhere to the original reſolution, and to conceal their intention from the perſon in queſtion, until the moment for execution had arrived. On the 8th, accordingly, a little before the appointed hour, the greater part of the conſpirators aſſembled to communicate to him their deſign. He now vehemently oppoſed it: the whole ſcheme was diſſolved; the conſpirators diſperſed, and a letter was diſpatched to the weſtern army announcing the abortion of the enterpriſe.

It has been remarked, as a ſtriking proof of the deſerted ſituation to which the ungracious conduct of Guſtavus had reduced him, and of the unpopularity of his government, that of the multitude informed of the deſigns againſt his perſon and authority, not one had ſufficient courage or attachment to warn him of his danger. A great number of people had by various means been unavoidably made acquainted with the momentous political change which was to have been attempted on the 8th of February; the number was daily increaſing, and in every part of Stockholm the revolution was the daily ſubject of converſation. Had the intended attempt come to the knowledge of the king, and had he in conſequence left Stockholm, and proceeded to the ſouth, it is probable that the army in that quarter would have obeyed him, and that a civil war muſt have enſued.

The weſtern army, however, ſoon put an end to all farther ſuſpenſe in the matter. On the 8th of March, they broke up, under the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre, and entered Carlſtadt, where a proclamation was publiſhed, explanatory of the motives by which they were actuated, and the objects which they propoſed themſelves to attain. This was, that the ſtates of the kingdom ſhould be at liberty to aſſemble, and to deliberate uncontrouled on the means of reſtoring the proſperity of Sweden. "We have ſolemnly ſworn," ſaid they, "to lay at their feet the arms which we have taken up to procure their freedom, and around the hall where they hold their deliberations, we will form a rampart which no power on earth ſhall be able to beat down. The German dominions of Sweden are delivered up to the enemy, and Finland, the native ſoil of a noble and gallant people, is loſt. Our trade is ruined; our mines deſerted; our youth taken from our agricultural purſuits to be deſtroyed by ſickneſs and the ſword; the burthens laid on agriculture are ſuch that they can be borne no longer; grinding taxes are exacted without remiſſion. We have ſeen the moſt important concerns managed in a manner which began without any plan, as it ended without ſucceſs; the remaining ſtrength of the country, if no means be taken to prevent further evil, may be waſted with the like folly. We have ſworn

ſworn that not a ſingle inch more of Swediſh territory ſhall be given up to the enemy. We have ſworn that the father of the country ſhall enjoy full liberty to reſtore our welfare and proſperity. Let then the higher and lower ſtates of the commonwealth join heart and hand to aſſert our freedom; let them offer peace and amity to our neighbours, but with this aſſurance, that every Swediſh ſoldier will rather be buried under the ruins of his country, than ſuffer a ſingle inch of Swediſh ground to be ceded to the enemy. Such are our wiſhes for our country, and we are ready to ſacrifice our lives for their fulfilment. It is of the utmoſt importance for Sweden, that every Swede ſhould at length be allowed to return to a peaceful home, as far as that can be done without diſparagement to the honour and independence of the kingdom. The frontiers are for a ſhort time left without defence, on account of our departure; but ſhould the enemy, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, avail himſelf of our abſence to attack them, we will ſpeedily return, take a ſevere revenge, and convince him of the difference of a war carried on becauſe of the perſonal hatred of the ruler, and one proſecuted by a nation which is determined to maintain its independence."

This laſt paragraph alluded to an agreement which had been entered upon with General Staffeldt, who commanded in Norway, ſtipulating that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the Swediſh frontier during the abſence of the army. General Poſen, with the left wing, was detached to occupy Gottenburg; the remainder moved direct upon Stockholm, and entered Orebro on the 12th. Three days after, intelligence arrived from the capital that the revolution was already effected.

In fact, the movement of the army had brought affairs to a criſis. It was on Sunday, the 12th, that the news of its march reached Guſtavus, who was then at Haga. Thunderſtruck with the intelligence, he proceeded immediately to Stockholm: as ſoon as he had entered the palace, the gates were ſhut, and guards were poſted at the ſeveral entrances of the town, with orders to examine ſtrictly every perſon coming in, and to ſuffer no one to leave the capital. In the courſe of the night the moſt contradictory orders were deſpatched on every ſide. General Helving, the maſter of the ordnance, was commanded at his peril to get ſome artillery prepared to follow the king immediately, although there were at that time no artillery horſes in Stockholm.—All the great officers of ſtate were commanded to proceed to Nyköping; the ſecretary of ſtate was called up, and deſired to raiſe what money he could by the ſale of bills upon England; and it was vain that he repreſented the impoſſibility of tranſacting buſineſs of that kind at that hour. The commiſſioners of the bank were ordered to aſſemble at ſeven o'clock in the morning. Baron Roſenblad was diſpatched to inform them of the king's deſire to take with him a part of the money entruſted to their care, and to inquire of them whether they conceived the remainder to be in ſecurity. It was eaſy to infer from this meſſage the king's intention, which indeed be-

came evident when he afterwards ſaid, "That he might as well take the money as leave it to the rebels." The commiſſioners replied, "That they had received their truſt from the ſtates of the kingdom, without whoſe authority they did not conceive themſelves at liberty to ſurrender any part of the property of the bank, and that they did not ſuppoſe the bank in any danger." The troops were immediately to leave Stockholm; one of the German regiments, with ſome artillery, were to be marched againſt the weſtern army; and the proper officers were commiſſioned to make every exertion to collect the greateſt poſſible number of horſes.

In the mean while, thoſe who had engaged in the late conſpiracy again aſſembled. It was evident, from the meaſures deſcribed, that the king had determined upon leaving Stockholm. The poſſible conſequences of ſuch a ſtep were obvious; and it was reſolved to make one deſperate effort to avert them, before it ſhould yet be too late. Baron Adlercreutz, a nobleman who had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late campaign in Finland, was pitched upon to lead the way in this hazardous enterprize. In the courſe of the night, he held a conſultation with ſome officers, whom he appointed to meet him in the morning at the palace. Accordingly, at eight o'clock, they were aſſembled at the place of rendezvous. Upon enquiry, it was found that only four life-guards remained in the palace, the remainder having gone to prepare themſelves for the departure which the king had announced to them. There were about fifty officers in and about the palace, all equally acquainted with the deſign, and determined to venture every thing upon its execution. The gates were already cloſed by the king's own orders, and no one was now permitted to go out. Officers were poſted in different parts, and a great number were collected in the room adjoining the king's bed-chamber. Count Uglas was firſt called into the king. Soon after the Duke of Sudermania arrived, and went in juſt as Count Uglas came out. Baron Adlercreutz beſought the count that he would remain, but he anſwered that he had received orders from the king, which he muſt immediately execute. The baron then told him that he could not be permitted to leave the palace; that a moment of infinite importance was approaching, and that the king muſt be prevented from quitting Stockholm. The count ſaid that he had in vain uſed every argument with the king; and he begged that any further remonſtrance might be offered with caution. Adlercreutz replied that it was now intended to ſpeak to the king in a manner which he truſted would be effectual. The duke then came out, and Count Klingspor was called in; and, in the courſe of his converſation with the king, ſtrongly urged to him the imprudence of leaving the capital. This was the moment determined upon by Adlercreutz for executing the deſign. He aſſembled a number of officers, and entered the king's chamber. Advancing direct to his Majeſty, he proceeded to ſtate to him, "that the public mind was in the utmoſt irritation from the unfortunate circumſtances of the country, and particularly from

from his Majeſty's intended departure from Stockholm; that the higher officers of ſtate, and of the military, and the moſt reſpectable citizens, had encouraged him to repreſent the conſequences to his Majeſty, for which purpoſe"—— the king here interrupted him, loudly exclaiming "Treaſon! you are all corrupted, and ſhall be puniſhed." Adlercreutz anſwered coolly, "We are no traitors, but wiſh to ſave your Majeſty and our country." Guſtavus inſtantly drew his ſword, and the baron ruſhed in upon him, ſeized him round the waiſt, while Colonel Silverſparre took the ſword from his hands. The king then cried out "Help! help! they are going to murder me!"—They gave him every aſſurance of his perſonal ſafety, and he engaged to be more compoſed, provided they would return to him his ſword; a requeſt which they at firſt evaded, and at length, when he continued to urge it, refuſed; ſtating, at the ſame time, that he could no longer be allowed to interfere in the government of the kingdom. A few of the body guard, which had juſt arrived, and ſome ſervants of the palace, alarmed at the king's outcries, endeavoured to force the door, and in fact broke the upper pannel of it with their ſabres and pokers. Adlercreutz then ordered the door to be opened, and threw himſelf into the midſt of the crowd; he ſeized a ſabre from an huſſar, ſnatched from the adjutant-general his ſtaff of office, and preſenting it before him, ſaid that he now conſidered himſelf as adjutant-general, and in that capacity commanded the guards immediately to retire. After ſome heſitation they obeyed. The baron then proceeded to the guard-room, where he found a conſiderable number of the guards aſſembled. Theſe he tranquillized by aſſurances that the king's perſon was in no danger, and he then proceeded to take meaſures for the order and ſafety of the city. The citizens mounted guard at the bank and public offices, and the ſtreets were patroled by the cuiraſſiers and the burgher cavalry.

In the mean while a circumſtance occurred that threw the conſpirators into the utmoſt alarm. The king had requeſted to be ſpared the ſight of the officers who had been inſtrumental in his arreſt, and whom Adlercreutz had left with him to ſecure his perſon. Theſe officers therefore withdrew, and Count Uglas and General Count Stromfelt went in to ſtay with the king, and to endeavour to compoſe him. By ſome means, however, he contrived unperceived to draw Count Stromfelt's ſword, and refuſed, upon the count's requeſt, to return it, ſaying, that "the general was juſt as good a general as he a king, without a ſword." Adlercreutz had at this moment returned to the anti-chamber, and being informed of what had taken place, ſaw it would be neceſſary to have ſome officers in the room with the king: he ſelected two for this purpoſe, and was on his way to the chamber with them, when he was perceived advancing, by the king through the broken pannel. Guſtavus inſtantly made his eſcape through an oppoſite door, which had been left unguarded, and locked it on the other ſide. Adlercreutz ſaw the danger which was impending, and animated by the conſi-

deration of it, leaped againſt the door, burſt it open, and ran in purſuit of the king. The diſcovery of his eſcape had occaſioned the utmoſt diſmay among the conſpirators, and every ſtair was thronged with people ruſhing to the court of the palace, in order to intercept his evaſion. Guſtavus had already reached the court, having completely gained the advantage of the baron, and was making, with the ſword in his hand, towards the only gate which had been left open, when he was perceived and overtaken by Greiff, the keeper of his game. The king made a violent puſh at him, but ſo unſteadily as ſcarcely at all to wound him. He was then out of breath, his ſtrength exhauſted, and being eaſily overpowered, he ſuffered himſelf to be conveyed back to the palace, and by his own deſire was taken to the *white room*, where he was ſet down exactly oppoſite to the portrait of the late Queen of France, Maria Antoinette.

During the whole progreſs of this extraordinary enterprize, the moſt perfect tranquillity was preſerved in the capital; not the ſlighteſt ſymptom of diſcontent or diſpleaſure was betrayed by the people, and the theatre was obſerved to be unuſually crowded in the evening. When the perſon of the king was ſecured, Baron Adlercreutz, Colonel Silverſparre, and Count Klingspor, proceeded to the Duke of Sudermania, and are repreſented, as with ſome difficulty, prevailing upon his royal highneſs to take upon him the functions of protector. There can be little doubt, we apprehend, that the duke was privy to the intents of the conſpirators; but we can eaſily believe that motives of perſonal ambition were by no means the only, or the principal inducements of his aſſent to their deſign, and that there was nothing feigned in the reluctance with which, under all the circumſtances of his advanced age and declining health, he took upon himſelf the invidious reſponſibility of ſucceeding to the throne of his unfortunate nephew.

At two in the morning the king was conveyed, under an eſcort, to the palace of Drotningholm, about ſeven miles from Stockholm, and a few days after removed to Gripsholm, a royal caſtle, ſituated upon an iſland in the lake of Malar. The queen and the royal children remained for ſome time at Haga. On the ſame day a proclamation was iſſued by the Duke of Sudermania, announcing that he had been induced to take upon himſelf the conduct of government. On the following day, March 14, letters patent were diſpatched for the convention of a general diet on the 1ſt of May; a manifeſto was at the ſame time publiſhed by the duke regent, laying before the people the motives for the important change which had juſt been effected. Theſe were grounded chiefly upon the ruinous ſyſtem of foreign policy purſued by Guſtavus; his acceſſion to the coalition againſt France; his refuſal to become one of the contracting parties at Tilſit; and the conſequent loſs of Stralſund and Pomerania, the laſt remains of the conqueſts of the great Guſtavus. War with Ruſſia and Denmark had then followed. Finland was loſt by the obſtinate miſconduct of the government; the public neceſſities increaſed in proportion as the reſources failed; and

and yet it was univerſally known that the king had repeated his unalterable reſolution never to conclude a peace with the preſent government of France, a reſolution which rendered reconciliation with Ruſſia or Denmark impoſſible.—Seeing the approaching ruin of the country, the weſtern army reſolved to march to the capital, and take meaſures for its ſalvation; ſimilar movements took place among the troops in the north; the king was about to aſſemble a force in the ſouth to march againſt them; two diſtinct governments would thus have been formed, and a civil war would have filled up the meaſure of the national calamities. The moſt reſpectful remonſtrances againſt this deſperate determination of his Majeſty were rejected, and no other means, it was ſaid, remained for ſecuring even the ſafety of his own perſon, than forcibly to prevent him from carrying his purpoſe into effect.

Orders to propoſe an armiſtice were immediately ſent to the commander in Aland. It was known that the iſland was about to be attacked by a very ſuperior force, and that an army of 30,000 men was advancing on another quarter. After ſome difficulties a convention was agreed upon. Diſpatches at the ſame time were ſent to the French and Daniſh governments, and an armiſtice was concluded with Bernadotte, the French commander in Germany. Soon after Alopeus, the late Ruſſian ambaſſador at Stockholm, returned in his former capacity, and General Duroc arrived to negotiate on the part of France, during the ſeſſion of the diet. The Britiſh miniſter received no invitation to remain, and accordingly he withdrew.—Our conſul, however, was informed that licenſes would be granted to Britiſh veſſels until the 30th of September, and that if war ſhould enſue between the two countries, every reſpect would be ſhewn to the property of merchants.

The diet met, and its firſt act was to paſs a reſolution of thanks to Addleſparre, Adlercreutz, and the other leaders in the late revolution. An act of abdication from the depoſed Guſtavus was read: it was evidently of his own compoſition, and ſtated "in the bleſſed name of the moſt holy triune God, that ſince on that day ſeventeen years ago, we were proclaimed king, and with a bleeding heart aſcended a tenderly beloved and revered father's throne, it has been our endeavour to advance the proſperity and honour of that ancient kingdom, indiſpenſable to the happineſs of a free and independent nation. As we can now no longer exerciſe the royal functions, according to the purity of our intentions, nor preſerve peace and order in the kingdom, in a manner worthy of ourſelf and our ſubjects, we conſider it a holy duty to reſign our kingly calling, which we now do freely, and without compulſion, in order that we may be enabled to live the remainder of our days to the honour of God, wiſhing to all our ſubjects the grace and bleſſing of the Almighty, and better times to them and to their poſterity.—Yes! *fear* God, and honour the king." A *concluſum* was unanimouſly agreed to by the ſtates, by which, after enumerating the alleged grievances ſuffered under the government of Guſtavus, they declared that he had forfeited for himſelf

himſelf and his iſſue, now and for ever, the crown and government of Sweden, and that the compact between him and his ſubjects was irrevocably diſſolved.

The excluſion of the children of Guſtavus was attempted to be juſtified by the neceſſity which exiſted for the government of a king of mature age; and by "the apprehenſion of the renewal of ſimilar calamities from the influence of the principles and ſentiments inherited or impreſſed upon them."—But the former of theſe objections was obviouſly to be removed by the appointment of a regency, and the danger to be apprehended from the influence of Guſtavus on his children, was, it is clear, of a nature ſo looſe and indefinite, that it is impoſſible not to ſuppoſe the operation of reaſons more weighty than ſuch as are here expreſſed, in reſolving a meaſure ſo violent as that of a change of dynaſty, and one involving in its poſſible conſequences all the calamities attending upon a diſputed ſucceſſion. The proceeding is the more inexplicable, inaſmuch as the Duke of Sudermania had no children himſelf, and could not therefore be actuated by motives of ſelfiſh ambition, in excluding thoſe of his nephew.

While the diet was thus occupied in the ſettling of the government, intelligence arrived that the Ruſſians had ſuddenly broken the convention by taking poſſeſſion of Tornea, and making the garriſon priſoners. An official note from Count Romanzoff ſoon followed, in which it was affirmed that the object of Sweden was merely to protract matters, and that the emperor, feeling no confidence in the actual adminiſtration, felt himſelf obliged to continue hoſtilities, till the formation of a lawful government qualified to conclude a peace on the only terms his Imperial Majeſty could admit. The duke publiſhed a proclamation, declaring that in conſequence of the enemy's refuſal to acquieſce in the offer of terms the moſt equitable, hoſtilities were renewed, and that it was neceſſary to ſummon the military ſtrength of the whole kingdom. Theſe circumſtances rendered it more than ever expedient that the internal government and conſtitution of the country ſhould be finally arranged. Accordingly the Duke of Sudermania was elected king by the ſtates, under the name of Charles XIII. On the 29th of June he was crowned, and received the oath of fealty and allegiance from the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peaſantry, upon a throne erected in the great ſquare of Stockholm.

A new conſtitution was at the ſame time drawn up, and eſtabliſhed as the law of the land. By this the monarchy was to be hereditary in the iſſue male, the king to be a proteſtant, and to govern by the advice of ſtate council, on the members of which was to reſt all reſponſibility. No buſineſs was to be tranſacted but through them. Minutes were to be made of all their proceedings, and every one preſent was bound to give his advice. The privilege of determining, however, reſted with the king, who, in virtue of his prerogative, might, in extreme caſes, decide in contradiction to the votes and opinions of his whole council. The ſtates were to be aſſembled every fifth year; the bank was placed under their peculiar controul, and

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no taxes could be impoſed without the conſent of the diet. Liberty of ſpeech was aſſured the members of the diet; and a committee was to be formed for ſuperintending the freedom of the preſs. It had been expected that the nobles would have made ſome conceſſions of their privileges in the diet, particularly that of the exemption from taxes which their eſtates enjoyed; but in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the commons, they rejected any relaxation of what they conceived their rights on this point.

It remained now to fix the ſucceſſion to the crown. The new king was childleſs, and under his advanced years did not promiſe a long reign. Prince Chriſtian Auguſtus, of Sleſwic-Holſtein-Sonderburgh-Auguſtenburgh, at that time governor in Norway, was choſen crown prince. When informed of his election, he ſignified that his duty to his native country forbad his acceptance of the rank propoſed to him, till the reſtoration of peace in the north, when he would gladly join the brave Swedes who ſurrounded the throne. The depoſed Guſtavus was ſtill detained, under an eaſy confinement, at Gripſholm; but he repeatedly expreſſed a deſire to be allowed to leave the kingdom with his family, and join a religious ſociety at Chriſtiansfeld. After ſome conſideration it was reſolved that he ſhould be removed from Sweden, but that it was neceſſary to delay his departure till the reſtoration of peace. A meſſage was ſent to the ſtates from the new king, inforcing the neceſſity of making a proviſion for the unhappy prince and his family, in a manner becoming the generoſity of the nation. A valuation of the whole of the real and perſonal property belonging to Guſtavus was ordered, and is was found to yield a revenue of about 9,000*l.* A committee of the ſtates had reported, that an annual allowance of 15,000*l.* was required for the appropriate maintenance of the king and his family; and the remaining 6,000*l.* was therefore contributed by the ſtates. This laſt ſum was divided into three equal portions; of which one was aſſigned to the king, and another to the queen, during their lives, and the third to the children, ſo long as any of them ſurvived. The king, now ſtyled Count Gottorp, remanied all the ſummer at Gripſholm. He latterly became impatient for his liberation, but this it was thought neceſſary to delay, till the aſſent of Buonaparte for his reſidence in Switzerland could be procured. This at length arrived, and the king and queen, and their family, left Gripſholm for Carlſcrona, where a frigate had for ſome time been waiting to convey them to Stralſund, from whence they proceeded direct to Switzerland*; ſhortly after his departure

Dec. 6.

* Before he left Gripſholm, the unhappy prince had received a letter of condolence from a brother in ſimilar misfortune, the head of the baniſhed royal family of France:—"I never," ſaid Lewis XVIII. "felt the weight of my own misfortunes preſs ſo ſorely upon me as upon this occaſion, when, in the abſence of all power, I find myſelf reduced to expreſs my ſentiments in ardent, but ineffectual wiſhes. Still I have not loſt the hope that Providence, to whom your Majeſty addreſſed yourſelf from

departure the new crown prince arrived, and was welcomed with every demonſtration of reſpect and attachment on the part of the nation.

The negotiations with Ruſſia had broken off upon the point of the admiſſion of ſalt and colonial produce; articles which Sweden received from England, and which were abſolutely indiſpenſable for her people. The war therefore was renewed, and was proſecuted with various ſucceſs. The ſuperiority of the Ruſſian forces, however, aſſured to them advantages which would have been productive of more important conſequences, had the want of proviſions not diſabled them from following up their ſucceſſes. Alexander, however, was at length induced to give up the point he had before inſiſted upon, the excluſion of colonial produce and ſalt, and there remained little difficulty in adjuſting the other articles of the treaty. The governments Kymmenegard, Nyland and Tawaſtland, Abo and Biorneborg, with the iſlands of Aland, Savolax, Corelia, Waſa and Uleaborg, together with that part of Weſt Bothnia extending to the river Tornea, were ceded in full property and ſovereignty to Ruſſia, to remain for ever incorporated with that empire; and the ſea of Aland, the gulf of Bothnia, and the rivers of Tornea and Muonio, were hereafter to form the frontier between Ruſſia and the kingdom of Sweden. Theſe ceſſions are ſaid to include a fourth of the whole territory and a ſixth of the whole population of Sweden. The commercial relations between the ceded provinces and Sweden, which, it was ſaid, long intercourſe, neighbourhood, and reciprocal wants, had rendered almoſt indiſpenſable, were to continue as before; and the king of Sweden was further to be allowed annually to import from Ruſſian ports 50,000 tſchetwerts of corn, free of duty. By another article, the ports of Sweden were to be cloſed both to the ſhips of war and merchantmen of Great Britain, with an exception as to the importation of ſalt and colonial produce. Peace was ſoon after concluded with Denmark, by which both parties remained as they were before the war. The arrangement of the differences with France was not finally ſettled till the following year. Dec. 10.

In the courſe of the preſent ſummer, our ſhips in the Baltic, it was calculated, had made the capture of 90 Ruſſian veſſels and 340 Danes. A very gallant affair occurred in the Gulf of Finland, where the boats of an Engliſh ſquadron, under the command of Lieutenant Hawkey, of the Implacable, attacked a Ruſſian convoy, conſiſting of twelve ſhips, laden with ammunition and proviſions for the Ruſſian army, and protected by eight gun-boats and

from the beginning, will diſplay itſelf in the relief of you and your family, and at that moment I know the power to pardon will be the firſt of the attributes of the crown which you will think of exerciſing. Awaiting that happy day, I proteſt, as a king, againſt the violence offered to the ſacred perſon of Guſtavus IV. not only on account of my own individual feelings of friendſhip towards him, but alſo becauſe this outrage is a freſh application of principles deſtructive of all authority, and ſubverſive of all ſocial order."

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an armed ſhip. They were diſcovered under Penſacola Point, and in a poſition of extraordinary ſtrength, but our attack was completely ſucceſsful; ſix of the gun-boats were taken, and one ſunk; the armed ſhip was burnt, and the whole of the convoy brought out. Unfortunately, a grape ſhot mortally wounded Lieutenant Hawkey, while in the act of boarding one of the gun-boats. The ſucceſs was of importance, as the interception of this ſupply affected materially the progreſs of the invading army.

The incorporation of Finland formed an important acceſſion to the Ruſſian empire, and Alexander indulged the hope of yet further extending his dominions, by the addition of the Turkiſh provinces north of the Danube. Theſe conqueſts were unqueſtionably ſanctioned, and probably ſuggeſted, by the ſtipulations of the treaty of Tilſit. Buonaparte ſaw with ſatisfaction his ally engaged in wars, which at once waſted his reſources, and drew upon him the enmity and hatred of his neigbours; and had little difficulty in permitting the temporary occupation of provinces, which, ſo far from corroborating the military ſtrength of Ruſſia, only diſtracted, and gave her, for the preſent at leaſt, additional points of diſquietude and alarm.

The armiſtice, which had ſo long ſuſpended the hoſtile operations of the armies on the Danube, was ſedulouſly employed by Ruſſia in completing and concentrating her military means in that quarter, againſt the period when ſhe ſhould find it convenient to renew hoſtilities; a circumſtance ſoon occurred, which afforded the pretext wanted. As ſoon as the inſurrection which had deſtroyed Bairacter had, upon the completion of its object, ſubſided, the Ottoman adminiſtration, at the head of which was the new vizir, Yuſef Pacha, had leiſure to turn its attention to the ſtate of its foreign relations. Mr. Adair had been ſent by the Britiſh government, with the view of re-eſtabliſhing our amicable connections with the Porte, and the object of his miſſion was powerfully ſupported by the Auſtrian internuncio, Von Sturmer. Every exertion was made by the French miſſion at Conſtantinople, to counteract the influence of theſe envoys with the new divan, but the vizir, who was the ſame that had commanded the army in Egypt againſt the French, and concluded the convention of El Ariſh, was not to be duped by their inſidious repreſentations. On the 5th of January a treaty was ſigned with the Britiſh miniſter, by which it was ſtipulated that mutual reſtitution ſhould be made by both parties, provided there were any thing to be reſtored, and the relations between the two countries were re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as before the war.

Upon receiving the intelligence of the concluſion of this treaty, the Ruſſian cabinet affected the utmoſt indignation. The negociations which were carrying on at Yaſſy were ſuſpended, and the Ruſſian general ſent an expreſs to Conſtantinople, declaring that hoſtilities would be inſtantly reſumed, unleſs the Britiſh miniſter were diſmiſſed from the capital within the next four and twenty hours. The divan was not of a diſpoſition to ſubmit to mandates ſo humiliating. War was again recurred

curred to; a large army was aſſembled, for the moſt part from the Aſiatic provinces, and proceeded to the Danube, under the auſpices of the Sanjac Sherif, or holy ſtandard. A ſeries of ſkirmiſhes enſued, in which the Ruſſians commonly claimed the victory, but which were productive of no deciſive reſult. It was not till the cloſe of July that they croſſed the Danube at Galaz, and took poſſeſſion of the towns of Babad and Tultſcha. The war againſt the Servians was equally various in its fortune. The Servian leader, Jacob Nenadowitſch, obtained ſome advantages over the Turks on the Dwina, while a Turkiſh force ſucceeded in getting poſſeſſion of all the territory on the Morava, extending from Paſſarowitz to Takis and Nogadin.

Towards the autumn, however, both parties made preparations for a more vigorous proſecution of the war. Prince Bagrathion took the command on the Danube, and, in an affair with a body of 20,000 Turks, under the Seraſkier Gorru Paſha, achieved a bloody, but complete victory, in which the Ottomans are ſaid to have loſt a fourth of their number in killed, together with fifteen cannons and thirty ſtandards; the ſurvivors of their army eſcaped in diſorder to Kutſgun and Siliſtria. Kutſgun ſurrendered almoſt immediately on the approach of the Ruſſians, who ſhortly after obtained poſſeſſion of

Sept. 14. Keſterdſchi, Magolia, and Iſmael.

The next objects were the reduction of Siliſtria and Mangata. The latter place was chiefly important, as in great meaſure ſupplying Conſtantinople with ſalt. Both fortreſſes, it was expected, would be abandoned upon the appearance of the victorious army, and Mangata did, in fact, ſurrender without reſiſtance, to a detachment which the Ruſſian commander had ſent to ſummon it. Bagrathion then encamped before Siliſtria, but the divan, ſenſible of the importance of the place, made an effort of more than ordinary vigour to relieve it. Every exertion was made to collect the ſtrongeſt poſſible force, and, with this view, the greater part of the troops employed againſt the Servians were recalled, and marched upon Siliſtria. On the 22d of October they attacked the Ruſſian army, and a battle enſued, which was ſuſtained by both parties with the moſt deſperate obſtinacy till night-fall, when the arrival of a body of Albanian cavalry to the aid of the Turks, decided the day in their favour. The Ruſſians fell back to their camp, which was entrenched. A ſecond battle took place, in which they again ſuffered a defeat, and with a loſs which compelled them to repaſs the Danube. This, in great meaſure, cloſed the campaign for the year; nothing further of importance was undertaken by either army, and an armiſtice was ſoon after concluded with the Servians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Diſcouraging Aſpect of Political Affairs in Europe at the Cloſe of the preſent Year. Humiliation of Auſtria. Reverſes in Spain. Miſmanagement of our own Reſources. State of the Public Opinion. Singular Intereſt excited by the O. P. Riots at Covent Garden. Celebration of the Anniverſary of the King's Acceſſion by a general "Jubilee." Diſſenſions in the Cabinet. Duel between Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Canning. Statement of the Origin of the Quarrel. They both reſign. Reſignation and Death of the Duke of Portland. Propoſals are made to Lords Grey and Grenville for the Formation of a combined Adminiſtration, but without Effect. Completion of the New Cabinet. Letter from Buonaparte to the Emperor Alexander. His Animadverſion on the Conduct of the Britiſh Cabinet, and Profeſſion of Moderation towards Auſtria. He returns to Paris. Receives the Deputation from the Roman Departments. His Reply to their Addreſſes. His Speech to the Legiſlative Body, recapitulating his Succeſſes, and declaring the general Courſe of his Policy. Repudiates his Wife. His Declaration, and that of Joſephine, upon the Occaſion. An Act of Divorce is paſſed by the Senate. Publication of the Annual Expoſé of the State of France. The intended Re-Union of Holland is announced.

THE political horizon of Europe has never worn an aſpect of deeper gloom than toward the cloſe of this eventful year. The ſubjugation of the continent ſeemed nearly to have reached its conſummation, and when what appeared to be the laſt effort of Auſtria, for the vindication of her own independence, and that of Germany, was cruſhed by the fatal battle of Wagram, a ſentiment of hopeleſs depreſſion began to pervade all nations; a deſpondency, occaſioned leſs by the actual reſults of the war, as expreſſed in the proviſions of the treaty of Vienna, than by the conſideration of the general character of the campaign, and of the manner of its progreſs and concluſion. For three years had Auſtria unremittingly exerted herſelf in preparation for this laſt experiment; the ſpirit and enthuſiaſm of her people ſeemed fully awakened; her favourite and moſt diſtinguiſhed general had been placed at the head of the forces; ſhe took the field at the moment of her choice, and with a finer army than any which her monarchy, in its moſt flouriſhing period, had ever been able to call forth. But, as in 1805, ſo in 1809, a campaign of three months ſufficed for her ſubjugation. There ſeemed ſomething fatal in the aſcendancy of Napoleon's genius or fortune; and the character of rapidity and completeneſs which diſtinguiſhed the progreſs of his conqueſts, appeared more even than the overwhelming reſources which they had acquired to him, to depreſs and forbid all hope of effectual reſiſtance.

Spain, indeed, yet remained unſubdued; and it was clear that, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his arms in that quarter, it would not

not ceaſe to be a ſource of infinite annoyance and embarraſſment to him. But ſtill, it was not the leſs obvious, from the events of the campaign in Germany, that the reſult of the peninſula war had no neceſſary connection with the general fortune of his empire, nor any immediate tendency to effect the ſubſtantial baſis of its power. Even as a diverſion, its operation had ſcarcely been perceived; although the efforts of the Spaniards were about to be ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the aid of a powerful armament from England, Buonaparte had not the leſs found means to oppoſe to them forces more than ſufficient to overpower their utmoſt efforts, and at the ſame time to march an army into Germany, adequate to contend with the entire military means of the Auſtrian empire drawn out in array againſt him. Nor did the war in Spain, conſidered in its own reſults, afford much matter for conſolatory reflection or hope. The ſpirit of the people indeed was ſtill entire, and unſubdued; and it was eaſy to ſee that the invader could never hold a province, or a town, of the peninſula, under any other ſecurity than that afforded by the immediate operation of his camps and garriſons; but the particular conduct and progreſs of the campaign were any thing but encouraging. Notwithſtanding all the opportunities afforded by the revolutionary ſituation of that country, no one man had as yet riſen gifted with the civil or military abilities, ſuch as qualified him to yield with effect its energies and reſources. The government was as weak and diſtracted as ever; in the field the armies were almoſt invariably beaten, nor did there appear any tendency among the troops to acquire, in the courſe of ſuch protracted warfare, thoſe habits of order diſcipline, and military courage, which were neceſſary to fit them for a conflict with the veteran battalions of their enemy.

The apparent miſmanagement of our own reſources in the courſe of this eventful period, formed another and not leſs bitter topic of dejection and diſappointment. An army of above 80,000 Britiſh troops had been employed on the continent, at the very moment when the fate of Auſtria, and of Europe, was depending on the reſult of the hoſtilities in Germany, without, it ſhould ſeem, affecting in the ſlighteſt degree the fortune of our ally, or diverting the employment of any conſiderable portion of thoſe means which were ſo immediately directed to his deſtruction. The efforts of our Sicilian army, which did not conſiſt of leſs than 18,000 men, were confined to a few unimportant demonſtrations on the coaſt of Naples. In Spain, the advance and victory of our troops had only ſerved to prove the impracticability of combining any efficient operations with the Spaniſh armies, under their preſent ſyſtem of organization; and on the coaſt of Holland our operations had been deſtructive only to our own armament. By the revolution in Sweden, our laſt ally on the continent had loſt his throne; and the ſtate of our relations with America ſeemed more than ever to threaten that the only remaining neutral power of the civilized world was about to join the numbers of our enemies.

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The proſpects of the country, under theſe circumſtances, were ſufficiently gloomy, and, in fact, a conſiderable claſs of our politicians began to indulge in ſpeculations of the moſt unqualified deſpondency. According to them, the ſubjugation of Europe was complete; any further endeavour directly to attack the power of France, during the life of the preſent ruler, would merely end, as every ſimilar attempt had done, in the extenſion of her power, and the confirmation of her ſupremacy on the continent. The only reaſonable object that remained to us, was the ſecuring of our individual ſafety; and the ſole queſtion for diſcuſſion was, whether this object was more probably to be attained by reſuming our pacific relations towards France, or by our perſeverance in a war merely naval and defenſive, and purſued upon the ſyſtem of expence leaſt likely, in the long run, to affect the integrity of our reſources.

Theſe, however, were by no means the opinions of the government, who in this reſpect might be ſaid to follow only the general impulſe of the nation; the great maſs of which was decidedly bent upon proſecuting the war with all poſſible activity and perſeverance, and ſtill indulged in a certain undefined expectation of ultimately being able to effect the reduction of the power of France.

The momentous events which, in the courſe of the preſent year, engroſſed the hopes and fears of all Europe, had ceaſed early in the autumn to afford matter for ſpeculation or anxiety. The Auſtrian war was decided, the expedition to Zealand had failed and returned, our army in Spain ſeemed finally to have taken up its winter quarters on the Eſtremaduran frontier of Portugal; and, notwithſtanding the diſaſtrous circumſtances which darkened our political pr ſpects, the popular attention again reverted to topics of caſual or domeſtic intereſt, upon which it dwelt with its accuſtomed diſproportionate intenſity. An advance in the prices of admiſſion, which was attempted to be impoſed by the proprietors of the new playhouſe in Covent-garden, met with a ſingularly perſevering oppoſition on the part of the theatrical public, and the nightly hoſtilities which were in conſequence carried on at the theatre, formed for ſome time the principal ſubject of converſation in the capital. The celebration of the fiftieth anniverſary of the day of his Majeſty's acceſſion, afterwards occupied, and more reaſonably, the feelings and the intereſt of the nation. A ſpecies of Jubilee was on this occaſion ſolemnized throughout the kingdom, and gave an opportunity for the expreſſion, by thankſgivings, feaſts, and illuminations, of that affection and reverence which were ſo juſtly the tribute due to the virtues and the years of our venerable ſovereign.

It had long been rumoured that conſiderable differences exiſted between certain members of the preſent cabinet, and the fact was aſcertained in a ſingular manner, when, on the 21ſt of September, the ſecretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Canning, met Lord Caſtlereagh, the war ſecretary, upon Putney Heath, to ſettle their diſſenſions by a duel. The ground was meaſured at ten paces, and

they both fired by ſignal, but without effect. As Mr. Canning, who it ſeems was the perſon challenged upon this occaſion, offered nothing in the way of explanation, a ſecond fire took place, and the foreign ſecretary received his antagoniſt's ball in the right thigh. Fortunately the wound was not dangerous, neither the bone nor any of the arteries being injured.

The occaſion of this meeting came out ſhortly afterwards. It appears that, early in April, Mr. Canning had addreſſed a repreſentation to the Duke of Portland, on the ſtate of the adminiſtration, expreſſing his intention, unleſs ſome change were effected, to reſign his office. The change required, he afterwards explained, referred to the war department; and it was generally ſuppoſed to have been his wiſh, that Lord Caſtlereagh ſhould be replaced in that office by the Marquis Welleſley. The Duke of Portland requeſted Mr. Canning to ſuſpend for a time his reſignation, that he might have time to conſider what advice he ſhould lay before the king; and ſoon after his grace opened the ſubject to another member of the cabinet, who endeavoured to prevail upon Mr. Canning to forbear to preſs his reſignation until the cloſe of the ſeſſion, upon the ground of the difficulty which would exiſt in making any new arrangement during the ſitting of Parliament. Mr. Canning did not promiſe to accede to this, but he agreed that no ſtep in the matter could properly be taken till after the deciſion of the queſtion reſpecting the writerſhip. On the 28th of April, three days after that this queſtion had been ſettled, the Duke of Portland communicated the ſubject to Lord Camden, who agreed that, he thought, a change in Lord Caſtlereagh's ſituation deſirable, provided that it could be effected honourably for Lord Caſtlereagh; and "that it could be reconciled to Lord Caſtlereagh's feelings." With this view, four ſeveral plans were propoſed and abandoned; as, in fact, it was a matter of no ſmall difficulty, to arrange the affair in any manner, that, according to the condition, ſhould be perfectly "reconcileable to Lord Caſtlereagh's feelings." One of theſe arrangements had for its object, not the removal of his lordſhip, but a new diſtribution of the buſineſs of the war department, by which that part of it which was connected with political correſpondence ſhould be transferred to the foreign-office, and the buſineſs of another office, then vacant, tranſferred to the ſecretary of war. This, it was agreed, on the 21ſt of June, ſhould be carried into effect, and Lord Camden was directed, by the king, to communicate his deciſion to Lord Caſtlereagh. Lord Camden, however, ſeems to have felt the awkwardneſs of the commiſſion; and Mr. Canning finding, a week after, that nothing had been done, again, and earneſtly preſſed on his Majeſty, the acceptance of his reſignation.

By this time, it ſeems, that Lord Camden agreed to make the diſcloſure in queſtion to his noble friend, as ſoon as the expedition to Zealand had failed, which would be in leſs than a fortnight.

fortnight. Before this had elapsed, however, a new project was ſtarted. Lord Camden was to be induced to reſign his office of preſident of the council, and Lord Caſtlereagh to accept it, in lieu of his preſent ſituation, in which he was to be ſucceeded by the Marquis Welleſley. To this Lord Camden agreed; but upon the condition, that no change ſhould take place till after the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt, and that it ſhould be left to him to chooſe the time of making any communication to Lord Caſtlereagh.

July 13.

Mr. Canning repreſents himſelf, as remonſtrating warmly againſt theſe repeated delays, and reiterating the offer of his own reſignation, from which, however, he was diſſuaded by the Duke of Portland, who deſcribed the ſtep as probably leading to the diſſolution of the adminiſtration. Other members of the cabinet were equally urgent with him to conſent to acquieſce in the propoſed poſtponement. "It was repreſented to him, that if inſtead of preſſing for the execution of the arrangement now, time were allowed to Lord Caſtlereagh's friends to prepare him for the change, and to reconcile him to it, the arrangement might ultimately take place in an amicable manner, and that every public object might thus be anſwered, without any unneceſſary harſhneſs to the feelings of individuals. And that ſo far from finding freſh impediments raiſed, to the execution of the arrangement when the time arrived, he ſhould find all thoſe to whoſe repreſentations he yielded, conſidering themſelves pledged, equally with the Duke of Portland, to ſee it carried into effect *." Mr. Canning ſtates, that by theſe repreſentations and aſſurances, he was reluctantly, and, as he confeſſes, againſt his better judgment, induced to conſent to remain in office till the termination of the expedition.

The event of the expedition was known on the 2nd of September, and Mr. Canning immediately wrote to the Duke of Portland, reminding him, that the time was come, for offering the ſeals of the war-department to Lord Welleſley. Four days after, however, the Duke informed him, that no meaſures had been taken for preparing Lord Caſtlereagh for the change; and added, that he, (the Duke of Portland) had himſelf determined to retire from office. Mr. Canning immediately diſclaimed any wiſh, that the arrangement ſhould be carried into effect under circumſtances ſo unlooked for, and deſired the Duke of Portland to lay his reſignation that day before the king. The next day he declined attending the cabinet, conſidering, as he ſtated, in a letter to the Duke of Portland, his reſignation to be in his Majeſty's hands. After this cabinet, Lord Camden, for the firſt time, broke the whole affair to Lord Caſtlereagh, who immediately ſent in his reſignation, and ten days after wrote a letter to Mr. Canning, which produced the meeting we have deſcribed. The motive of Lord Caſtlereagh's re-

* Vide Mr. Canning's Letter to Lord Camden.

ſentment was not, of courſe, Mr. Canning's demanding, upon public grounds, his removal from his office. His complaint was (as he expreſſes himſelf, in his letter upon the occaſion to Mr. Canning) "that a promiſe for ſuch removal having been obtained, whereby you had pronounced it unfit that I ſhould remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my ſituation, as a miniſter of the crown, was made dependent upon your will and pleaſure, you continued to ſit in the ſame cabinet with me, and to leave me, not only in the perſuaſion that I poſſeſſed your confidence and ſupport as a colleague, but you allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, though thus virtually ſuperſeded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprize, of a moſt important nature, with your apparent concurrence and oſtenſible approbation. You were fully aware, that if my ſituation in the government were diſcloſed to me, I could not have ſubmitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and my public duty. You know I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me."

Mr. Canning's defence was, that all along he had earneſtly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of an immediate diſcloſure to Lord Caſtlereagh, and that it was only by the repreſentations of thoſe, whom he conſidered as Lord Caſtlereagh's friends, that he was induced to aſſent to its delay. But Lord Caſtlereagh, admitting this, aſſerted, that no man had a right to make uſe of ſuch a plea, in juſtification of an act affecting his honour, and the unfairneſs of which Mr. Canning had himſelf acknowledged. A character of intrigue, or inſidiouſneſs, has been ſometimes reproached to Mr. Canning's conduct in the progreſs of this affair, but as it appears to us with perfect injuſtice. That Mr. Canning had a right to wiſh, and to demand Lord Caſtlereagh's removal, is allowed, and whatever there might be reprehenſible in the manner in which he ſuffered this to be effected, was clearly occaſioned by a feeling, however miſunderſtood, of delicacy toward his colleague, and a deference to thoſe whom he conſidered as the noble lord's peculiar friends.

By theſe reſignations, and by that of the Duke of Portland, who died almoſt immediately afterwards, the cabinet ſeemed to be in a manner diſſolved; and Mr. Perceval wrote officially to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, who were then in the country, ſtating, that he was authorized by the king, to communicate with their lordſhips, for the purpoſe of forming an extenſive and combined adminiſtration, and requeſting that they would come to town, for the purpoſe of forwarding, as ſoon as poſſible, ſo important an object. Earl Grey replied, that had his Majeſty been pleaſed to ſignify, that he had any commands for him perſonally, he ſhould not have loſt a moment, in ſhewing his duty and obedience, by a prompt attendance on his royal pleaſure. But that when it was propoſed to him to communicate with his Majeſty's preſent miniſters, for the purpoſe of

of forming a combined adminiſtration with them, he felt he ſhould be wanting in duty to his Majeſty, and in fairneſs to them, if he did not frankly, and at once declare, that ſuch a union was, with reſpect to himſelf, impoſſible. This being the anſwer which he found himſelf under the neceſſity of giving, his appearance in London could be of no advantage, and might poſſibly be attended with ſerious inconvenience to the country, if, in conſequence of a leſs deciſive reply, any further delay ſhould take place in the formation of a ſettled government."

Lord Grenville, who was in Cornwall, came immediately to town, and then ſtated, in a letter to Mr. Perceval, the neceſſity which, equally with Earl Grey, he felt himſelf under, of declining the propoſed communication; being ſatisfied that it could not be productive of any public advantage. He added, "I truſt I need not ſay, that this opinion is founded, neither in any ſentiment of perſonal hoſtility, nor in a deſire of unneceſſarily prolonging political differences. To compoſe, not to enflame, the diviſions of the empire, has always been my anxious wiſh, and is now, more than ever, the duty of every loyal ſubject; but my acceſſion to the exiſting adminiſtration, could not, I am confident, in any reſpect, contribute to this object, nor could, I think, be conſidered in any other light, than that of a dereliction of public principle. This anſwer which I muſt have given to any ſuch propoſal, if made while the government was yet entire, cannot be varied by the retreat of ſome of its members. My objections are not perſonal, they apply to the principle of the government itſelf, and to the circumſtances which attended its appointment."

It is difficult, indeed, to underſtand what uſeful reſult could have been expected from theſe overtures, which, by implying a confeſſion of diſtreſs and weakneſs in the exiſting adminiſtration, would naturally tend to encourage in their opponents the hope of ſuperſeding it altogether, rather than any diſpoſition to prevent its fall by a coalition. After a ſhort pauſe, the new cabinet was announced as follows. Mr. Perceval ſucceeded the Duke of Portland as firſt lord of the treaſury, retaining his former office of chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Canning was replaced by the Marquis Welleſley. Lord Liverpool took the war-department, and was ſucceeded in the home-department by Mr. Ryder. Lord Palmerſtone became ſecretary at war, in the room of Sir James Pulteney. Earl Bathurſt took the ſeals of the foreign-office, till the return of Lord Welleſley, who was to be ſucceeded in the Spaniſh embaſſy, by his brother, Mr. Henry Welleſley. It had been doubted whether the Marquis would have accepted a place, in any arrangement which did not include Mr. Canning; it does not appear, however, that he made any difficulty upon this point, and his acceſſion to the cabinet was commonly conſidered, as an addition of ſtrength, fully equivalent to the loſſes ſuſtained by the late reſignations.

The diſſenſions of the Engliſh cabinet, afforded a ſubject of ani-

madverſion to Buonaparte, in a letter which, about this time, he took occaſion to write to the Emperor Alexander, to congratulate him upon the concluſion of the treaty with Sweden. "I ſend your majeſty," ſaid he, "the Engliſh journals laſt received. You will there ſee, that the Engliſh miniſters are fighting with each other; that there is a revolution in the miniſtry, and that all is perfect anarchy. The folly and abſurdity of that cabinet are beyond deſcription. They have recently occaſioned the deſtruction of from 25 to 30,000 men, in the moſt horrible country in the world; it would have been juſt as well to have thrown them into the ſea, ſo peſtilential are the marſhes of Walcheren. General Welleſley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himſelf into the heart of Spain, with 30,000 men, having on his flanks three armies, conſiſting of ninety battalions, and from forty to fifty ſquadrons; and, on his front, the army commanded by the king, which was of equal force. It is difficult to conceive ſuch an act of preſumption." Another part of this letter is remarkable. Alluding to the negotiation with Auſtria, which had lately been transferred to Vienna, he obſerves, "You will ſee by the treaty, that conformably with your wiſhes, the greater part of Gallicia will not change maſters; and that I have managed your intereſts as you would have done yourſelf, conciliating every thing with what honour required of me. The proſperity and welfare of the Duchy of Warſaw require that it ſhould poſſeſs the favourable regards of your majeſty; and your majeſty's ſubjects may reſt aſſured, that in no caſe, nor under any circumſtances, have they to expect any protection from me. I have given Auſtria," he continues, "the moſt advantageous peace ſhe could expect. She loſes only Saltzburg, and a mere trifle on the ſide of the Inn. She cedes nothing in Bohemia. On the ſide of Italy ſhe cedes only what is indiſpenſable for my communications with Dalmatia. The Auſtrian monarchy, therefore, remains entire. This is the ſecond experiment which I have been willing to make. I have uſed towards her a moderation, which ſhe had no right to expect. In this, I hope I have done what is gratifying to your majeſty."

This was written from the Schoenbrunn-palace, before the definitive arrangement of the treaty of Vienna. On his return to Paris, he received the deputies from the newly united Roman departments. In his reply to their addreſſes, he ſaid, "The French emperors, my predeceſſors, had ſeparated you from the territory of the empire, and aſſigned your country as a fief to your biſhops; but the welfare of my people no longer admits of any diviſion whatever. France and Italy muſt be completely united under the ſame ſyſtem. Beſides, you were in need of a powerful hand. It is not my intention that there ſhall be any, the leaſt change, made in the religion of our fathers. I, the eldeſt ſon of the church, will not depart from her boſom. Jeſus Chriſt did not deem it neceſſary to inveſt St. Peter

Peter with a ſecular ſupremacy. Your ſee, the firſt in Chriſtendom, ſhall remain ſuch. Your biſhop is the ſpiritual head of the Church, in like manner as I am its Cæſar. I give to God that which is God's, and to Cæſar that which is Cæſar's."

On the 3rd of December he went in ſtate to the cathedral of Notre Dame, where he heard maſs, and from thence proceeded to the palace of the legiſlative body. The ſame tone was maintained in his addreſs to this aſſembly, as in his reply to the Italian deputies. "Since your laſt ſeſſion," ſaid he, "I have reduced Arragon and Caſtile to ſubmiſſion, and driven from Madrid the fallacious government formed by England. I was marching upon Liſbon and Cadiz, when I was under the neceſſity of treading back my ſteps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have ſeen the riſe and termination of this fourth Punic war. Accuſtomed to the devotedneſs and courage of my armies, I muſt, nevertheleſs, under theſe circumſtances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my ſoldiers of Germany have given me. The genius of France conducted the Engliſh army: it has terminated its projects in the peſtilential marſhes of Walcheren. In that important period I remained 400 leagues diſtant, certain of the new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would diſplay. My hopes have not been deceived. Frenchmen! every one that ſhall oppoſe you ſhall be conquered and reduced to ſubmiſſion. Your grandeur ſhall be increaſed by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and proſperity. You have the force and energy of the Hercules of the ancients.

"I have united Tuſcany to the empire. The Tuſcans were worthy of it by the mildneſs of their character, by the attachment their anceſtors have always ſhewn us, and by the ſervices they have rendered to European civilization. Hiſtory pointed out to me the conduct I ought to purſue towards Rome. The popes become ſovereigns of part of Italy, have conſtantly ſhewn themſelves enemies of every preponderating power in the Peninſula: they have employed their ſpiritual power to injure it. It was then demonſtrated to me, that the ſpiritual influence exerciſed in ſtates, by a foreign ſovereign, was contrary to the independence of France, and to the dignity and ſafety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the neceſſity of the ſpiritual influence of the deſcendants of the firſt of the paſtors, I could not conciliate theſe grand intereſts but by annulling the donative of the French emperors, my predeceſſors, and by uniting the Roman ſtates to France.

"By the treaty of Vienna," he continued, "all the kings and ſovereigns, my allies, who have given me ſo many proofs of the conſtancy of their friendſhip, have acquired, and ſhall acquire, a freſh increaſe of territory. The Illyrian provinces ſtretch the frontiers of my great empire to the Saave. Contiguous to the empire of Conſtantinople, I ſhall find myſelf in a ſituation to watch over the firſt

intereſts of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraw herſelf from the fatal influence of England. I ſhall know how to puniſh her, if ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be governed by cunning and perfidious counſels.

"I have wiſhed to give the Swiſs nation a new proof of my eſteem, by annexing to my titles that of their mediator, and thus putting an end to all the uneaſineſs endeavoured to be ſpread among that brave people. Holland placed between England and France, is equally bruiſed by them. Yet ſhe is the debouché of the principal arteries of my empire. Changes will become neceſſary; the ſafety of my frontiers, and the well-underſtood intereſts of the two countries, imperiouſly require them.

"Sweden has loſt by her alliance with England, after a diſaſtrous war, the fineſt and moſt important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wiſe prince that governs her now, had aſcended the throne ſome years ſooner. This example proves a-new to kings, that the alliance of England is the ſureſt preſage of ruin. My ally and friend, the Emperor of Ruſſia, has united to his vaſt empire, Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a diſtrict of Gallicia. I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that empire. My ſentiments for its illuſtrious ſovereign, are in uniſon with my policy. When I ſhall ſhew myſelf beyond the Pyrenees, the affrighted leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid ſhame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil—of moderation, order, and morality, over civil war, anarchy, and the bad paſſions. My friendſhip and protection will, I hope, reſtore tranquillity and happineſs to the people of Spain."

We have given this ſpeech in full; it is, in fact, a memorable record of human arrogance and pride; a ſtriking monument of the exiſtence of a power, beyond compariſon, the greateſt that ever tyranniſed over civilized man. There ſeemed to be nothing wanting to the conſummation of the fortunes of this extraordinary being, than the birth of a ſon who might inherit the fruits of his conqueſts, and give permanence and eſtabliſhment to the vaſt fabric of empire, which his arms and his violence had created. From his preſent wife, however, he could have no expectation of an heir; but it had long been rumoured to be his purpoſe to repudiate Joſephine, and, by an alliance with one of the legitimate thrones of Europe, at once to ſanctify, in ſome meaſure, and to perpetuate his dynaſty.

The adoption of this meaſure was now the ſubject of general expectation. He had, about this time, ſummoned to his capital all the ſo-ſtyled ſovereigns and princes of his blood, with the exception of his brother Joſeph, together with the greater number of the confederated princes of the Rheniſh league; and it became apparent that ſome new change was about to take place. Accordingly on the 15th of December, the Prince Arch-chancellor Cambacéres,

bacéres, received a private letter from his maſter, deſiring his attendance, accompanied by the civil ſecretary of ſtate, Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, in the grand cabinet of the Thuilleries, to receive a communication of great moment. On proceeding to the palace, they were introduced into the cabinet, where they found "his Majeſty the Emperor and King, with her Majeſty the Empreſs, attended by their Majeſties the Kings of Holland, Weſtphalia, and Naples; his Imperial Highneſs the Prince Viceroy; the Queens of Holland, Weſtphalia, Naples, and Spain; Madame, and her Imperial Highneſs the Princeſs Paulina;" and Buonaparte proceeded to addreſs Cambacéres in the following terms:—"My couſin, I diſpatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpoſe of communicating to you a reſolution, which I and the Empreſs, my deareſt conſort, have taken. The politics of my monarchy, the intereſt and the wants of my people, which have conſtantly guided all my actions, require, that after me, I ſhould leave to children, inheritors of my love, for my people, that throne, on which Providence has placed me; notwithſtanding, for ſeveral years paſt, I have loſt the hope of having children, by my marriage with my well-beloved conſort the Empreſs Joſephine. This it is which induces me to ſacrifice the ſweeteſt affections of my heart, to attend to nothing but the good of the ſtate, and to wiſh the diſſolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and ſentiments, the children which it may pleaſe Providence to give me: God knows how much ſuch a reſolution has coſt my heart; but there is no ſacrifice beyond my courage which I will not make, when it is proved to me to be neceſſary to the welfare of France. I ſhould add, that far from ever having had reaſon to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be ſatisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved conſort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life; the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wiſh ſhe ſhould preſerve the rank and title of Empreſs; but, above all, that ſhe ſhould never doubt my ſentiments, and, that ſhe ſhould ever regard me as her beſt and deareſt friend."

Joſephine then declared on her part, that "retaining no longer any hope of having children, which might fulfil the wants of her huſband's policy, and the intereſts of France, ſhe was pleaſed to give to him the greateſt proof of attachment and devotion which had ever been given on earth. She poſſeſſed all from his bounty, it was his hand that crowned her; and ſhe thought ſhe proved herſelf grateful, in conſenting to the diſſolution of a marriage, which heretofore had been an obſtacle to the welfare of France. But this would, in no degree, change the ſentiments of her heart. The Emperor would ever have in her his beſt friend. She knew how much this act, demanded by policy, and by intereſts ſo great, had chilled

his

his heart; but they both exulted in the ſacrifice which they made for the good of the country."

A proceſs verbal, of theſe declarations, was then written out, and ſigned by both parties, and afterwards by "the kings, queens, princes, and princeſſes," there preſent. A ſenatus conſultum, founded upon this, was drawn up and paſſed, whereby the marriage contracted between the emperor and empreſs was declared to be diſſolved; and Joſephine was to retain the rank and title of empreſs-queen, crowned with a dowry of two millions of francs annually. In preſenting it to the conſervative ſenate, Count Regnault obſerved, that "the ſolemn act fully ſet forth in the ſenatus conſultum, juſt read, contains all its motives. What words could we addreſs to the ſenate of France, but would be far below the affecting ſounds received from the mouths of theſe two auguſt conforts, of whom your deliberations will conſecrate the generous reſolutions. Their hearts have coincided in making the nobleſt ſacrifices to the greateſt of intereſts. They have coincided to make policy and ſentiment ſpeak language, the moſt true, the moſt perſuaſive, the moſt adapted to move and convince. As ſovereigns and as conſorts, the emperor and empreſs have done all, have ſaid all. There only remains for us, to love, to bleſs, and to admire them."

It was not yet known from which of the imperial or royal houſes of Europe, was to be ſelected the future conſort of this "man of deſtiny." The daughter of the King of Saxony was for ſome time talked of as the empreſs elect; and it was expected that ſhe would bring the inheritance of her father's ſtates, as a dowry. In caſe an imperial alliance ſhould be conſidered indiſpenſably neceſſary, for the dignity of the houſe of Ajaccio, the ſtate of political relations rendered it more probable that it ſhould be ſought for in the family of "his good brother and ally," the Emperor Alexander, than in the yet haughty, though humbled, houſe of Auſtria.

The publication of the annual expoſition of the ſituation of the empire, was among the laſt acts of the French government in the preſent year. It was chiefly remarkable, by the more explicit annunciation of a meaſure, the intended adoption of which, had been alluded to in the ſpeech of Buonaparte to the legiſlative body, viz. the reunion of Holland to the French empire.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. *NEW Theatre.*—The ceremony of laying the foundation ſtone of the new theatre in Covent-Garden, yeſterday, attracted a prodigious number of ſpectators to the ſpot. No labour or expence had been ſpared to accommodate the maſonic order, the ſubſcribers, and the friends of the proprietors, performers, &c. The avenue for admiſſion was at the Piazza door. Large bodies of civil and military officers were properly ſtationed, in order to prevent confuſion and diſorder. A braſs box, as uſual on ſimilar occaſions, filled with coins of the preſent reign, and a record of the event, were depoſited in the ſtone. A ſilver trowel, of beautiful workmanſhip, was preſented to the Prince of Wales.

At half paſt twelve the Duke of Bedford, Earl Moira, and other diſtinguiſhed members of the ſociety of Free-Maſons, proceeded in grand proceſſion from the Free-Maſon's tavern to the ſite of the new theatre.—They were here received by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, as grand maſter, and ſome of his royal brothers—Every preparation, requiſite both for grandeur and convenience, had been made. The area was ſurrounded with ſcaffolding, on which temporary ſeats had been raiſed for ſpectators. The terrace upon which the prince deſcended from his carriage was an erection of wood, matted and covered with green baize. An awning was raiſed over his head: and his royal highneſs led the way at the head of the proceſſion to the north-eaſt corner of the ſite of the new building, where the ſtone was ſuſpended by a ſtrong cord; it was in weight about half a ton.

The upper part of the ſtone being raiſed, the prince depoſited in it a braſs box, containing two medals, one of bronze, on which was a portrait of his royal highneſs, and on the reverſe, the following inſcription:

'Georgius
Princeps · Walliarum
Theatri
Regiis · Inſtaurandi · Auſpiciis
In · Hortis · Benedictinis
Londini
Fundamenta
Suâ · Manu · Locavit
M.DCCC. VIII.'

The

The other medal was deeply engraved in copper: on one ſide is inſcribed:

'Under the Auſpices of
His moſt ſacred Majeſty
George III.
King of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland,
The Foundation-ſtone of the
Theatre, Covent-Garden,
Was laid by his Royal Highneſs
George Prince of Wales,'
M.DCCC.VIII.'

On the other ſide is engraved:

'Robert Smirke, Architect.'

There were depoſited alſo, gold, ſilver, and copper Britiſh coins of the lateſt coinage. The cement being then prepared, he adjuſted the ſame with his trowel, and the ſtone was let down whilſt a martial air was played.

The G. M. then tried the works by the plumb, the level, and the ſquare, which were ſeverally preſented to him by the J.W. the S.W. and deputy G. M. and having found it correct, he laid the ſtone by giving three knocks with his mallet.

The corn, wine, and oil, were then preſented to the G. M. he ſcattered and poured them on the ſtone, and immediately afterwards delivered to the architect the plan of the building, deſiring him to complete the ſtructure according to that plan; wiſhing ſucceſs and proſperity to the work and the general object of it.

A *feu de joie* was then fired, and his royal highneſs retired.

The brothers returned to the hall in proceſſion, and the Grand Lodge was cloſed.

FAMILY OF BUONAPARTE.

Napoleon - - -	Emperor of France and king of Italy.
Joſeph Buonaparte - -	King of Spain.
Louis Buonaparte - -	King of Holland.
Jerome Buonaparte - -	King of Weſtphalia.
Eugene Beauharnois, ſtepſon to Napoleon - -	Viceroy of Italy.
Infant daughter of ditto -	Princeſs of Bologna.
Joachim Murat, brother-in-law to Napoleon -	King of Naples.
Cardinal Feſch, uncle to Napoleon - -	Archbiſhop of Lyons and primate of the confederation of the Rhine.

Vaſſal Kings of Buonaparte's Creation.

King of Bavaria.
King of Wurtemberg.
King of Saxony.

Some of the French Nobility created by Buonaparte.

C. M. Talleyrand -	Prince of Benevento, in the kingdom of Naples.
Marſhal Bernadotte -	Prince of Ponte Corvo.
——— Berthier -	Prince of Neufchatel (Switzerland.)
——— Marmont -	Duke of Raguſa (Dalmatia.)
——— Junot - -	Duke of Abrantes (Portugal.)

Marſhal

Marſhal Savary - Duke of Rovigo (Italy, near Venice.)
——— Davouſt - Duke of Auerſtadt.
——— Augereau - Duke of Caſtiglioné (in Italy, near Mantua.)
——— Beſſieres - Duke of Iſtria (Eaſt of the Venetian Gulf.)
——— Kellerman - Duke of Valmy.
——— Arrighi - Duke of Padua (near Venice.)
——— Caulincourt Duke of Vicenza (near Venice.)
——— Duroc - - Duke of Frioli (north of Venice.)
——— Victor - - Duke of Belluno (near Venice.)
——— Soult - - Duke of Dalmatia (Gulf of Venice.)
——— Lefebre - Duke of Dantzick.
——— Moncey - Duke of Cornegliano (in Italy, near Parma.)
——— Mortier - Duke of Treviſo (near Venice.)
——— Maſſena - Duke of Rivoli (near Turin.)
——— Ney - - Duke of Elchingen (Germany, circle of Swabia.)
——— Laſnes - - Duke of Montebello (Italy) killed.
Monſ. Cambaceres - Duke of Parma (Italy.)
——— Lebrun - Duke of Placenza (Italy.)
——— Lacue - - Count Seſſac.
——— Clark - - Count Huenberg.

Supplies ſent to Spain and Portugal.
Sent ſince the 1ſt of May 1808.

Pieces of cannon - 98, and 31,600 rounds of ammunition.
Howitzers - 38, and 7,200 do.
Carronades - 90, and 4,000 do.
Muſquets - - - 200,177
Rifles - - - 200
Swords - - - 61,391
Pikes - - - 79,000
Infantry accoutrement, ſets 39,000
Ball cartridges - 23,477,955
Lead balls - - 6,060,000
Whole barrels of powder 15,400
Specie - - 1,931,903*l.*
Bills of exchange negotiated 200,434*l.*
Camp equipage - - 10,000
Tents - - - 40,000
Linen—yards - - 118,000
Cloth—do. - - 125,000
Calico—do. - - 82,000
Serge—pieces - - 6,485
Cloth—do. - - 4,016
Great coats - - 50,000
Suits of clothing - 92,000
Shirts - - - 35,000
Shoes - - - 96,000
Shoe ſoles - - 15,000
Calico—pieces - - 22,212
&c. &c. &c.
Canteens - - 50,000
Haverſacks - - 54,000
Hats and caps - - 16,000
Pouches and belts - 240,000
Pieces ſheeting - - 762

On their paſſage.

Cloth—pieces - - 238
Shirts - - - 4,100
Pouches - - - 47,000
Shoes - - - 78,000
Shoe ſoles - - 35,000
Boots - - - 8,100

To be ſhipped as ſoon as received from contractors.

Boots - - - 28,400
Shoes - - - 233,400
Suits - - - 100
Pouches - - - 150,150
Cloth—yards - - 125,000

4th. On this day, Wedneſday, the fiſh market at Billingſgate produced only *four* cod fiſh; they were

were bought by a fiſhmonger, at the *moderate* price of fourteen guineas. The price of ſalmon has ſince been ſtill more exorbitant: it has been ſold for a guinea a pound.

A young gentleman, of the name of Stewart, who had lately arrived in town from the Highlands of Scotland, was robbed in the Green-park, of his watch and ſome ſilver, by a lady, (ſuppoſed to be a man in female attire,) in the following moſt ſingular manner: As he was walking, about nine o'clock, in St. James's-park, on his way to Pimlico, where he lodges, he was familiarly accoſted by a tall lady, elegantly dreſſed, and prevailed upon to accompany her through the Green-park, to her reſidence in Half Moon-ſtreet, Piccadilly, to partake of a comfortable ſupper; but as ſoon as they had arrived at the weſt end of the reſervoir, ſhe made a ſudden halt, and preſenting a piſtol to the gentleman's breaſt, ſhe ſwore, that unleſs he placed his watch and all his money on the ſeat, he was a dead man. With the utmoſt dread and amazement he complied with her demand; and after ſhe had laid up her plunder, ſhe opened the door leading into Piccadilly, by means of a key, and on ſhutting the ſame behind her, warned him to beware in future of bad company, and wiſhed him good night.

A more affecting caſe than the following has ſeldom occurred. The wife of Mr. Middleton, a farmer, at Winmoor, near Heſlarton, upon the Wolds, Yorkſhire, with her infant child, her ſiſter, and the houſekeeper, had been at a farm houſe of Mr. Middleton's, at a little diſtance, and ſet out on their return home on the afternoon of Saturday ſe'night. Two men belonging to the farm had been with Mr. Middleton afterwards, and told him of the party having left the farm, but ſuppoſed, as the day was ſo ſtormy, they muſt have returned, with an intention of ſtopping there for the night. Should this not prove to be the caſe, the men propoſed to go back immediately to Mr. Middleton, and inform him of it. Not hearing any thing from them, Mr. Middleton ſuppoſed the party had returned, and were ſafe. About ten o'clock at night, however, as he was going to look after ſome ſheep near the houſe, his foot ſtruck againſt ſomething, which, on examination, proved to be the body of a dead child; and his aſtoniſhment and affliction may more eaſily be conceived than expreſſed, when he found it to be his own and only daughter. On making further ſearch immediately, his wife and houſekeeper, and his wife's ſiſter, were found at a ſhort diſtance nearly lifeleſs: the two former are recovering, but his ſiſter has loſt the uſe of her limbs, and little hopes are entertained of her regaining the uſe of them.

At Dowgate chalk pit, near Welling, Bucks, as four- 7th.
teen men were at work in the pit, which is 100 feet deep, an impending cliff gave way, and buried ſeven of them, with two carts and four horſes. Six perſons were dug out within twelve hours, two of whom were dead, and the others are in a fair way. The ſeventh, man eſcaped without a bruiſe, having been protected by a cart. The horſes, though not killed, were rendered unſerviceable.

The following accident happened

ed at Downham market, on Thurſday ſe'night. As Mr. Poll was attending his mill with his brother, a ſudden ſquall of wind cauſed it to ſeparate, and it fell to pieces in an inſtant. One of them was in the upper floor, in the act of putting wheat into the hopper; the other attending a different department. The ſtones, wheels, and about two ſcore of wheat fell in the confuſion. Mr. Poll had the preſence of mind to leap from the upper ſtair, (it being a poſt windmill) and eſcaped with a ſlight bruiſe on the hand; his brother was precipitated to the ground in the midſt of the ruins, with upwards of twenty-nine ſacks of wheat around him, one of which fell upon him; but, wonderful to relate, he received not the leaſt injury.

8th. The grand bas-relief which adorns the pediments of the colonnade of the Louvre, at Paris, has been recently expoſed to view. It is deſcribed as being the moſt magnificent piece of modern ſculpture to be ſeen. It is ſeventy-four feet long by fourteen broad, without including the cornices. It repreſents the Muſes celebrating the glory of Napoleon, as protector of the arts, and to whom France is indebted for the finiſhing of the Louvre, ſo vainly wiſhed for by the nation, and by ten ſovereigns, for nearly three centuries.

A large picture of King Charles I. on horſeback, which has for a long time hung diſregarded in the hall of the Middle Temple, having lately been cleaned, is declared by a connoiſſeur to be a very fine original by Vandyck; and it is conjectured, that as James II. was a member of the Middle Temple, he was the donor of this valuable painting to the ſociety.

14th. An enormous fiſh was laſt week deſcried near Penryhn Quay, which was immediately attacked by the boats. The firſt it encloſed as it were in a pond formed by a circular curve from the head to the tail, without doing any injury. A man then courageouſly cut a hole in the dorſal fin, through which he drove a hooked rope. By this means the animal, after prodigious efforts to eſcape, during which he ſnapped a ſix-inch rope, tore up a moor-ſtone poſt on the quay, and dragged a ſloop's anchor, was towed on ſhore. It meaſures thirty-one feet long and nineteen round, and its liver yielded eight barrels of oil. Pennant terms it the ſun-fiſh, or baſking-ſhark.

Bank forgery.—On Friday 15th. John Nicholls was indicted for uttering a forged 5*l.* bank note, with intent to defraud the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. On the 20th December laſt, Vincent Aleſſi, an Italian, offered a bank note in payment for two bottles of wine, to a perſon of the name of Taylor, reſident in Holborn. The note, on inquiry, turned out a bad one, and Aleſſi was immediately taken into cuſtody. He then diſcloſed, that he purchaſed the note in queſtion from the priſoner Nicholls, who reſided at Birmingham, to buy plated goods, to carry with him to Spain; the perſon with whom he dealt produced a 1*l.* note, and aſked him if he would buy any of thoſe articles, and ſaid he would introduce him to the maker. Accordingly in the evening he was introduced to the priſoner Nicholls, and he bought ſome

ſome notes of him. It was then agreed, if he wanted any more, he was to write for them under the name of candleſticks. He added, that the priſoner had been in town, and ſold him the note which he had tendered at his lodgings, at the Lemon Tree, in the Haymarket.

In order to confirm the truth of the ſtory, it was ſettled between the officers and him, that he was to write to the priſoner for a freſh ſupply, and to invite the priſoner to come to town with them, for which he offered him two guineas as the expence of his journey. He accordingly wrote for twenty candleſticks, No. 5, meaning 5*l.* notes, and two dozen ditto, No. 1, meaning one pounds. To this letter he received an anſwer that the priſoner was to be in town on a certain day. It was then further concerted that the officers ſhould be in an adjoining room in waiting, from which they could ſee through a hole in the partition, and as ſoon as Aleſſi had aſcertained that the priſoner had got the notes about him he was to put on his hat, as a ſignal to the officers. The priſoner arrived at the Lemon Tree as appointed, and Aleſſi met him in the club room. Foy, the officer, and three of his comrades, were planted in the adjoining room. Aleſſi and the priſoner entered into converſation, and on the appointed ſignal the officers ruſhed into the room and ſeized the priſoner. They ſecured him, and found twenty 5*l.* notes, twenty-four of 1*l.* ditto, and four of 2*l.* all of which proved to be forged, and from the ſame plate. The whole of theſe facts were proved by Aleſſi, and confirmed by the officers and the other witneſſes.

The jury found the priſoner *guilty*.

Aleſſi was himſelf indicted, but the bank offered no evidence againſt him, for the purpoſe of making him a witneſs againſt the priſoner.

17th. Purſuant to a vote of the Houſe of Commons, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, a *national vaccine eſtabliſhment* is now formed, by direction of his Majeſty, for the purpoſe of promoting vaccination throughout the united kingdom; and is under the management of a board, conſiſting of the following members:—Sir Lucas Pepys, Bart. Preſident of the Royal College of Phyſicians in London; Dr. Mayo, Dr. Heberden, Dr. Satterly, and Dr. Bancroft, Cenſors of the College. George Chandler, Eſq. Maſter, Robert Keate, Eſq. and Sir Charles Blicke, Governors of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Director, Edward Jenner, M. D. F.R.S. Aſſiſtant Director, James Moore, Eſq. Regiſtrar, Dr. Hervey. Principal Vaccinators J. C. Carpue, Eſq. Vaccinators at the ſtations: Charles R. Aikin, Thomas Halls, Richard Lane, Edward Leeſe, S. Sawrey, and J. P. Vincent, Eſqrs. Secretary, Charles Murray, Eſq.

The houſe of the eſtabliſhment is at No. 21, Leiceſter-ſquare.

18th. *Scotland.—Earthquake.* — On this day twelvemonth was felt, at Dunning, in Perthſhire, about two o'clock A. M. a ſhock of an earthquake. Mr. Peter Martin, ſurgeon, in Dunning, gives the following account of it:—He was coming home at the time on horſeback, when his attention was ſuddenly attracted by a ſeemingly ſubterraneous noiſe, and his horſe immediately

mediately ſtopping, he perceived the ſound to proceed from the north-weſt. After continuing for about the ſpace of half a minute, it became louder and louder, and apparently nearer, when, all on a ſudden, the earth gave a perpendicular heave, and, with a tremulous waving motion, ſeemed to roll or move in a ſouth-eaſt direction. The noiſe was greater during the ſhock than before it, and for ſome ſeconds after it was ſo loud, that it made the circumjacent mountains re-echo with the ſound; after which, in the courſe of about half a minute, it gradually died away. At this time, the atmoſphere was calm, denſe, and cloudy, and for ſome hours before and after there was not the leaſt motion in the air. Fahrenheit's thermometer, when examined, about half an hour after the ſhock, indicated a temperature of 15 degrees below the freezing point of water. The preceding day was calm and cloudy; thermometer, eight A. M. 14. eight P. M. 13. The morning of the 18th was calm and cloudy, but the day broke up to ſun-ſhine; thermometer, eight A. M. 19. eight P. M. 16. This was a greater ſhock than that felt at the ſame place on the 9th of September, about ſix A. M. ſeveral years ago, and had it been ſucceeded by another equally violent, it muſt have damaged the houſes, but fortunately we have heard of no harm being done.

Several veſſels below bridge having their cables cut by the floating ice, were of courſe adrift and in much confuſion. They were carried with the impetuoſity of the morning tide towards London-bridge: and a large weſt-country barge ran with her bows under the centre arch, and her maſt beat for a long time with ſuch violence againſt the battlements, as to looſen the maſonry for a conſiderable diſtance. This was about four o'clock in the morning; and the bargemen, for the imagined ſecurity of the veſſel, climbed the maſt, laſhed it to the balluſtrade, and then returned to the deck to wait the day-light and return of the tide. But ſuch was the force of the exiſting current, that upwards of fifteen yards of the baluſtrade were thrown into the river, and four men were killed on board the barge by the ſtones.

Nothing in the recollection of the preſent times was known like the effect of the fall of water from the ſky, about three o'clock on Thurſday laſt, in the metropolis. When the rain firſt deſcended, it ſo immediately froze on the warmeſt garments of the paſſengers, that ſeveral of the members, when they arrived at the Houſe of Commons, had great difficulty in getting the flaps of their hats thawed, or broken from their great coats. All umbrellas became inſtantly petrified, and the ſtreet ways became ſo perfectly glazed, that two gentlemen put on their ſkates at Hyde-park-corner, and ſkated beyond St. James's church.

19th. The weather this day was ſingularly fatal in its effects to many of the feathered tribe in Kent. The admirable mechaniſm of their feathers was ſo deranged by the rain, which as it fell on them was converted into ice, that their wings were deprived of the power of motion, and the birds dropped to the ground. In the neighbourhood of Maidſtone, large numbers of larks, with ſome wood pigeons,

pheaſants, and partridges, were caught alive by the hand. A boy in the ſervice of a miller at Leybourne, picked up, in a field of forty acres, belonging to his maſter, ninety-five larks, twenty-ſix rooks, three partridges, and two pheaſants.

22d. *Fire at St. James's Palace.*—About half after two this morning a fire broke out in the apartments of the Duke of Cambridge, at St. James's Palace, which raged with great fury for ſome time. The centinels immediately gave the alarm, and as ſoon as poſſible engines arrived from all quarters. At firſt there was a great difficulty in procuring water, but the pipes were extended to the canal in the park, and it was then obtained in abundance. It was, however, impoſſible, for ſome time, to check the rage of the devouring element, and the whole interior of the ſouth-eaſt angle, fronting Marlborough-houſe, and extending to the firſt ſouthern turret, including the turret, was entirely deſtroyed. The walls and chimnies are ſtanding, and exhibit a mere ſhell. The duke was in bed at the time when the alarm was given, but happily eſcaped from all danger. The property conſumed belonged to the duke, and conſiſted chiefly of curious armour, valuable cabinet pictures, rarities, &c. of which hardly any thing has been ſaved. Conſiderable part of the furniture was ſpeedily removed into the palace garden.

The flames were checked when they reached the ſouthern turret.

Nothing of the fire can be ſeen from Pall-Mall, or St. James's-ſtreet.

Water was alſo ſufficiently ſupplied from the plugs on the weſtern ſide of the palace, but the moſt convenient reſource, on account of the direction which the fire took, was derived from the canal.

The horſe guards paraded on both ſides of the palace, in order to keep off the crowd, which aſſembled in vaſt numbers, but no diſturbance or confuſion happened.

Part of the royal armoury is deſtroyed; but the contents were in a great degree removed in due time.

It has been reported that one of the maids of honour fell a victim to ſuffocation, and that a female domeſtic was burnt to death: but we have reaſon to believe that this report was without foundation, as the alarm was given by the centinels the moment that the fire made its appearance, and though its progreſs was rapid before the engines arrived, yet there was full time for the inhabitants of the palace to ſave themſelves, though not to remove the property.

27th. The ſudden thaw has produced effects in the ſtreets of the metropolis, and the roads in the neighbourhood, which have been ſcarcely paralleled at any former period. The water produced by the melting of a vaſt body of ſnow, has rendered ſome of the roads quite impaſſable, and the torrents which have thus been cauſed have done great damage. At Battle Bridge, Gray's Inn-lane Road, the water, on Wedneſday, ruſhed into the houſes, and the inhabitants were forced to fly to the upper ſtories for protection, the road could only be paſſed with great difficulty by carts. In the neighbourhood of Kennington and Vauxhall a torrent of water has ariſen, which, in its progreſs, has carried away furniture,

ture, trunks of trees, cattle, &c. and has deſtroyed a great number of bridges—the Clapham road was rendered quite impaſſable; ſeveral houſes were on Wedneſday completely inſulated by the water, and the inhabitants unable to obtain proviſions, or get out of their houſes.

A conſiderable part of Deptford-bridge was alſo waſhed away by the torrents from the adjacent hills. Fortunately no perſon was hurt by the accident. The coaches on that road were under the neceſſity of coming to town by Lewiſham, &c.

The principal part of Chelſea was under water during Wedneſday night, and on Thurſday there was no paſſing but by boats and carts. The walls of ſeveral buildings were waſhed away. At Anderſon's brewhouſe, near the college, the horſes and pigs were taken out for fear of being drowned. Although Sloane-ſtreet ſtands on high ground, the kitchens are all flooded. In many parts of this and other neighbourhoods near London, perſons have been obliged to get in and out of their one pair of ſtairs windows.

The lower part of Briſtol was inundated. The water exceeded four feet. The freſh in the river was ſo furious, that it drove two trows againſt the temporary wooden bridge, between Clare-ſtreet and St. Auguſtin's back, and forced it down.—At Bath, the flood ruſhed with ſuch velocity as to threaten deſtruction to whatever impeded its progreſs. The inhabitants have been great ſufferers. Houſes, unable to withſtand the torrent, fell, and buried their inmates under the ruins. Several have been drowned, and others loſt their property. Timber to a great amount, cattle, horſes, carts, &c. have been carried away. The flood has been greater than known in the memory of man.—At Exeter, the ſhops were ſhut, being full of water, and the inhabitants obliged to betake themſelves to their upper rooms.—In Thoverton, there was ſo ſudden a ſwell, that one half of the houſe of Mr. Anthony, ſurgeon, was completely waſhed away.—On the 28th, as the Exeter mail was near Staines, the coach got into a part where the water was ſo deep that it floated, and the horſes ſwam. The coach was ſuddenly thrown over, the coachman and guard thrown to a conſiderable diſtance; and the paſſengers and the horſes were got out, but the coach could not. The whole country round was covered from Chertſey to Maidenhead; the towns running with water in torrents as high as the parlour windows. Numbers of the poor have loſt their all, which has been carried away in the ſtreams. The lower part of Egham was impaſſable. It is a remarkable circumſtance, that while the Ravenſbourne roſe to ſuch a height as to carry away part of the bridges at Lewiſham and Deptford, the Wandle river, which has its ſource within 100 yards of the Ravenſbourne, did not overflow its banks. The Addiſcombe brook, which runs into the Wandle below Merton, roſe ten feet perpendicular height, and laid Tooting under water.

It blew a hurricane, which continued the next day, and did conſiderable damage in the metropolis, and other places. A woman paſſing along Haye's-court was killed by a tile ſtriking her head. 29th.

On the next night incalculable damage was ſuſtained by the craft and ſhipping in the Thames. The ſtorm extended, with equal violence, to moſt parts of England. At Portſmouth, the wind blew from the middle ſtorehouſe, in the dock-yard, five ton one hundred weight of lead, in three pieces. One piece, weighing thirty hundred, was carried by the violence of the gale acroſs the road way, to the diſtance of 111 feet; one piece, weighing about forty hundred, was driven to the diſtance of 112 feet; and the other piece, weighing thirty-one hundred, dropped in the road way, at the diſtance of ſeventy-five feet.

Statement of the quantity of ſtrong beer brewed by the twelve firſt houſes in London, from the 5th of July, 1808, to the 5th of January, 1809.

	Barrels.
Barclay - - -	64,361
Brown and Parry -	48,196
Hanbury - - -	41,554
Whitbread - -	40,719
Meux - - - -	39,292
F. Calvert - -	33,628
Combe - - - -	25,439
Taylor - - -	18,095
Goodwyn - - -	15,678
J. Calvert - - -	14,881
Elliot - - - -	14,877
Clowes - - - -	14,693

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. Part of the cliff between Folkſtone and Stangate, to the extent of 300 feet in length and 40 in depth, has fallen; and other parts of it are giving way.

In excavating the reſervoir for the Colcheſter water-works, ſome veſtiges of Roman baths were lately found. Since that period, in proceeding with the works, the workmen fell in with a quantity of Roman pavement, and, what is extraordinary, beneath that ſome oak framing, almoſt perfectly ſound, although it muſt have laid there near two thouſand years. By inſpection, it appears that it had been previouſly charred, as the cruſt was on it when firſt dug up. It is therefore evident, that charring of timber, to make it laſt under ground, was known to the Romans. Amidſt ſome fragments of porcelain found, was one veſſel of moſt excellent workmanſhip and claſſical taſte, the outſide of which was highly emboſſed with baſſo relievo, divided into different departments, in two of which were Diana and Faunus, on pedeſtals facing each other. Diana, in her left hand, holds a boy, and in the right the two fore feet of a leveret, ſtanding in an upright poſture againſt her. The attitude of Faunus is nearly that of the antique Antinous; a wreath of a maſk and plumes of feathers hang between the two. In two other departments are the ſtags at bay with the dogs. Between this department, and the before deſcribed, is a long upright one, with a tripod in the centre, and an eagle hovering over the flame, with a plume of feathers erect on its back. In two other departments is Cupid ſacrificing, in the act of pouring ſomething from a veſſel on the altar; round the border of this department is ſtudded with imitations of diadems; in two other departments are repreſented the great wild bear paſſant, capitally executed; towards

wards the cornice, or towards the upper edge or opening of the veſſel, is a rich canopy, ornamented all round; on the bottom and ſides of the departments are plumes of feathers ſtudded with ornaments like mace. It is nearly the colour of dark cornelian, has been hardened by fire, and is almoſt as denſe as flint. Moſt of the coins dug up are of Claudius Cæſar, Auguſtus, and others of the Emperor Trajanus, Antoninus Pius, and Divus Antoninus, and many others hardly diſtinguiſhable from their ſtate of corroſion; alſo ſilver gilt inſtruments uſed in the ſacrifices.

In ſome parts of Wiltſhire, the flocks of different ſpecies of wild geeſe, in conſequence of the hard weather, have been very numerous, and have done incredible miſchief to the young corn. Some of the fields were literally covered with them, and it was with difficulty they could be cleared.

2d. The waters have made the moſt deſtructive ravages at Bath. One whole ſtreet was undermined by the waters of the Avon, and ſuddenly fell, cruſhing the greater part of the inhabitants. The roofs of ſome houſes were ſeen floating down the river. In ſome ſtreets of the lower town, the ground floors were under water; the inhabitants lived up ſtairs, and their proviſions were conveyed by the upper windows. In the midſt of theſe moſt afflicting ſights, a cradle was ſeen floating down the ſtream; a child was ſeen moving in it. Several efforts were made to ſave the child, but to no purpoſe, till a providential turn of the eddy brought the cradle ſo near as to be hooked from the bank.

7th. An inquiſition was held at the Five Bells, New Croſs, on the remains of Mr. G. Johnſton, whoſe murdered body was found in a ditch on the 4th of this month. The following are the particulars, as they appeared in evidence:—The deceaſed was about forty years of age, and had been firſt lieutenant of the Alkmaar, 50, and was afterwards firſt lieutenant of the Standard, 64. Whilſt he belonged to the latter veſſel, he was afflicted with a ſevere fit of illneſs, by which he loſt his ſhip. Upon his recovery, however, he was appointed to the ſame rank on board the Eyderen ſloop, Captain Pengelly. On Friday, the 3d inſtant, he dined with Mr. Willatts, of Brewer-ſtreet, Golden-ſquare; and, after taking leave of ſome other friends, ſet out to join his ſhip at the Great Nore; but finding the night far advanced, he applied for lodging at different places in Kent-ſtreet and Kent-road, but to no effect. There was nothing further heard about him until the following morning, when his body was found, barbarouſly murdered, on the Kent-road. T. Hamilton, of Kent-ſtreet, labourer, was going from his houſe to Dartford, on Saturday morning; at half after three, as he walked near Five-Bells-Row, he ſaw ſomething lying on the ground, cloſe to Captain Hardcaſtle's gate, which he diſcovered to be the body; a man directly jumped over the railing, and ſaid to witneſs, "What do you want there? If you don't go about your buſineſs, I'll ſerve you the ſame." The witneſs being alarmed, bid the man good morning, and walked on. Mr. Blanchard, of Peckham, ſurgeon, deſcribed the wounds that had been inflicted

on the deceaſed; he had received about ten in the face, ſix on the left hand, by one of which the thumb was nearly ſevered from the hand, as if the deceaſed had, in the courſe of a vigorous reſiſtance, graſped at ſome ſharp inſtrument, which was dragged through his hand; there were ſeveral inciſions, by a pointed inſtrument, in the neck and neckcloth; one in particular, of a triangular ſhape; two deſperate wounds on the back of the head, by which the pericranium was broken; there was one wound in a diagonal direction on the neck, by which the great carotid artery was ſeparated, as if by a blunt-edged inſtrument; either of the three laſt-mentioned wounds would have been ſufficient to have occaſioned death. Mr. Dyke, the landlord of the houſe where the inqueſt was held, John Clybourn, and others, proved the finding of the body. Verdict—Wilful murder, by ſome perſon or perſons unknown. (The murderer yet remains undiſcovered, 1819.)

12th. *Flooding of the Fens.*—It is eſtimated that the inundation has extended more than fifteen miles in length, and that above 150,000 acres of land are completely flooded. The injury to individuals is almoſt incalculable, as the quantity of ſtock kept on theſe fens is far greater than on the uplands; numbers of ſheep have been loſt, and the difficulty of finding food for thoſe preſerved is ſuch, that many perſons have been compelled to ſell them at a certain loſs, particularly as it is ſo near yeaning time. Should the water not be drained off before ſeed-time, the loſs to the occupiers throughout the ſeveral diſtricts of the fens will be little ſhort of a million of money. Many perſons removed their ſtacks of oats from the lands on to the embankment; but their labours proved ineffectual, as the late high winds completely diſperſed them. Mr. Little, an opulent farmer of Welch's Dam, fortunately ſaved 700 ſheep, by driving them out of the fen to uplands, not above an hour before the bank gulled.

14th. A remarkable occurrence took place on board the Warren Haſtings, moored at the Mother-bank. The morning being fine, it was deemed neceſſary to get up the top-gallant-maſts. About three in the afternoon, the atmoſphere to the weſtward indicated a violent ſtorm; ſeveral ſailors were ſent aloft to ſtrike the top-gallant-maſts; but, when lowering them, the wind blew tremendouſly, and the rain fell in torrents, accompanied by heavy claps of thunder. Three diſtinct balls of fire were emitted from the heavens; one fell into the main-top-maſt croſs-trees, killed a man on the ſpot, and ſet the main-maſt on fire, which continued in a blaze for five minutes. A few hands ran up the ſhrouds to bring down their dead companion, when the ſecond ball ſtruck one of them, and he fell upon the guard-iron in the top, from which he bounded off into the croſs-jack braces. His arm was much ſhattered and burnt, and it was expected he muſt undergo amputation. The third ball came in contact with a Chineſe, killed him, and wounded the main-maſt in ſeveral places: the force of the air, from the velocity of the ball, knocked down Mr. Lucas, the chief mate, who fell below, but was not much hurt. For ſome

time after, a ſulphureous ſmell continued.

18th. At a late common council, a report was brought up which ſtated the following facts. Theſe will account for the manner in which the immenſe income of the city is ſpent.

"That the annual expences of the committee of city lands and bridge-houſe eſtates, chiefly in tavern bills, had increaſed, within the laſt fourteen years, from 1,164*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* to the enormous amount of 3,318*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* per annum.

"That the expences of the general purpoſe committee had increaſed in the ſame period, from 342*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* to 1,200*l.* per annum.

"That thoſe of the navigation committee, in ſeven years, had riſen from between 600*l.* and 700*l.* to 1,321*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* per annum, and other committees in proportion. In four committees only, the annual expences amount to about 7,000*l.* per annum, chiefly for tavern bills, and ſummer excurſions."

23d. *Court of King's Beneh.* — The King *v.* Beaumont. This was an information filed againſt the defendant by his Majeſty's attorney-general, for publiſhing, in a weekly newſpaper, called the Britiſh Guardian, a groſs and ſcandalous libel upon his Majeſty's government, tending to vilify the ſame, and to bring it into hatred and contempt. The libel was contained in a letter to the king, which inferred that his Majeſty governed the country by unconſtitutional means; that he had a private cabinet, and that his councils were directed by a ſecret junto, no way reſponſible for the advice they gave.

The publication being proved, and the libel read,

Mr. Clifford addreſſed the jury in behalf of the defendant, and contended, that the author of the letter in queſtion had ſaid nothing more than what the late Lord Chatham had done in the Houſe of Lords, and what Mr. Burke had again and again repeated in his works, namely, that there was an unconſtitutional influence behind the throne, which ſwayed his Majeſty's councils. It was never dreamt of, in their days, to ſay they were libellers; and he truſted the jury would not, by their verdict, extend the law of libels. Every individual had the right of fair political diſcuſſion, and the author had done no more. The learned counſel alſo cited the ſpeech of Alderman Beckford to his Majeſty, which breathed the ſame ſentiments, he ſaid, as thoſe contained in the letter in queſtion, and contended, that if the freedom of diſcuſſion was to be thus trammelled, the liberty of the preſs would ſoon become a non-entity.

Lord Ellenborough ſaid, it was nothing to the jury whether Lord Chatham, in his ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords, or Mr. Burke, in his writings, had advanced doctrines ſimilar to thoſe promulgated in the letter under diſcuſſion. The queſtion was, whether the publication, looking to its entire contents, was, or was not, libellous, and written with an intention to vilify and degrade his Majeſty's government? His lordſhip then commented upon the ſeveral paſſages deemed to be libellous,

and left the jury to draw their own concluſion.

The jury immediately found the defendant guilty.

Furnell v. *Hall.*—This was an action to recover back from the pariſh officers of St. James's, Weſtminſter, the ſum of 40*l.* paid by the plaintiff, who is a tallow-chandler in Carnaby-ſtreet, as a full indemnity to the pariſh for the care and maintenance of a baſtard child, ſworn to him by a female named Sarah Baſs. It ſo happened that the infant died ſoon after its birth, and the pariſh had been put to no more than 4*l.* expence: the action was therefore to get back the 40*l.* deducting the 4*l.* which it had been recently ruled the pariſh were not entitled to keep. Lord Ellenborough concurred in the propriety of the action, and in the law laid down, and the plaintiff obtained a verdict.

24th. *Drury-lane Theatre conſumed by Fire.*—On Friday night this ſuperb edifice was burnt to the ground. We learn that about five minutes paſt eleven o'clock at night, the flames burſt out at the lobby windows of the front in Brydges-ſtreet, while volumes of ſmoke were ſeen iſſuing from every part of the theatre. In leſs than a quarter of an hour it ſpread into one unbroken flame over the whole of the immenſe pile, extending from Brydges-ſtreet to Drury-lane; ſo that the pillar of fire was not leſs than 450 feet in breadth. It is impoſſible for the mind to conceive any thing more magnificent than the ſpectacle, if the idea of the horror and ruin which it brought on the ſufferers could have been ſeparated from the ſublimity of the object. In about thirty minutes after its commencement the Apollo on the top fell into the pit, and ſoon after the whole of the roof fell.

The reſervoir of water on the top, which our readers will recollect formed with the iron curtain the topic of reliance for ſecurity in the prologue with which the new theatre was opened, was like a mere bucket-full to the volume of fire on which it fell, and had no viſible effect in damping it. Any attempt to go near the flames was totally impracticable; and all that was ſaved from ruin was done by the preſence of mind and activity of Mr. Kent, a literary gentleman, who was the firſt to diſcover the flames. He hurried to the door and gave the alarm. Mr. Powell, the prompter, and Mr. Johnſton, the mechaniſt, with the two watchmen and Mr. Kent, were the only perſons preſent, for being a Friday in Lent, there had been no play nor rehearſal. They aſcertained that the fire broke out in the hall, under the lobby at the Brydges-ſtreet entry, which has been ſhut up this ſeaſon, and where ſome plumbers had been at work.

It was, when Mr. Kent broke in, confined to that ſpot; and they made an effectual attempt to get out the theatre engine, and play on it from their reſervoir; but in ten or twelve minutes it run up the front boxes, and ſpread like kindled wax. This may be accounted for from the body of air which ſo large a hollow afforded, and alſo to the circumſtance of the whole being a wooden caſe. For our readers will recollect, that the

immenſe

immenſe pile was conſtructed of timber, and that the frame ſtood for many months, exhibiting a very fine carcaſe of carpenter's work, before the ribs were filled in with bricks. Timber was then under 3*l.* per load, and the architect thought that this wooden frame would contribute to the propagation of ſound. It did not, perhaps, perfectly ſucceed in this reſpect, but it certainly contributed to the conflagration. Finding it impoſſible to prevent the deſtruction of the building, the gentlemen ſaved the books from the room called the treaſury, and they were carried ſafely to Mr. Kent's houſe, in Taviſtock-ſtreet. The only other article ſaved was a bureau, in Mrs. Jordan's room. Mr. Kent broke the pannels of the door, and brought out the bureau. All further endeavours were rendered impoſſible, by the exceſs of heat.

About a quarter before twelve, a body of horſe-guards, and foot-guards, and volunteers, came to the place, and engines reached the ſpot from every quarter; but they could do nothing. Part of the wall next to Vinegar-yard fell down, and the houſe of Mrs. Mac Beath, the fruiterer, caught fire. The night was uncommonly fine, and the body of flame ſpread ſuch a maſs of light over the metropolis, that every ſurrounding object glittered with the brightneſs of gold. Mr. Sheridan was in the Houſe of Commons, aſſiſting in the important diſcuſſion on Mr. Ponſonby's motion. The houſe was illuminated by the blaze of light; and the intereſt univerſally taken in the circumſtance, interrupted the debate. A motion was made to adjourn, but Mr. Sheridan ſaid, with great calmneſs, "that whatever might be the extent of the private calamity, he hoped it would not interfere with the public buſineſs of the country:" he then left the houſe, and the diſcuſſion proceeded. Many of his friends accompanied him to the ſcene, but it was too late for any effort to be made; and all that the engines could effect was to ſave the houſes in Vinegar-yard and Ruſſel-ſtreet, the roofs of which had caught fire, from being burnt down.

About half paſt twelve, parts of the outward walls, both in Ruſſel-ſtreet, and Vinegar-yard, fell down, and completely blocked up the paſſage, but fortunately no lives were loſt.

All day yeſterday great quantities of ſmoke were iſſuing from the ruins, here and there ſmall quantities of fire were burning, and ſome of the engines were occaſionally playing. The wall fronting Brydges-ſtreet is ſtanding up in the centre as high as the top of the grand box lobby, and each end of that wall is ſtanding ſtill higher; but the walls on each ſide the theatre, namely, next Little Ruſſel-ſtreet and Vinegar-yard, thoſe beautiful ſtone walls, with the colonnade, &c. are completely down. The houſes in Little Ruſſel-ſtreet, facing the theatre, are dreadfully ſcarred and whitened; ſome of them had been on fire in the window-frames, and all the windows are broken by the heat. In Vinegar-yard two or three ſmall houſes cloſe to the box-door are burnt, gutted with the fire, but the walls are not down.

The fire burnt fully up to Drury-lane, to which a part of the building, made into a ſcene painting room, we believe, had been lately

lately carried. The walls in Drury-lane are ſtanding, but in all quarters the wood work and inſide of the theatre are completely down. The baker's ſhop cloſely adjoining the building of the theatre, in Drury-lane, does not appear to have been in the leaſt damaged, nor even diſturbed! It is open, and at buſineſs as if nothing had happened.

The theatre was inſured, but not for a ſum near its value, or with which it can be rebuilt. The loſs to the performers is moſt ſerious. They have loſt every thing; and, in one day, ſeveral hundred perſons are thrown out of bread. There is no place in town to which they can have reſort as a temporary theatre, unleſs they were to divide themſelves into ſeveral parties, and act at the minor theatres, in the Lyceum, Catharine-ſtreet, the Royalty, &c.

27th. The proprietors of Drury-lane Theatre held a meeting on Monday, at the houſe of Mr. Graham, in order to hear the teſtimony of ſuch perſons as could give any information reſpecting the ſituation in which the fire broke out, and what was the probable cauſe of it. Several perſons were examined; and from their depoſitions it was tolerably concluſive, that the flames originated in the coffee-room on the firſt tier, immediately over the grand coffee-room, and under the two ſhilling gallery. This is the belief of the proprietors. It alſo appeared that a perſon of the name of Phillips, who reſides in Croſs-court, Ruſſel-court, gave the firſt alarm at the ſtage-door, and after that he left the theatre to alarm his own family, and again returned, and in the intermediate time three other perſons arrived. With reſpect to the cauſe of the fire, it is all yet ſurmiſe.

The cataſtrophe which has befallen this magnificent pile now begins to excite ſome emotions of a different nature from thoſe of keen regret and ſtrong ſurpriſe, which it at firſt created in every boſom. The public ſhould be cautious in giving credence to ſome fables which are in circulation, We have now to call their attention to one or two facts, which are as certain as they are important. It has been reported, that an anonymous letter had been received by an illuſtrious Perſonage, immediately after the fire in St. James's Palace, intimating, "that his Royal Highneſs would ſhortly hear of the deſtruction of other public buildings in the ſame manner." Such a letter, we can now aver with confidence, was *actually* received by the High Perſonage to whom it was ſo ſtrangely addreſſed. It did not at firſt engage any particular attention; but, on learning the calamitous event of Friday night, his Royal Highneſs ſent for Mr. Sheridan, and, after expreſſing the kindeſt ſympathy in his great and unexpected loſs, communicated to that gentleman the contents of this letter, which had been received ſome weeks before.

With reſpect to this myſterious letter, whether it was meant as an effuſion of malice, gratified in ſome degree, but not yet ſatiated; or whether it was intended as a menace, calculated for the attainment of ſome object as yet unſpecified, it muſt be fruitleſs at the preſent moment to enquire. We ſhould not probably have laid ſo much ſtreſs on an *anonymous ſcroll*, if it were not coupled with another ſingular

ſingular and authenticated occurrence, which our readers will peruſe, as we heard it, with ſenſations of horror and indignation. It is poſitively ſtated that, about five weeks ſince, a train of gunpowder was diſcovered at the King's Theatre, diſpoſed evidently for a miſchievous purpoſe.

Vienna, February. The ice floating down the Lower Danube has fixed itſelf near this city, and carried away the handſome bridge belonging to the palace of Prince Rauſumowſki, on the Vienna canal, which connected that palace with the main road in the Prater; five arches of the Tabor bridge have alſo been conſiderably damaged.

Munich, February 3d. The Danube, and all the ſtreams which fall into it, have, by their overflowing, done conſiderable damage. The greateſt number of the bridges over the Inn, as well as thoſe over the Iſer, have been carried away. The communications between the different towns are maintained by means of boats, as the principal roads are inundated to the depth of ſix or ſeven feet.

Bremen, February. The inundations in our neighbourhood have aſſumed a moſt terrific appearance. The floods have broke more than twenty dykes, and have prevented the beſt lands from being cultivated. It will take the inhabitants more than ſix months to repair the damages the floods have occaſioned to the dykes. The ice, and the overflowings of the Weſer, and of the Aller, have cauſed conſiderable damage to the town of Verden.

Augſburg, January 30th. The Danube, the Altmuhlt, and the Wernitz, have overflowed their banks, and have occaſioned a great deal of damage to the neighbourhood.

Holland. From Elſt they write, that they have ſuſtained the loſs of 15 perſons drowned; 100 houſes deſtroyed or damaged; 400 head of cattle drowned. From Kirkendom they report 16 perſons drowned, together with other loſſes of various kinds. We learn from Meteren, that of 64 houſes, which this village contained, 28 have been totally deſtroyed; and thoſe which remain are almoſt all unfit to be inhabited. The number of the perſons drowned is 12; of horſes 2; of black cattle 93; of ſheep 100. The report from Rhenew ſtates, 16 perſons drowned; houſes deſtroyed 16. At Acquoi, the number of houſes deſtroyed is 16. The number of perſons drowned at Bruſchom is 18. The number drowned at Aſch is 26. The villages of Soy and Perſichen have been entirely deſtroyed; nothing remaining but the ſteeples of the churches above the water, and parts of thoſe ſolid fabrics.

At Weſteroord, a miller, whoſe houſe was ſurrounded by the floods, after the greateſt exertions ſucceeded in placing his wife and four children in a tree; he had placed another child in a tub, when the tree was ſuddenly carried away by the violence of the ſtream, and his wife and children were precipitated into the foaming waves. He repeated his efforts to ſave them, but they were in vain: he ſaw them all periſh, and the poor man ſunk lifeleſs under the weight of his misfortune. The child which had been placed in the tub was the only individual ſaved.

The

The opening gap in the dyke near Kedichem is about 40 roods long, and is more than 60 feet deep. The devaſtation occaſioned by the floods in the diſtricts of Heuſden and Altens are dreadful. In the low lands the water has ſettled at more than 10 feet deep.

From the diſtrict of the Lower Betewe, on the confines of Thiel, the following accounts of damages done by the late inundations have been received. The number of perſons drowned is ſtated to be 113; of cattle drowned 1441; houſes deſtroyed 426; houſes damaged 783. From Leardam, Arpen, and places adjacent, the report made ſtates: perſons drowned 67; cattle drowned 847; houſes deſtroyed 167; and houſes damaged 212. In the diſtrict of Alblaſerdam, 33,000 acres have been inundated.

Extract of a Letter from Nierrynen:—"I had heard a great deal about the damage occaſioned by the inundations to this village, and its neighbourhood; but public report has, in this inſtance, by far under-rated the devaſtations committed by the floods. Every thing along the dyke has been deſtroyed: houſes, houſehold furniture, hay, wood, are ſeen floating in every direction; two houſes, two barns, and two other outhouſes, have been entirely deſtroyed; 25 houſes, 10 barns, have been conſiderably damaged; 25 perſons, 18 horſes, 20 cows, 13 oxen, three calves, 20 ſheep, 12 ſwine, were drowned. One of the moſt afflicting circumſtances is the following: a farmer, named Adam Boeſtra, a man of very reputable character, after having loſt his houſe, and 25 head of cattle, ſucceeded in conveying his wife to a place of ſafety, but afterwards he returned, in order to ſave his four children: they had all the ſame claims to his affection; his paternal heart could not chooſe between them which to ſave *firſt:* he therefore took them altogether in his arms; but his ſtrength failing him, he was obliged to drop them, and ſee them all periſh before his eyes, without being able to afford them the leaſt aſſiſtance."

They write from Cleves, that, in conſequence of the floods, the water has riſen 26 inches higher than it was in the year 1741.

The total number of perſons loſt by the inundation is ſuppoſed to be more than *three hundred.*

Upwards of 800,000 florins have been ſubſcribed for the relief of the ſufferers by the late inundations, as far as the ſame have been returned to the miniſter for the interior, at the cloſe of March.

In the inundations near Loenen, in the diſtrict of the Upper Betewe, has been diſcovered the right hip-bone of an elephant, meaſuring from the *os-pubis* to the end of the hip, three feet and a half, (Rhynland meaſure) of which the ſcientific Mr. H. Hoogens has taken a drawing on the ſpot. The bone is at preſent in the poſſeſſion of M. F. Beverinck, land-ſurveyor, at Nimeguen. A double tooth, together with ſeveral other elephant's bones, have likewiſe been diſcovered on the ſame ſpot. Alſo the jaw-bone of an ox of an extraordinary ſize.

Warſaw. We learn from Lithuania, that ſince the firſt of January, the wind blowing very ſharp from the northward, the thermometer ſtood at 28 degrees, (of

(of Reaumur, we ſuppoſe.) Several peaſants and carriers have periſhed on the public roads, by the extreme ſeverity of the weather; even the birds were frozen in the air, and fell lifeleſs on the ground. In this city the thermometer ſtood at the beginning of the month at 33; at the cloſe of the month it ſtood at 20 degrees. There has been a vaſt deal of ſnow in Lithuania, and in the duchy of Warſaw. The wolves aſſemble in large troops, and commit the greateſt devaſtations. In the neighbourhood of Grodno, were found the head and foot of a peaſant's wife, who had been devoured by the wolves.

Switzerland. In the mountains near Coire, ſuch a heavy fall of ſnow has taken place, that the impetus of its maſſy torrent, rolling with extreme violence from the top, has deſtroyed the beautiful village of Salva, which had been but recently built. Six houſes are wholly deſtroyed by this projectile maſs, and the reſt are all more or leſs damaged.—Twenty-ſix perſons, ſuffocated, have been dug out of the ſnow; and 17 perſons, after remaining 24 hours under the ſnow, have been recovered, chiefly owing to the exertions of a worthy eccleſiaſtic, named Viller.

General Recapitulation of the Loſſes ſuſtained by the French Armies ſince the Time they entered Portugal and Spain. [*The Calculation reſts on known public Data; and whoever will take the Trouble to examine them, will find that the Number is rather leſſened than exaggerated.*]

Firſt Campaign.—Carried off by diſeaſes in Madrid, Burgos, Biſcay, Navarre, &c. 11,000. In Catalonia, 8,000. In Saragoſſa they loſt in various actions, and during the firſt ſiege, 10,000. In Valencia and La Mancha, 8,000. Killed and taken priſoners in Andaluſia, including the French ſquadron at Cadiz, 30,000. Hanged, deſerted, and deſtroyed, by the fury of the people and private individuals, 11,000. Killed by the Engliſh in Portugal, and carried off by diſeaſe, 8,000. Killed in the different actions in Old Caſtile, 6,000.

Second Campaign.—Loſt in ſeveral actions with the army of the centre, including that of Lerin, 3,000. On the 23d November, in Tudela, 6,000. During the long ſiege of Saragoſſa, and in various actions with the Arragoneſe, including deſerters, 17,000. In the different actions in Catalonia, 10,000. Killed and wounded by Blake's army in Biſcay, and in the mountains of St. Andero, 10,000. Killed and wounded in Burgos, by the army of Eſtremadura, 1,000. In Sepulveda, Somoſierra, and Madrid, 7,000. In Eſtremadura, in the action of Velez, and in ſeveral engagements in La Mancha, 4,000. Loſt on their march from Madrid to Corunna, including the actions with the Engliſh in Caſtile and Gallicia, 10,000. Carried off by the diſeaſe and the dagger in their different armies, 70,000.—Total, 163,000.

DIED.—At Bradford, Yorkſhire, John Fawthorp, aged 102. 27th.

Found dead, in Wivelſcombe, Somerſet, aged 102, Martha Webber.

French

French Laurence, Regius Profeſſor of Civil Law in the Univerſity of Oxford, chancellor of that dioceſe, judge of the Cinque Ports, and member of parliament for the city of Peterborough. Dr. Laurence received his firſt education at Briſtol; whence he was removed to the college at Wincheſter: he then became a member of Corpus Chriſti college, (of which college he was afterwards fellow) proceeded M.A. June 21, 1781, and was created D.C.L. October 19, 1787: his profeſſorſhip he obtained in 1796, on the deceaſe of Dr. Wenman. In learning, talents, and benevolence, he has ſeldom been rivalled, never excelled.

At Kelling, Mrs. Wernes, aged 100.

At Wingate Grange, near Caſtle Edin, Mr. Thomas Watſon, aged 106.

At Biſhop's Caſtle, Mrs. Guilliam, aged 101.

MARCH.

1ſt. On excavating the earth to obtain a firm foundation for the new court-houſes for the county of Northumberland, where the half-moon battery in Newcaſtle formerly ſtood, a variety of curious diſcoveries have been made. After the excavation of about thirty feet of ſolid earth, the entrance to an ancient well has been found, which will probably, when dug, develope ſome remains of antiquity. Within a few yards of this well, two pair of horns, reſembling thoſe of a ſtag, but much larger, along with the jaw-bones of the animal, were dug out. In the opinion of an eminent natural hiſtorian, theſe bones and horns muſt have belonged to an animal ſimilar in ſize and ſpecies to the American elk. In ſeveral other parts which have been dug, about forty-ſix feet from the top of the mount, a number of large beams of ſolid oak, perfectly ſound, lying in a variety of directions, as if to ſupport the ſuperincumbent bank, have been alſo diſcovered, all of which afford ſufficient grounds to believe, that the whole mount was a work of the Romans, for the purpoſe of forming a commanding ſtation, when in this country.

Committed to Warwick gaol this day, Rebecca Hodges, for ſhooting Mr. S. Birch, of Wardlad hall, with a piſtol loaded with ſlugs. It appears that this unfortunate woman had harboured this deſign in her mind for ſeven years paſt, and about a year ago ſhe purchaſed a piſtol, with which ſhe perpetrated the crime. She had been ſeveral times ſeen about Mr. B.'s premiſes, and on Sunday morning ſhe was ſeen behind the door in one of the out-houſes, but was ſuppoſed to depart. She had remained in the barns and buildings till Monday night, waiting the houſekeeper going to bed. She then, through a window, ſaw Mr. B. ſitting by the fire aſleep. She then opened the door, which was only on the latch, and after ſome time walking about the room, ſhe diſcharged the piſtol at his head. Two ſlugs ſtruck him. One did but little execution; the other has ſince been extracted from his ſkull, which has been trepanned by Mr. Vickers; and, owing to his ſkill, hopes are entertained of his recovery. The young woman was brought to priſon by the watch-

men,

men, disguised in men's clothes. A loaded pistol was found in her hand, and delivered to Mr. Payn, who soon discovered the supposed man to be a female. Seven years ago, the young woman was a servant in the Birch family, and the only cause she assigns for the rash act was, that she had formed an attachment to Mr. Birch at that time, and was in consequence discharged from her place.

A flight of sea eagles have lately visited the coast near Hastings. The very uncommon appearance of these birds on the southern coast has excited very great curiosity. Many of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood have endeavoured to shoot them, from an apprehension of danger to their lambs in the spring, if they should remain there; but hitherto without success. They have already made destruction among the rabbits on the warren, near the signal station.

In digging for peat, near Newbury, great numbers of trees are frequently found at various depths. The nearer they lie to the surface, the less sound is the wood. These trees are generally oaks, alders, willows, and firs, besides some others not easily ascertained. No acorns are found in the peat, but many cones of the fir-tree and nut-shells are dug out. A great number of horns, heads, and bones, of several kinds of deer, the horns of the antelope, the heads and the tusks of boars, the heads of beavers, and other animals, are also occasionally discovered. An urn of a light brown colour, and large enough to contain above a gallon, was found at four feet from the surface. It was unfortunately injured by the spade, and was brought up in small pieces. No coins have been discovered. The ground in which the peat is found is meadow land, and consists chiefly of a whitish kind of earth. The top of the true peat is met with at various depths, from one foot to eight feet below the surfaces; and the depth of the peat also various, from one foot to eight or nine feet. The ground below it is very uneven, and generally gravel.

Fire at Christ Church, Oxford.—A fire was discovered, 3d. about a quarter before twelve this night, in the apartments of Mr. Brown, supposed to have been occasioned by some sparks communicating to a beam which ran across the chimney. The conflagration was most alarming; and the rapidity with which it spread may be easily conceived, when the amazing quantity of wood-work which this immense pile contains is remembered. Although the alarm was immediately given, the flames for a long time resisted the united efforts of the engines of Christ Church, of the different colleges, and of the city; consuming the greater part of the south-west angle, and threatening with destruction that magnificent structure the hall. Fortunately, however, the night was calm, and there was a plentiful supply of water, or this splendid room must inevitably have fallen. The apartments destroyed are those of Dr. White, regius professor of Hebrew, of Messrs. Brown, James, senior, Keough, and Meyler. Those of Lord Apsley, Messrs. Cleaver, Smelt, James, junior, Glasse, Roe, Buxton, and Finch, are partially injured. The loss is estimated at 12,000*l.* Part only of Dr. White's very

very valuable books and MSS. have been ſaved.

11th. *Wonderful Production of Nature, now exhibiting at the houſe of Mr. Polley, No.* 17, *New Bond-ſtreet.*—Miſs Beffin, a young lady who was born deficient of arms and legs: ſhe is of a comely appearance, twenty-four years of age, and only thirty-ſeven inches high; ſhe diſplays a great genius, and is an admirer of the fine arts; and what renders her ſo worthy of the public notice is, the induſtrious and aſtoniſhing means ſhe has invented and practiſed in obtaining the uſe of the needle, ſciſſars, pen, pencil, &c. wherein ſhe is extremely adroit: ſhe can cut out and make any part of her own clothes, ſews extremely neat, and in a moſt wonderful manner; writes well, draws landſcapes, paints miniatures, and many wonderful things, all of which ſhe performs principally with her mouth.

17th. The trial of Mary Bateman, for the murder of Rebecca Perigo, of Bramley, near Leeds, by adminiſtering poiſon, (the particulars of which we have before detailed, ſee Ann. Reg. Oct. 25, 1808) commenced on the morning of the 17th inſt. and continued until near nine o'clock at night. The jury, without retiring, found her Guilty. The judge, in a moſt impreſſive manner, paſſed ſentence of death upon her, and ordered her body to be given to the ſurgeons. The priſoner, to delay execution, pleaded pregnancy; on which a jury of matrons was impanneled, who retired, and found that ſhe was not with quick child. The execution took place on Monday.

A ſingular inſtance of the inſtability of human grandeur, was ſtated in a ſpeech by Mr. Whitbread. The identical ſervice of plate which Mrs. Clarke purchaſed from Birkett, the pawnbroker, originally belonged to a prince of the unfortunate family of Bourbon. What a memento muſt it have been to the Duke of York, to trace the houſehold plate, with the arms of the royal family of Bourbon, to the ſhop of a pawnbroker, and afterwards to Mrs. Clarke's! Trace the hiſtory of France (ſays Mr. Whitbread) from the luxurious days of the La Vallieres and Monteſpans, down to thoſe of the Pompadours and De Barres, and you would ſee the deſtruction and overthrow of the monarchy, which drove the illuſtrious branches of the Bourbon family into foreign exile, originating in private vice, and finally completed by the deceitful and unbounded extravagance of thoſe intruſted with public confidence and official ſituation. One cannot help thinking (ſaid the honourable gentleman) that the circumſtance of the Duke de Berri's plate having been diſpoſed of this way, and then coming into the poſſeſſion of the Duke of York, muſt have occaſioned ſome ſenſations in the boſom of his Royal Highneſs, which could not fail to rouſe his feelings for the fate of that unfortunate family, and which would cauſe him inwardly to ejaculate—"I thank God for the warning which this magnificent monument of the inſtability of greatneſs holds up to my view, and I will uſe it as a beacon to guard againſt the danger of thoſe rocks on which others, once as great and powerful as I am now, have

have been ſo unexpectedly wrecked and ruined."

19th. The remains of Hugh Hewſon, who died at the advanced age of eighty-five, were interred in the burial-ground of St. Martin's-in-the-fields. The deceaſed was a man of much celebrity, though no funeral eſcutcheons adorned his hearſe, or heir expectant graced his obſequies. He was no leſs a perſonage than the identical Hugh Strap, whom Dr. Smollett has rendered ſo conſpicuouſly intereſting in his Life and Adventures of Roderick Random, and for upwards of forty years had kept a hair-dreſſer's ſhop in the above pariſh. The deceaſed was a very intelligent man, and took delight in recounting the adventures of his early life. He ſpoke with pleaſure of the time he paſſed in the ſervice of the doctor; and it was his pride, as well as boaſt, to ſay that he had been educated in the ſame ſeminary with ſo learned and diſtinguiſhed a character. His ſhop was hung round with Latin quotations, and he would frequently point out to his cuſtomers and acquaintances the ſeveral ſcenes in Roderick Random pertaining to himſelf, which had their foundation not in the doctor's inventive fancy, but in truth and reality. The meeting in a barber's ſhop at Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, the ſubſequent miſtake at the inn, their arrival together in London, and the aſſiſtance they experienced from Strap's friend, were all of that deſcription. We underſtand the deceaſed has left behind him an interlined copy of Roderick Random, pointing out theſe facts, ſhowing how far they were indebted to the genius of the doctor, and to what extent they were bottomed in reality. The deceaſed could never ſucceed in gaining more than a reſpectable ſubſiſtence by his trade; but he poſſeſſed an independence of mind ſuperior to his humble condition. Of late years he was employed as keeper of the promenade in Villiers-walk, Adelphi, and was much noticed and reſpected by the inhabitants who frequented that place.

25th. A whale, ſeventy-five feet in length, and nearly twenty-five in circumference, was mortally wounded and driven on ſhore off the Bligh ſands, below Graveſend, this day, by a pilot of the name of Barnes. It was of the pike-headed ſpecies, and weighs upwards of thirty tons. The lord mayor ordered it to be brought in a barge above London-bridge, where it was exhibited at one ſhilling per head, until an officer of the admiralty claimed it as a droit, and forcibly took poſſeſſion. The blubber is valued at 150*l.*

26th. *Burlington-Houſe.*—Yeſterday the leaſe of this eſtate, granted upwards of a century ſince, by one of the anceſtors of Mr. Pollen, to the Burlington family, expired. Part of the eſtate was formerly called the Ten Acres Field, and it included a field, the manſion, garden, and out-buildings, which were very extenſive. In the year 1708, the eſtate was in the occupation of Richard, Earl of Burlington, and his aſſigns; and the Duke of Devonſhire, as the heir of the Earl of Burlington, is the preſent receiver of the rents. By the expiration of the leaſe, the Duke loſes 14,000*l.* a-year.

28th. Upon opening the body of a man who lately died in Guy's hoſpital, eighteen or nineteen large

claſp-knives, ſuch as are uſed by ſailors, were found in the ſtomach and inteſtines. The hafts of them were entirely decompoſed, and the iron work partly ſo. The account given by himſelf was, that ſeveral years ago he had ſwallowed ſix of his meſſmates' knives, in a drunken frolic; and that feeling no immediate bad conſequences, he had on two ſubſequent occaſions, ſwallowed twelve or thirteen more. For theſe two years paſt he had applied, at frequent intervals, for admiſſion into various hoſpitals, and he was uniformly diſmiſſed as an impoſtor, upon telling his ſtrange ſtory. He was received into Guy's Hoſpital only a few weeks ago, after having been ſtripped and minutely examined by Dr. Babington and Mr. Aſtley Cooper.

31ſt. This night, about ten, an accident of a novel nature happened at Twyford, on the Paddington canal, about five miles from town. One of the paſſage boats was on its way to the country, laden with various articles; among others, ſome barrels of brandy and rum, over which were ten barrels of gunpowder. The crew conſiſted of four men; one was with the horſe which drew the boat, one in the little cabin, in the after part, and the remaining two, who were on deck, took it into their heads to help themſelves to a little ſpirits. They bored a hole with a gimblet, by miſtake, in one of the caſks of powder, which immediately took fire, and the boat blew up with a dreadful exploſion. The two men were inſtantly killed. One of them was blown to a diſtance of more than ſixty yards, and torn to pieces. Three ricks of hay, belonging to Mr. Willan, were ſet fire to, and upwards of 360 loads were conſumed. The ſhock was dreadful in the vicinity, and the houſes were agitated as though by an earthquake. The man who was aſleep in the cabin eſcaped almoſt miraculouſly, unhurt.

DIED. At Tiverton, Mrs. Cowley, the authoreſs of ſeveral well known dramatic and poetic works. 11th.

Mr. John Knott, of Tarvin, Cheſhire, aged 102. 18th.

At his houſe in Clipſtone-ſtreet, after a lingering and painful illneſs of ſeveral months, Mr. Thomas Holcroft, author of "Hugh Trevor," "The Road to Ruin," and a number of other works. He was in his ſixty-firſt year, and his life had been a life of literary labour. 23d.

In the Epiſcopal Palace, in the Cloſe of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, Miſs Anna-Seward, the authoreſs of ſeveral well known poems. 25th.

At Horsforth, Yorkſhire, Mary Airton, aged 105; and on the ſame day, Sarah Dean, of the ſame place aged 102.

At Brigg, Lincolnſhire, John Johnſon, aged 106.

At Aberguilly, near Caermarthen, Mrs. Diana Rees, aged 102.

At Boddewran, in the pariſh of Heneglwys, in the county of Angleſea, Richard Williams, at the advanced age of 103. He had been blind upwards of ſix years, but his ſight was reſtored a ſhort time before his death, and he had alſo four new teeth.

At Four Mile Burn, county of Antrim, Nancy Alexander, aged 112.

At

At Caſtle Dawſon, county of Kerry, Mr. Richardſon, aged 105.

APRIL.

1ſt. An inquiſition was taken at Chandler's Hatch, near Newington, on the remains of Mrs. Mary Amelia Nollings, who met with her death by jumping from a three pair of ſtairs window. She had from a child been ſubject to romantic dreams, and ſcarcely a night paſſed but ſhe walked in her ſleep; and had been known to go into the garden. Her huſband became ſo habituated to this cuſtom, that when he heard her he would call to her, and ſhe would return to bed, without recollecting the circumſtance in the morning. In this inſtance he heard the window go up, and jumped out of bed; but the poor woman was too quick to be ſaved: ſhe lived ſeveral hours in torture, and was ſenſible to the laſt. She was twenty-ſix years of age, and has left three children. Verdict, Accidental death.

2d. The following extract of a letter from Bath, dated April 2, deſcribes ſome of the effects produced by the panic lately excited there:—"A report was circulated, that a certain infallible prophet, or propheteſs, had predicted that an earthquake would be ſeverely felt in Bath on Good Friday; and that Mount Beacon and Beechen Cliff, two immenſe hills, ſituated at the northern and ſouthern extremities of the town, would meet, and of courſe deſtroy and ſwallow up houſes, inhabitants, pigs, and poultry. Some affirmed that Joanna Southcott was the predictor; others that it was a prophet now living at Midford, near this city, who was with Noah in the ark, and has been travelling over various parts of the world ever ſince; but the greater part affixed the name of a female fortune-teller reſiding at Bath. This conjureſs, however, denied the charge in the Bath papers. Thus, though they could not poſitively fix on any ſpecific prophet, yet all agreed there had been ſuch a prediction, and thouſands implicitly believed the event would take place. In conſequence of this report, hundreds and thouſands abſolutely quitted Bath; old and young, rich and poor, high and low, ſoon found out excuſes for leaving town ſo ſuddenly. Some were obliged to attend a ſick relative at a ſhort diſtance, others had an uncle or aunt dead, while many more were ordered off to Cheltenham or Clifton by their phyſician; and a few, who, by the bye, had previouſly ordered their ſalt fiſh for Good Friday's dinner in Bath, recollected that they always made it a rule to dine in the country on that day, as the rural ſcenes tranquillized the mind, and they could behave more devoutly in a calm retired place, than they poſſibly could in a noiſy populous city. It is a truth, that the poſt-horſes belonging to every inn in Bath are completely knocked up by this buſineſs. A variety of accounts concerning it have appeared in the Bath papers; but none of them have given the origin of the affair, which was as follows:—Two noted cock-feeders, who live near the before-mentioned famous hills, met by accident ſome time ago at a public-houſe,

and after much boasting on both sides, a match was made to fight their favourite cocks on Good Friday; but, fearing the magistrates might interfere, if it became public, they named their spirited animals after their respective walks, as they termed it, and in the agreement it was specified accordingly, that *Mount Beacon* should meet *BeechenCliff*, precisely at twelve o'clock on Good Friday. This was mentioned with cautions of secrecy to their sporting friends; and at last coming to the ears of some poor credulous beings, who were totally unacquainted with the intended match, they took it in its plain sense, and absolutely believed it to be a fact; and as stories seldom lose by being repeated, each one added what his fears or fancy framed, and swelled the marvellous tale at last into the before stated prodigious prophecy.—So much for the credulity of the enlightened inhabitants at Bath in the year 1809."

3d. This day was buried Miss Shuckburgh, daughter of Sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, baronet, of Shuckburgh Park. The following are the circumstances relating to the very melancholy death of this truly amiable and accomplished young lady:—Lieutenant Sharp, of the Bedfordshire militia, with the other officers of that regiment, quartered at Daventry, frequently visited at Shuckburgh Park, during which visits, Mr. Sharp formed or professed to have formed an attachment for Miss Shuckburgh. As soon as the baronet perceived that Mr. Sharp's attentions to Miss Shuckburgh wore the appearance of particularity, he enquired into his character and connections, and finding neither such as he approved, he communicated the intelligence he had received respecting them to his daughter, and immediately desired Mr. Sharp to discontinue his visits at the park, as he would no longer be received there. Miss Shuckburgh also wrote to him to the same effect, and desired him to return her letters. From that moment he seems to have conceived the dreadful idea of destroying her and himself, for his answer to her was, "You shall have your letters and I will have revenge—revenge is sweet; and revenge arising from disappointed love is most inveterate." Defeated in his hopes of obtaining the object of his wishes, he by excessive drinking worked himself up to the highest pitch of frenzy, during which he meditated the horrid deed which he afterwards perpetrated. As an interchange of letters was to take place, it was agreed between them that they should be left in a summer-house a short distance from the mansion. About half past seven o'clock in the morning, Miss Shuckburgh was observed by the butler to go out off the house with a parcel of letters in her hand, which excited his curiosity and induced him to watch her. She went towards the summer-house, and he took a circuitous way to the same spot. As soon as he got to the door he heard two voices, and the first words which he distinctly heard were those of Miss Shuckburgh, saying, No—no—no, in answer, as he supposed, to a proposal of elopement. A pistol was immediately fired, and one fell; the butler was about to open the door, when in the space of two seconds another pistol was fired, and the other

other fell; the butler then alarmed the family, and, on opening the door, Miſs Shuckburgh and Mr. Sharp were found lifeleſs on the floor. The two letters of the 24th and 26th of March, addreſſed by Mr. Sharp to Miſs Shuckburgh, found unopened in the ſummer-houſe after the ſhocking event, prove beyond all doubt that the interview which ended in this ſad cataſtrophe was on Miſs Shuckburgh's part fortuitous; that ſhe had not the leaſt expectation of ſeeing Mr. Sharp, but went ſolely for the purpoſe of leaving the letters ſhe had received from him, and of carrying away thoſe ſhe had written. They were as follow:

"Friday, March 24, 1809.

"Caroline! O my beloved Caroline! I can but a ſhort time longer endure your cruel ſcorn; prepare to hear the worſt of me, and take care of yourſelf. Oh! by heavens! how loth I am to die, but you compel me to leave you; for, was ever the time to come when you would have no parents to oppoſe your will, I dare not, cannot think you would make me happy. I wiſh once more to read your dear letters, and then, on my honour, I will bring them to the cave to-morrow night, and ſhall expect to find mine in the ſame place on Sunday night. If you love me, tell me where you are going on Monday with Frank and your dear father. Your profeſſions of love are as ardent as I could poſſibly wiſh; would to God that your actions were as convincing; then, indeed, I ſhould be happy. Caroline, my fate is certain; I am ſorry you will not let me live; I am no child in my determination; when once fixed, it is immoveable; I have no earthly things to live for, for you will never be mine, ſo I will ſeek another and a better world. I can now again ſcarcely believe you love me, as you will not truſt me with your ſweet letters, but I ſhall ſoon be inſenſible to every thing; and on my word you may depend on my putting them at the cave ſome time to-morrow night. When I am dead, read them over, and judge of my delight when I received them; and of my anguiſh to be obliged to give them up. My preparations to quit this world take up ſo much of my time, that I cannot ſay more, than God bleſs you! and may he for ever protect you from the miſerable awful end of your truly faithful and affectionate, though wretched,

"Philip A. S.

"I implore and ſupplicate your prayers; and moſt fervently and ſincerely will I pray, in my laſt moments, that you may never feel the leaſt remorſe of conſcience, as the cauſe of my ſuicide, for it was in your power, and your's only, to ſave me, but you treat with diſdain all my arguments. Adieu, for ever adieu. P. A. S.

"I came ſo fully aſſured of ſeeing you laſt night, that I was not prepared to die, or indeed I ſhould. I acknowledge you have good grounds to treat my threats ſo ſlightly, but the time will come when you may ſee my reſolution is not to be ſhaken. What would have been your feelings (if you have any feelings), had you found me with my brains blown out at the cave this morning, which certainly would have been the caſe, had I not put ſuch confidence in your coming to meet me? Oh! for

ſhame, Caroline! ſo long as the gentlemen were over their wine, not to ſpare me one ſhort moment, to make my death eaſy; but I forgive you, nor will I repine at my unhappy lot. Had you ſeen my brains ſcattered on the earth, you could have taken my letter from my cold hand, and read it with compoſure, without ſhedding a pitying tear. P. A. S."

Extracts from the letter, dated Sunday morning, two o'clock, March 26, 1809.

"Now that I have ſettled, as well as my agitated mind will allow me, all my earthly affairs, I will devote my laſt ſad moments to my ever and for ever beloved Caroline, provided the contents of your letter, I expect to find at the cave, do not compel me to kill you, as well as myſelf, which I hope in heaven it will not. I came firmly reſolved to die; I have exerted all my energy to live; but without you it cannot be; all my religion and fortitude I had uſed to poſſeſs, has now left me; and indeed I am a wretched mortal; and yet I feel not the leaſt fear of death, but can with pleaſure and compoſure quit this life, for it is impoſſible I can ſuffer more; and if you doubt me ſtill, which I ſhall believe you do, if you ſay one other word about your letters, I think I ſhall be tempted to take you with me, to that other and that better world you talk ſo much about; where we ſhall be united, never, never to part; then indeed, we ſhall enjoy that bliſs your cruel parents deny us here; but I fervently hope your letter will be kind, and give me another ſolemn vow never to be another's, then I can die alone and contented; but if you give me room to ſuſpect that you will ever become any one's wife but mine, the thought will be certain death."

"I am contented to die, and fervently do I hope you may be able to live, and live happy, and ſometimes think of me. I have from my heart and ſoul forgiven all who have injured me, and hope they will grant me their forgiveneſs. I feel not the leaſt reſentment againſt any one, and I feel I can die happy."

A ſhort note, containing only the following expreſſions, was found in Mr. Sharp's pocket, after his death: — "Caroline, Caroline, ſhame, ſhame upon you; not one kind line at parting; cruel, cruel girl, adieu for ever!" But it is ſuppoſed, that on ſeeing her come at a diſtance, he haſtily thruſt it into his pocket, and wrote in pencil the following words, which were found lying in the room: — "I cannot live, and feared I ſhould not have had reſolution. I ſhall do it with more compoſure than I could poſſibly have expected."

The letters written to Miſs Shuckburgh were ſcattered about the room; thoſe written by her were ſealed up under cover, directed to Sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, and placed in a cupboard in the ſummer-houſe. The piſtol with which Mr. Sharp ſhot Miſs Shuckburgh, he threw to the oppoſite end of the room: that with which he deſtroyed himſelf lay cloſe by his right hand: he had two other loaded piſtols, one in his pocket, and the other was placed by the letters in the cupboard; he had alſo ſix bullets in his pocket. The coroner's

coroner's inquest was held the next day, and a verdict was returned of lunacy respecting Mr. Sharp, and that Miss Shuckburgh died by his hand. She was not at all disfigured by the shot, there being no appearance of it but the small perforation where the bullet penetrated, which was on the left side of her head. A more angelic corpse was never seen, as in life, so in death, her countenance exhibited a smile of complacency. Her remains were interred in the family vault at Shuckburgh. The amiable and virtuous life of this young lady, is the only source of consolation which her distressed family and friends have under this extraordinary and most afflictive occurrence.

4th. Between one and two this afternoon, the town of Horsham was visited by a most alarming storm. It ran in a S. W. direction, with a thick and gloomy atmosphere, and after many awful flashes of lightning, and tremendous explosions, produced hail with a degree of violence that dealt destruction to the windows and to the cucumber glasses in the gardens. The hail stones were from two to three inches in circumference, and, from their uneven formation, appeared like detached and rugged pieces of ice, covering the street nearly shoe deep; and, melting quickly, many houses, for a short time, were flooded.

7th. As some children were playing at Letcombe Regis, Berks, they put their heads through a gate, to imitate the oxen ploughing with a yoke, when it fell off its hinges, and dislocated the neck of a fine boy, about eight years old, who died instantly, and severely hurt another.

10th. A singular accident happened a few days since in Covent-garden market. The driver of a country cart, who had been wantonly beating his horse, was in the act of cutting the animal with a coach whip, when the lash caught him round the neck, and the shock locked his jaw. In this situation he was conveyed to a surgeon for assistance, and his jaw was unlocked; but it locked again the same night, and he continued in a dangerous state till Sunday, when he expired.

12th. At the latter end of last month Mount Etna burst out in a most tremendous manner. The first great eruption was from the very top. Twelve new craters opened shortly afterwards, about half way down the mountain, and have continued to throw out rivers of burning lava ever since. Several estates have been covered with the lava thirty or forty feet deep.

Russia.—The following affecting circumstance is stated in an article from Petersburgh last month:—"Three persons, who had been banished to Siberia, (a country, the name alone of which inspires terror throughout all Russia,) were obliged to gain a subsistence by hunting. In this pursuit they were one day led so far as to be unable to regain their road, or to find any vestige of human habitation. Overcome by fatigue, and exhausted by hunger, they were at length reduced to the necessity of casting lots, in order that he upon whom it should fall, might serve to support the lives of the others. To aggravate their distress, these unfortunate persons were a father, his son, and his nephew. This last was the first victim; the fa-

ther next immolated himself to prolong the life of his only son, who ultimately owed his preservation to a hunter, whom chance conducted to the spot. On his return, he related the particulars of this melancholy affair; and the government of Siberia, not daring to punish what was produced by the most urgent necessity alone, has sent the criminal with a representation of the affair to St. Petersburgh.

17th. *Ingenious Invention.*—On Tuesday, Lieut. Brown, of the royal navy, crossed the Thames, and passed through one of the arches of Westminster-bridge, in the presence of some thousand spectators, in a canvas bateau, invented by Colonel Brown, of St. Vincent's, for the use of the army, with thirty persons.

This military bateau is made of prepared canvas, so as to be impervious to water.

The bateau is seventeen feet long, five feet wide, and three deep, and when loaded with thirty persons, only draws three inches water. It is capable of conveying 100 soldiers, with their arms, accoutrements, and baggage, across the widest river, provided they lie down, and fifty if sitting.

This bateau weighs only sixty pounds, and can be fitted up and taken to pieces in three minutes, so that it forms an easy load for a man on a march.

Two lashed together are capable of conveying the heaviest piece of ordnance; and a number connected together form a bridge for the passage of cavalry.

This invention of Colonel Brown's has been highly approved of by the Duke of York, Lord Moira, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Chatham, and Sir Arthur Wellesley. The colonel, we understand, is fitting up one of his bateau's with two six-pounders, one in the head, and the other in the stern.

State of the Woollen Manufacture, from the 25th of March, 1808, to the 25th of March, 1809.

NARROW CLOTHS.

Milled this year	144,524	making 5,309,007
Last year.....	161,816	5,961,253
Decreased....	17,192	622,216

BROAD CLOTHS.

Milled this year	279,859	9,050,970
Last year.....	262,024	8,422,143
Increase	17,835	628,827
.....		622,246
Total increase in yards		6,581

The increase of 628,827 yards in *broad* cloths, ought to be particularly remarked to those who are not acquainted with the minutiæ of the manufacture, as being at least in a *double* proportion to the decrease in the *narrows*.

Court of King's Bench.—Right of Gauging in the London Docks.—The City of London v. *the London Dock Company.*

This day a trial at bar was had before Lord Ellenborough, Sir Nash Grose, Sir Simon Le Blanc, and Sir John Bailey, to ascertain the right of gauging wines, oils, and other gaugable matters in the London docks. The city of London claim that right exclusively to themselves, by virtue of a charter granted to them in the 10th year of the reign of Edward IV. which charter the London dock company insist was confined to the city of London, and not co-extensive with the site on which the London docks

docks are built. The emoluments derived from the exercise of the right contended for, now amount to 70,000*l.* annually. At the time of the grant they did not exceed 7000*l.*

The attorney-general, who conducted the suit for the city of London (assisted by Mr. Garrow, the recorder, common serjeant, and Messrs. Dampier and Watson), addressed the jury at considerable length. He admitted the words of the charter were *infra civitatem*, and thereby granting the right of gauging all gaugeable matters *within the city*; but he would contend, that by those words the city and its liberties were comprehended, and that the right was not confined within the walls of the city. As a proof of that fact, the lord mayor, who was the city gauger, was obliged to render an account, upon oath, into the exchequer, of the moiety of all forfeitures accruing in the gauging of wine, oil, and all gaugeable matters, "within the city of London and the liberties thereof." The next question would be, whether the London docks were situated within the liberties of the city of London, and that they were, he said, he should prove by innumerable witnesses. Indeed, the conservancy of the river Thames, the right of metage, and the boundaries of the port of London, were all liberties of the city, and extended over and much beyond the place in question. But he should also show, that the right contended for, had been uniformly exercised for upwards of 300 years, on both sides the river, from Blackwall upwards, and that the law and the practice were in his favour.

The documentary evidence was then read, and a host of witnesses were called to prove, that the city gauger had uniformly exercised his office on both sides the river Thames, as low as Blackwall, and near and about the spot in question, from time immemorial.

The defence was conducted by Mr. Serjeant Best, assisted by Messrs. Park, Holroyd, and Bosanquet. The learned serjeant, in his speech to the jury, said, the attorney-general had left him very little to contend against, as it was a mere question as to the construction of the charter. The words of that charter were, to exercise the right of gauging all wine, oil, &c. *within the city*; now if that was considered, even as applying and extending to the *liberties* of the city, it must mean to those defined liberties without the bars, and not be considered as wandering from one extremity of the river Thames to the other. The fact was, that that right was originally exercised only on the quays and wharfs within the city, but the trade and commerce of the country increasing, and the population growing more numerous, other quays and wharfs were erected, and, for convenience sake, the city gauger was employed by the merchant; and hence he wandered on both sides the river Thames in all directions; but he did not do that of his own right, or by virtue of the charter in question. The learned serjeant concluded by observing, that the London docks were not within the

the defined liberties of the city of London, and, conſequently, the company had a right to employ their own gauger.

Lord Ellenborough agreed with the learned ſerjeant, that it was a queſtion of conſtruction as to the words in the charter, and he was of opinion they did not bear the meaning put upon them by the attorney-general, or that the right was co-extenſive with the London docks.

The jury found a verdict for the defendant, and the city of London loſe the right contended for.

Bath.—Seldom, at this ſeaſon of the year, has ſo heavy a fall of ſnow been ſeen in this climate, as that which we experienced on Friday laſt. The ſtorm was inceſſant, for nearly eighteen hours, and the ground was covered, upon an average, to the depth of ſixteen inches. In this neighbourhood trees of very conſiderable ſize were bent double, and ſtripped of their branches, by the weight of ſnow, and material injury has been done to the orchards. Friday evening, a boy was found ſmothered in the ſnow, near the Red Poſt. 26th.

Court of King's Bench.—The King v. *Alexander Daviſon, eſq.*—The defendant was brought up, and received the ſentence of the court.

Mr. Juſtice Groſe, in paſſing it, read the particulars of the information, and commented upon the facts which were proved at the trial. He told the defendant, that he, being employed to check the perſons who ſupplied ſtores for government, had ſecretly become himſelf one of thoſe ſuppliers over whom he was to be a check. By this means he was paid for checking what it was his intereſt not to check. But he had ſecretly become this ſupplier; he had obtained the money he had gained, by this abuſe of his truſt, through the help of falſe vouchers; which, if they amounted not to a forgery, approached very near to the crime of obtaining money under falſe pretences. The defendant had, the learned judge remarked, paid into the exchequer, the ſum of 18,882*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* as the commiſſion which he had thus obtained upon the goods he himſelf ſupplied; and this was ſome atonement for his crime: but it was not the only puniſhment with which the government and people, burthened as the latter were by the increaſe of taxes, could reſt ſatisfied. The court, therefore, ſentenced him to be impriſoned in his Majeſty's gaol of Newgate for twenty-one calendar months.

This term, added to the defendant's impriſonment ſince his trial, will make the whole two years.

Died.—At Waſhington Wood, Sarah Hudſon, aged 104.

At Sherborne, Dorſetſhire, John Mitchell, aged 103.

At Egerlougher, in Ireland, aged 113, Anne Long.

Mr. Thomas Stevens, aged 102.

In Craig's Court, Dr. David Pitcairn, an eminent Phyſician. 17th.

MAY.

Longevity.—In the retired pariſh of Llanbedr, in the Iſle 1ſt.

of

of Angleſea, there is now living a woman of the name of Winifred Rees, who has attained the patriarchal age of 119 years, and nearly ſeven months; ſhe enjoys the undiſturbed leaſe of a cottage, in which ſhe has reſided 105 years. She is bleſſed with the perfect uſe of all her mental faculties, her eyes being as good as they were when ſhe was in her fiftieth year, and, ſtrange as it may ſeem, has ſcarcely a grey hair on her head.—On the 27th of March laſt, ſhe walked the diſtance of eight miles, and back again to a relation's cottage, bringing home with her a parcel, weighing upwards of twenty-two pounds.

An experiment, exciting much intereſt, was tried at Woolwich this day, the invention of Captain Manby, barrack-maſter of Yarmouth, for the purpoſe of getting a communication with veſſels ſtranded on a lee-ſhore, to ſave their crews in the darkeſt night. Three requiſites were neceſſary to effect this important object, firſt, to diſcover preciſely where the wrecked veſſel was, if it was not in the power of the crew to point out her diſtreſſing ſituation by luminous ſignals; ſecondly, to lay the piece of artillery with accuracy for the object; thirdly, to make the flight of a rope perfectly diſcernable to thoſe on ſhore, and to thoſe for whoſe ſafety it was intended. A ſmall mortar, firing a paper-ball high into the air, at a certain calculated diſtance it was exploded, diſengaged a ſhower of large balls of fire, that kept a luminous fall, nearly to the horizon, where the veſſel was ſuppoſed to be ſeen, and a ſtand, having two perpendiculars in it, was pointed to the object; the ſtand ſuppoſing to have aſcertained the direct poſition of the wrecked veſſel, the mortar was to be placed behind it, directed to the line of the two perpendiculars, and the rope regularly laid on the ground in its front; the mortar being loaded with a ſhell, having three large fuſes, or rather rockets in it, which, when fired, carried the rope, ſurrounded by ſuch an immenſe blaze of light that could ſcarcely be conceived. All before whom the experiment was made, congratulated the inventor, and expreſſed their conviction of its utility.

Our readers will recollect the caſe of the Rev. Francis Stone, who, after many hearings in the conſiſtory-court, refuſing to revoke his opinions, was deemed to have forfeited his living, and was adjudged to be deprived of it. Againſt this ſentence he appealed to the court of arches; and the caſe having been argued before Sir John Nicholls, he, this day, took a review of the whole proceedings, and ſtated, that this appeal had been made by Mr. Stone, on the grounds, as ſtated by him in his defence, "that he was ignorant of the act of Queen Elizabeth, on which he had been convicted, and ſuppoſed he was at liberty to preach agreeably to the conviction of his own conſcience; but that as the act above alluded to, and the conſiſtorial court, adjudged to the contrary, he was ready and willing to declare, that he would never offend in the ſame way."—"This," ſaid Sir John Nicholls, "is no recantation

tion of the doctrines preached, but merely an assertion that he will not offend again in the same way; by which he may mean, that he will not preach at all, or that he will not preach another visitation-sermon; so that he may retain the same errors with his living, if he be allowed to hold it." Sir John saw no grounds for reversing the former judgment; but declared it to be affirmed, reserved the decision as to the costs, as he understood a petition had been presented to remit them, and as the crown lawyers might not be disposed to urge them.

A subscription is opened with a view of purchasing an annuity for Mr. Stone, who, it is believed, is left almost destitute, and has a large family depending on him.

5th. This night, a great part of the cliff-land, in the Isle of Sheppy, about 500 feet in length, and 150 feet in breadth, gave way, and sunk into a valley, carrying with it part of the dwelling-house, cow-house, and other out-houses adjoining, called Bugsby-hole.

7th. *Court of King's Bench.*—Saturday morning, George Beaumont, printer of the Sunday newspaper, entitled the *British Guardian*, was sentenced by Mr. Justice Grose to two years imprisonment in Newgate, to pay a fine of 50*l.* and at the expiration of the term to give security to the amount of 500*l.* for his good behaviour. The prisoner was some time since convicted of a libel upon his Majesty, in a letter inserted in the aforesaid paper, signed "Tiberius Gracchus."

In this letter, after speaking of the battle of Vimiera, and praising the valour of the army and navy, the writer regretted that so much valour should be misapplied, and attributed the disasters of his Majesty's long reign, to a secret influence behind the throne. He insinuated, also, that there might be a limit to the patience and submission of the people.

10th. While the inhabitants of Poole were assembled in the town-hall, to consider of a vote of thanks to Mr. Wardle, the floor gave way, and upwards of 2000 of them were precipitated, with great violence, upwards of twenty feet, by which several had their limbs broken. No lives were lost. To add to the catastrophe, the market had been held the previous day, and the shambles underneath not being removed, numbers were dreadfully lacerated, by falling on the hooks.

11th. *Court of Exchequer.*—*Game Laws.*—*The King v. Prosser.*—Mr. Baron Graham read the notes which he had taken of this case when it was tried before him, at the last Gloucester assizes. The action had been brought at the instance of Sir —— Wathen, a gentleman who, it appeared, was distinguished in his neighbourhood, for a rigorous inforcement of the game laws.

A Mr. Hawkins, who was by law qualified, resolved to treat the people in that neighbourhood with a few hares. He collected all the dogs he could find in that quarter, and killed nineteen hares in one day.—Among the dogs borrowed, was that of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, which had been kept by the defendant Prosser, the tenant of Mr. Jackson.

Prosser,

Proſſer, at the requeſt of Hawkins, went out with the dog, and took an active part in the ſport; in conſequence of which a proſecution was commenced againſt him, under the ſtatute of Anne, for uſing a dog for the deſtruction of game without having been qualified by law. The jury found for the defendant.

Mr. Abbott moved in the exchequer for a new trial, and mentioned a *niſi prius* caſe, tried at Stafford, before Mr. Juſtice Lawrence, in which that very learned and accurate judge laid it down, that whoſoever accompanied a qualified man in the chace, and took a ſhare in the ſport, was liable to the penalty under the act, unleſs himſelf qualified, excepting ſervants hired *pro hac vice*.

Mr. Serjeant Williams alſo ſupported this ſide of the queſtion.

Mr. Dauncey, on the other hand, contended, that ſuch a doctrine would lead to the moſt monſtrous conſequences. A man going to the opera, might, upon this principle, be ſaid to uſe a fiddle-ſtick, becauſe he partook of the amuſement. Every one who applauded at Newmarket, might be ſaid to keep a race-horſe, and the ladies of Portman-ſquare, who waved their handkerchiefs in admiration of the worthies of the whip-club, might be conſidered as members of that ſapient ſociety.—Mr. Dauncey alſo relied upon the caſe of the King *v.* Newman, where Lord Mansfield had diſapproved of the conduct of a magiſtrate who had convicted two men for having attended a qualified man at a hunt.

Mr. Abbott ſtated, that the caſe mentioned had been reported by Mr. Loftt, who had ſince betaken himſelf to the writing of poetry, &c. It ſo happened, that there was a great deal of poetry in his proſe reports of law caſes, and, therefore, the accuracy of his reports had ſeldom been much relied on.

The lord chief baron obſerved, that before he affirmed or denied the doctrine laid down by Mr. Juſtice Lawrence, he ſhould wiſh to have it very fully conſidered. In the preſent caſe there was no occaſion for that: beſides it came within the exceptions univerſally allowed. Proſſer had gone out, not for his own pleaſure, but as the ſervant, *pro hac vice*, of Mr. Hawkins. The verdict, therefore, was unqueſtionably right.

The other judges concurred in this opinion, and the rule which had been obtained on a former day, by Mr. Abbott, for a new trial, was accordingly diſcharged.

Jones v. *Jones*.—This was a caſe of conſiderable public intereſt, and eſtabliſhed the fact, of landlords and innkeepers being anſwerable, for the property of their cuſtomers, while under their roof. It was an action tried at the laſt Hereford aſſizes, before Mr. Baron Wood, the facts of which were as follows:—The plaintiff had a rider in his employ, named Evan Jones, who left London in December laſt, and in five days after arrived at an inn at Wrexham, in Denbighſhire, kept by the defendant. The inn being full, the rider was obliged to ſleep in a three-bedded room, two of which were occupied by the defendant's own family. The rider ſwore at the trial, that on 25th.

the

the morning of his arrival at Wrexham, he had a pocket-book, containing 400*l.* in bank-notes; that meeting with ſeveral of his Welch friends, he drank freely, but was not intoxicated. On going to-bed at night, he recollected placing his waiſtcoat in a chair by his bed-ſide, and the pocket-book was ſafe. When he awoke the next morning, his cloaths were there, but his pocket-book was gone; upon which he rouſed the whole family, declared his loſs, and all joined in ſearching the bed-chamber; but the pocket-book could no where be found.—The defendant and his wife appeared extremely anxious that the pocket-book ſhould be found, and actually ſent for a conſtable to aſſiſt in the ſearch. In anſwer to this, the defendant brought all his ſervants and children to prove, that they never ſaw the pocket-book; and the judge ſummed up in favour of the defendant, obſerving, that it was a very hard law againſt innkeepers, who were made liable for the ſecurity of the goods of their gueſts; and unleſs the jury were ſatisfied of the evidence of the rider, they would find for the defendant.—The jury, however, conſulted together for ſome time, and found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 400*l.*

Mr. Jervis came to court this term, and obtained a rule to ſhow cauſe why the verdict ſhould not be ſet aſide, and a new trial had; that verdict being againſt the directions of the judge. This day the caſe came to be fully argued; and ſince the court granted the conditional rule, the following extraordinary fact had come to light. The defendant had fallen into diſtreſs, his goods were ſeized in execution, and a public ſale advertiſed on the 29th ult.; on which day the auctioneer, in preſence of the perſons aſſembled, put up for ſale a bed and mattreſſes, remarking, that it was the ſame in which the young man had ſlept who loſt the 400*l.* The lot was purchaſed by a perſon, who joined in making an affidavit of the fact; and, to his aſtoniſhment and ſurpriſe, between the two old mattreſſes, which were under the feather-bed, the loſt pocket-book was diſcovered, and the 400*l.* in notes within it.—Upon the knowledge of that fact, Mr. Jervis ſuggeſted, if a new trial was not granted, that a *ſtet proceſſus* ſhould be awarded, and the defendant ſpared from payment of the coſts. Mr. Jervis added, that the defendant was moſt intereſted for his character, which had ſuffered by the verdict; and he contended, that the rider, having gone to-bed intoxicated, might, by the cunning ſome men poſſeſſed in their intoxication, have hid the book between the mattreſſes, and the next morning loſt all recollection of the fact.

The chief baron admitted, that it was a ſort of action which required as much ſtrictneſs in proof as a trial for felony; and that the imprudent conduct of the rider laid him open to a ſevere croſs-examination; but the jury believing his teſtimony, had come to a right concluſion.—The ſubſequent finding of the pocket-book was a deciſive confirmation of his ſtory; and though he did not mean to attach ſuſpicion to the defendant or his wife, yet he might have diſhoneſt people about him;

him; and he could not believe the pocket-book was between the mattreſſes on the morning of the ſearch. He rather believed, from the noiſe the circumſtance had occaſioned in the country, the party who took the pocket-book was apprehenſive it could not be got rid of without detection, and had, therefore, placed it between the mattreſſes previous to the ſale. Upon the whole, he ſaw no grounds for diſturbing the verdict, or for granting a *ſtet proceſſus*.

The other judges concurred in opinion, and the rule for a new trial was diſcharged.

12th. *Sheriff's Court.—Crim. Con.—Welleſley, Eſq.* v. *Lord Paget.*—In this caſe, the plaintiff having brought his action for damages againſt the noble lord, the defendant ſuffered judgment by default, thereby acknowledging the adulterous intercourſe; and this day a jury was impannelled before Mr. Burchell, the ſheriff, to aſſeſs the damages.

Mr. Garrow, with great eloquence and feeling, depicted the previous ſtate of happineſs enjoyed by the plaintiff and his wife, and recounted the numerous offſpring, the fruit of their connubial intercourſe. He then drew an afflicting picture of the mental diſtreſs into which the incontinence of his lady had plunged him. Nor was he leſs eloquent in deſcribing the miſconduct of the defendant, who, he ſaid, had courage enough to conquer every other enemy but his own paſſions. This ſpeech was followed by evidence of the facts, and a ſpeech in mitigation of damages, by Mr. Dallas, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff—damages, *twenty thouſand pounds!*

The elopement of Lady Charlotte Welleſley with Lord Paget, which gave occaſion to the above action, took place in the afternoon of Monday, the 6th of March. Mr. Henry Welleſley, who is ſecretary of the treaſury, had ſpoken, it ſeems, more pointedly than ever to Lady Charlotte, on the very marked and conſtant attentions of Lord Paget, which (though from the long and confidential friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between the families, he did not apprehend to be diſhonourable,) might affect her reputation in the world. Lady Charlotte was indignant at the idea of reproach, and hurried out with her ſervant to take the air in the Green Park. She deſired him to remain at the gate, as ſhe ſhould walk for a ſhort time; and it appears that her ladyſhip took a hackney-coach, and ſent a note to Lord Paget at Uxbridge houſe. They met, and in this ſtate of irritated feelings, and, probably, on the conſciouſneſs of guilt, they ſet off together.—As ſhe did not return to dinner, inquiries were made. The ſervant had continued at the gate of the Green Park till a late hour; and on his return home, being queſtioned, he gave the above account. The melancholy truth was confirmed by a letter, which Lord Paget wrote to his father, in which he acknowledged his treſpaſs—and that he had in vain, in the heat of battle, ſought a refuge from the agonies of a diſtracted mind. It is certain, that on every occaſion in Spain, he expoſed himſelf

in

in a way which got him the reputation of a raſh and adventurous gallantry; as it could not be imagined that a nobleman, apparently gifted with all the means and objects of happineſs, could be in reality ſo wretched. The two ſiſters, Lady Charlotte and Lady Emily Cadogan, married two brothers, Henry and Gerald Welleſley. Lord Paget is married to one of the beautiful daughters of Lady Jerſey, by whom he has a numerous family.

The firſt conſequence of their elopement, was a *duel between Lord Paget and Captain Cadogan.* In order to prevent the appearance in the papers of any miſſtatement, reſpecting the duel which took place this morning between Lord Paget and Captain Cadogan, we, the reſpective friends of the parties, feel it incumbent on us to ſubmit the following as the correct ſtatement of the event as it occurred:—In conſequence of a challenge having been received by Lord Paget from Captain Cadogan, and every attempt to prevent a meeting having failed, the parties, attended by their reſpective friends, Captain Cadogan by Captain M'Kenzie of the navy, Lord Paget by Lieut.-Colonel Vivian of the 7th light dragoons, met, as agreed, at ſeven o'clock, on Wimbledon common. The ground having been taken at twelve paces diſtance, they were directed to fire together. Captain Cadogan fired, Lord Paget's piſtol flaſhed—this having been decided to go for a fire, a queſtion aroſe, whether Lord Paget had taken aim, as if intending to hit his antagoniſt. Both the ſeconds being clearly of opinion, that ſuch was not his intention (although the degree of obliquity he gave the direction of the piſtol was ſuch, as to have been diſcovered only by particular obſervation), Captain M'Kenzie ſtated to Captain Cadogan, that, as it appeared to be Lord Paget's intention not to fire at him, he could not admit of the affair proceeding any further. Lieutenant-Colonel Vivian then aſked Captain Cadogan, whether he had not himſelf obſerved, that Lord Paget had not aimed at him—to which he replied in the affirmative. Captain M'Kenzie then declared his determination not to remain any longer in the field, to witneſs any further act of hoſtility on the part of Captain Cadogan. Captain Cadogan replied, of courſe his conduct muſt be decided by his ſecond; declaring, at the ſame time, that he had come prepared for the fall of one of the parties. On Captain M'Kenzie and Lieut.-Colonel Vivian making it known to Lord Paget, that as he evidently did not intend to fire at Captain Cadogan, the affair could go no further; Lord Paget replied, "as ſuch is your determination, I have now no heſitation in ſaying, that nothing could ever have induced me to add to the injuries I have already done the family, by firing at the brother of Lady Charlotte Welleſley." The parties then left the ground. (Signed)

R. H. VIVIAN.
GEO. CHAS. M'KENZIE.

May 30.

The following is a letter of Lady Charlotte Welleſley, to Mr. Arbuthnot,

Arbuthnot, which ſufficiently betrays the anguiſhed ſtate of mind which followed the imprudent ſtep ſhe had taken.

"It would be the height of ingratitude were I not to try to convey my thanks to Henry Welleſley, for his moſt kind and generous offer of taking home a wretch, who has ſo much injured him. I dare not write to him myſelf; but I implore it of you to ſay every thing which gratitude and feeling can ſuggeſt, to expreſs my ſenſe of the kindneſs of his conduct. His note was forwarded to me this morning; but, degraded and unprincipled as I must appear in the eyes of every body, believe me I am not loſt to all ſenſe of honour, which would forbid my returning to a huſband I have quitted, to children I have abandoned. Indeed, indeed, my dear Mr. Arbuthnot, if you knew all, you would pity more than blame me. Could you tell all the reſiſtance that has been made to this criminal, moſt atrocious attachment, could you know what are my ſufferings at this moment, you would feel for me. Henry has not deſerved this of me. We have had ſome differences, and he may, perhaps, ſometimes have been a little too harſh to me; but I can with truth aſſert, and I wiſh you to publiſh it to the world, that in eſſential, and, indeed, in trifling ſubjects, he has ever been kind to me to the greateſt degree; nor has the perſon who may be ſuppoſed to have attempted to lower him in my eſtimation, in order to gain my affections, ever ſpoken of him to me, but in the higheſt terms of reſpect. About my dear, dear children, I muſt ſay one word. Do you think I dare hope, by any remote or indirect means, to hear ſometimes of them; you know how much I love them? You are aware of their merits, and what I muſt feel at having quitted them; but I have the ſatisfaction, the inexpreſſible comfort of knowing they will be taken care of by their father, though their mother has abandoned them. My dear little Henry and Charles—Oh! God bleſs you!—I wrote every thing to my brother laſt night."

"*Tueſday morning, 7 o'clock.*

"Since writing the incloſed, I have come to town, and if it is not repugnant to your feelings, I think I ſhould like to have one interview with you, but not if you object to it in any way. The bearer can bring you to me inſtantly, if you will ſee me; but if not, aſk no queſtions."

Henry Welleſley wrote to her in anſwer to this letter to Arbuthnot:—

"That for the ſake of her welfare, and that of her children, he would conſent to receive her again, provided ſhe would return, and break off all correſpondence or connection with the perſon ſhe was then with; but that ſhe muſt return inſtantly, for the next day would be too late."

The reſult of this unfortunate affair has been, that Lord Paget returns to the boſom of his family. He is to live with Lady Paget, and has left town with her ladyſhip for Beaudeſert, in Staffordſhire. He has purchaſed a houſe for Lady Charlotte Welleſley, in which ſhe now reſides, and has made a ſettlement upon her—while Mr. Welleſley is eagerly proceeding to obtain a divorce.

13th. A labourer of the name of Fryer, who attends the windmill for draining the land on Slodmarſh Level, while managing the ſail, on one of the ſweeps, the brake, which ſtopped the ſhaft, ſuddenly gave way, and the wind putting the machine in motion, he was carried round on the ſweep for a conſiderable time, when, by dint of perſeverance, he, by degrees, gained the ſhaft, and from thence the top of the mill, where, by looſing the planks over it, he was enabled to deſcend from his perilous ſituation in ſafety.

14th. A moſt deſtructive fire broke out about ten this night, on Ralph's Quay, near Billingſgate, in conſequence of a ſpark of fire dropping on the turpentine which had run from ſome caſks lying there, and which, communicating to Ralph's quay warehouſes, ſet the whole in a blaze. Notwithſtanding the prompt aſſiſtance in a very ſhort period from the commencement of the fire, ſuch was its rapidity and violence, that the water ſeemed merely to give freſh ſtrength to the flames. The range of warehouſes up to Thames-ſtreet, filled with ſugars, tar, oil, hemp, turpentine, tallow, &c. &c. were all ſucceſſively conſumed, and the volumes of fire, though generally ſpeaking, almoſt uniformly thrown up, were rendered more furious and horrible every ten or fifteen minutes, by ſome new combuſtible matter which they caught.—The fire communicated in a gradual, but rapid manner, to the veſſels next the ſhore, and it began with aſſailing the maſts, ſails, and rigging, of thoſe in the immediate tiers. The ſight from London and Blackfriars bridges was awfully affecting; and it was at one period apprehended, that it would be impoſſible to preſerve any of the ſhipping, in that part of the river, from abſolute ruin. Fortunately the tide favouring about eleven o'clock, by the efforts which were made for the preſervation of the veſſels in the dock, ſeveral were towed out, although with extreme difficulty. Four were completely burnt, and about the ſame number damaged. A floating engine, which was worked with great ſkill, was of conſiderable ſervice in preventing the extenſion of the flames along the river. Among the veſſels conſumed are, a large brig from Hull (the Zealous), laden with hemp, tallow, &c. a Margate hoy, (the Britannia), and a Deal veſſel, laden with ſpirits and wine. In addition to the warehouſes, ſix cranehouſes were deſtroyed; and ſeveral houſes in New Temple-alley, the Ipſwich Arms, the Coopers' Arms, in Thames-ſtreet, and the Dice, on Quay (a public-houſe, on Dice Quay), were damaged. Whilſt the firemen, watermen, &c. were moſt actively employed in reſcuing ſome cart-loads of property from the flames, a floor in the warehouſe of Liddard and Elvin, containing about 700 firkins of butter, fell in, and ſeveral of the firemen were up to the calves of their legs in boiling greaſe: a young man, of the name of Kinman, a fireman belonging to the Globe, had the misfortune to get the boiling liquid above his boot-tops, and was ſo dreadfully ſcalded, that he was carried off to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital. The inſurances in the various offices do not exceed

ceed 25,000*l.*, while the loſs is eſtimated at near 70,000*l.* We are happy to ſay, that no lives were loſt.

15th. During a moſt violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, a large fire-ball fell in a ſouth-eaſtwardly direction, upon the premiſes of Mr. Parker Weſt, Paul-ſtreet, Stamford; and after rending a poplar-tree from top to bottom, paſſed in an oblique direction through the wall of a neighbouring out-building, and made its way out at the door into a ſmall yard, where, having ſpent its force, it vaniſhed in ſulphureous ſmoke. Two perſons were knocked down by the concuſſion of the air, and a third was electrified. —Mr. Everard, of Barnhill, alſo, had a large ſhed thrown down by the ſhock of one of the tremendous claps of thunder, which were louder than any recollected ever to have been heard.—Two ſheep belonging to Mr. Nicholls, of Thurlby, were killed: one of them was ſtricken on the back, and the wool was taken off as if it had been ſhorn.

Roll's Court.—Lord Mahon v. *Earl Stanhope.*—This cauſe, which we reported at length on its firſt hearing, was re-heard on Wedneſday, at the deſire of the noble defendant.

Mr. O'Deady, jun. council, opened the caſe of Earl Stanhope.

Mr. Richards, on behalf of Lord Mahon, expreſſed a wiſh that the noble defendant, who was in court, ſhould not be permitted to ſpeak for himſelf, as he had engaged the aſſiſtance of counſel.

Earl Stanhope immediately addreſſed the maſter of the rolls. He ſaid that old birds were not to be caught by chaff. He claimed it as an indiſputable right to ſpeak for himſelf, becauſe he knew his own cauſe better than he could inſtruct any counſel. His intention was to ſtate his objections to the decree which his honour had made on the 9th of March, 1808: and before he ſhould ſtate them, he wiſhed to acquit his honour, the maſter of the rolls, of all bias or partiality, and he truſted that any thing he ſhould ſay againſt his opponents would not be conſidered by the learned gentlemen (Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Richards,) who were counſel for the plaintiff, as a perſonal attack upon themſelves. His lordſhip ſaid, that his ſon had originally filed a bill againſt him full of falſehood, and charging him with many atrocities, which he afterwards abandoned in his amended bill. He was charged in the amended bill with having exceeded the powers veſted in him by his firſt marriage ſettlement, and his honour referred it to Mr. Harvey, one of the maſters in chancery, to inquire how far the allegations were true. To that part of the decree he felt himſelf bound to object, becauſe it was not ſought for in the prayer of the bill; and he contended that no decree of the court of chancery could be made upon any other grounds than thoſe which were ſtated in the bill, and the allegations of the bill muſt alſo be proved by the anſwer of the defendant, or ſome other evidence. He objected partly to the decree, becauſe it referred to what had taken place in his father's time, and for whoſe acts he could not be reſponſible. He had nothing to do with what eſtates his father had ſold, nor the money

he received for them, and he therefore thought part of the decree which referred to that point ought to be expunged. In the whole bill there was no charge made againſt him reſpecting the eſtates which had been ſold in his father's time, and if there had, it could not apply to him, but to his father's truſtees, who were dead; and there was no perſon made party to the ſuit who could defend his father's character in his tranſactions. He could not conſider the inquiry of the maſter to be any thing elſe than a ſham inquiry, becauſe no opportunity was allowed of croſs examining the witneſſes, who might perhaps be perjured. He did not think that his honour could act upon a report taken under ſuch circumſtances. His lordſhip then quoted a number of law authorities, tending to ſhew, that no decree could be made by any court of juſtice, beyond that which the plaintiff prayed for. The doctrine was eſtabliſhed in the caſe of Mr. Haſtings, where the houſe of lords, at the requeſt of Mr. Law, now Lord Ellenborough, refuſed to hear any evidence which did not reſpect any of the charges alleged againſt the defendant. His lordſhip, therefore, objected to the decree, becauſe it was not founded upon what was charged againſt him, but upon that which he admitted in his anſwer.

Mr. Scott was not heard, on the ground that it would be irregular for counſel to ſpeak after their client.—Mr. Richards made a ſhort reply; and his honour, after a few words, affirmed the decree.

Lord Stanhope, we underſtand, means to appeal to the Houſe of Lords.

18th. The thunder and lightning which were but ſlightly felt in the metropolis, appeared moſt awfully tremendous in ſome parts of the country in its vicinity, particularly at Greenwich, Blackheath, &c. and on the oppoſite ſide of the Thames. A foreign ſhip, lying in the Gallions, below Woolwich, had her top and main-maſt ſtruck by a thunder-bolt, which ſhivered them to pieces, killed one man, and wounded another. At Walthamſtow it was particularly ſevere; and at Loughton, on Epping foreſt, it began from the ſouth, about half paſt four. The wind then became a perfect hurricane, twiſting the trees, and ſnapping off the branches. The hail broke the windows. Many of the hail-ſtones, full four inches in circumference, were ſolid tranſparent lumps of ice, with a white hail ſtone of the uſual ſize in the centre. There were ſeventy panes broken in one houſe, and all the frames in the garden were demoliſhed. Numbers of young rooks were killed in their neſts, and moſt of the geeſe had their eyes knocked out, by means of the ſharp angles in the hail-ſtones.

20th. Miſs Mary York, a young lady about twenty-four years of age, was brought by Lavender before the ſitting magiſtrate at Bow-ſtreet, on a charge, under the black act, of a moſt extraordinary nature. — Robert Coombes ſtated, that on Sunday afternoon, about five o'clock, he was paſſing through Kempton Park, in Sunbury, and as he was looking at ſome young men playing at cricket, he heard a gun go off, and immediately ſaw the priſoner, Miſs Mary

Mary York, in a paddock, divided from the park by a paling, with a gun in her hand: he, in conſequence, went up to the paling, and found Henry Parker there, ſpeaking to Miſs York, and obſerving to her, that if ſhe fired the gun off again in ſuch a careleſs manner, he ſhould come over the paling and take the gun from her. He heard her aſk her ſervant what fellow that was? pointing towards him. The ſervant replied, ſhe did not know. Miſs York then ſaid, "I ſhall take the liberty of firing at him," and preſented the gun at him; it ſnapped twice. He then got behind a tree, to avoid its contents. She ſnapped the piece again, and it went off, preſented at him. He ſaw Miſs York put ſhot into the gun out of a ſhot-belt, and ſaw her prime it with powder; her ſervant ſupplied her with powder to prime it. After the gun was fired, he and Parker got over the paling, and took the gun from her. Henry Parker, a carpenter, of Sunbury, confirmed the above, and ſaid, as he was walking along the road, he ſaw Miſs York fire off the gun; her ſervant was cloſe by her at the time: he obſerved the ball from the gun ſtrike the gravel road about three paces before him: he, in conſequence, went to the paling, and aſked her what ſhe was firing at? She replied, that if he inſulted her in her private walks, ſhe would ſhoot him: the ball made an aperture through the paling. At this, the other witneſs, Coombes, came up to him, and jumped over the paling, and took the gun from her. The defence ſet up by Miſs York was, that the witneſs, Coombes, had made uſe of ſome very improper language to her, and had thrown ſome pieces of the paling at her, which induced her to ſend her ſervant for the muſket, and ſhe had diſcharged it at Coombes in her own defence. This was confirmed by the ſervant. Mr. Rolfe, the uncle of Miſs York, the proprietor of the houſe where ſhe reſides, and the joint proprietor of the park, attended in behalf of Miſs York, and, in extenuation of the conduct of his niece, ſtated, that there was no road through the park; and therefore the witneſſes, and thoſe who were playing at cricket, were committing a treſpaſs: but he by no means juſtified the conduct of his niece, in diſcharging a muſket at them. Mr. R. endeavoured to throw diſcredit upon the teſtimony of Coombes, inſinuating that he was not a reſpectable character. The magiſtrate, however, did not conſider any thing that had been ſaid in defence, to amount to a juſtification of one of the moſt ſerious and outrageous acts that ever was committed, but would give the caſe another hearing, upon Mr. Rolfe undertaking for the future appearance of Miſs York and her ſervant, who, he conceived, had acted equally improperly, in fetching the gun, and in aſſiſting in loading it. The proſecutors undertook to produce three witneſſes to corroborate what they had ſtated. Miſs York is a ſtrong, healthy-looking young woman. She was dreſſed in white, with a chip hat, ornamented with a flower. She was accompanied by a female friend. Her maid-ſervant, who is implicated in the ſame charge, is a ſlight, delicate-looking girl. She was afterwards tried at the Old Bailey, and acquitted.

26th. *Court of King's Bench.*—*The King* v. *Valentine Jones.* — The attorney-general ſtated, that this was an indictment againſt the defendant, charging him with a breach of duty, in his character as commiſſary-general in the Weſt Indies, and ſuperintendant and director of army proviſions, appointed by his Majeſty in 1795. The indictment ſtated that the defendant, having the ſeveral allowances of 2*l.* and 3*l.* per day, and it being his duty to provide ſtores for his Majeſty, and not to receive any part of the emoluments or gains ariſing from the proviſion of ſuch ſtores, entered into a corrupt agreement with one Matthew Higgins, in purſuance of which, he received to his own uſe a moiety of the profits ariſing from ſuch proviſion.

The Right Hon. George Roſe proved the appointment of the defendant, and that he had admoniſhed him as to the duties of his ſituation; telling him that he was expected to derive no advantage from the ſituation, but his pay and certain allowances for proviſions. The pay and half-pay had lately been increaſed, to inſure the ſtricteſt fidelity.

A letter from the defendant, to Mr. Michael Sutton, dated 1796, acknowledging his conſciouſneſs of the terms of this agreement with Mr. Roſe, was then proved, put in, and read.

Mr. Matthew Higgins ſaid, he was a merchant in the Weſt Indies in the year 1796, and had a contract with Brigadier-general Knox, when he had the command there, for ſupplying government veſſels. Mr. Hugh Roſe acted as deputy-paymaſter there. He firſt heard that the defendant was coming out as commiſſary in 1796, while his contract with Brigadier-general Knox ſubſiſted. Upon the defendant's arrival, the witneſs ſuppoſed his contract at an end: in conſequence of this apprehenſion, he applied to Mr. Hugh Roſe, as he was on terms of intimacy with the defendant, to aſk him to ſpeak to the defendant, not to take the contract from the witneſs. The witneſs at length ſaw the defendant, and repeated to him the converſation between Mr. Hugh Roſe and himſelf. After this, Mr. Hugh Roſe told the witneſs he had arranged the buſineſs with the defendant, and that the witneſs was to have the contract; adding, that he was obliged to make terms with the defendant, who inſiſted *upon having half of the emoluments ariſing from that contract*, and that the other moiety ſhould be divided between Hugh Roſe and the witneſs. The witneſs at firſt ſaid he would have nothing to do with this arrangement; but Mr. Roſe told him he was very wrong, and that there were many ready and willing to take the contract upon thoſe terms. Mr. Hugh Roſe told him, the loſs the witneſs would ſuſtain, in giving up ſo much of his contract, would be made up to him in ſupplies: for that whatever ſupplies were wanted for government, he ſhould furniſh them, the profits of them being applied in the ſame manner as thoſe of the veſſel contract. This converſation took place on board of ſhip: and, when it was finiſhed, Mr. Hugh Roſe ſaid the defendant was in the cabin, and deſired the witneſs to go down to him; which he did, for the purpoſe of mentioning his acquieſcence in the terms of the agreement. The defendant aſſented

assented by inclination of the head, rather than by any expression. The witness, for nine or ten months after this, went on with the vessel contract, and supply of stores, to a very great extent. The witness saw an account-book, which he was now shewn, in the West Indies, in March or April 1797; he settled accounts with the defendant on the footing of that book, on the 31st of March. He stated to the defendant the account of profit and loss as upon that book. When the defendant and the witness settled, the defendant paid him 153,273*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* short.

Upon examination by Lord Ellenborough, the witness said, that he had no doubt of the agreement being understood by the defendant, and that the accounts were settled by it.

Mr. Nathaniel Winter was in the house of T. Higgins and Co. merchants in the West Indies, at the time of these transactions. By the desire of Mr. Matthew Higgins, he informed himself, from the books, what Mr. Higgins's profits were; and Mr. Higgins told him, if the defendant should call, to show him the statement of the profits on the books; the defendant did call, and the witness gave him an account on paper, which he looked at, but the witness could not exactly recollect whether he took it away: if he were called on for a decided answer one way, he should say he did.

Upon cross-examination, he said, the witness's house, that of T. Higgins and Co. purchased goods for Mr. M. Higgins at a commission. There were accounts rendered to the defendant from Mr. M. Higgins with false names. The witness had applied to persons, to put false names to such accounts.

A letter which had been before proved to be in the hand-writing of the defendant, was then put in and read. It was addressed to the acting commissary-general of Barbadoes, and was written shortly after the West Indian inquiries had been instituted. It told the acting commissary, that, if he were asked any thing about the defendant, he had time to make out any thing that was necessary; and desired him to be circumspect, not to give answers on the defendant's general business, or to make a hasty or incautious statement of facts. It went on—"For Heaven's sake, do not be unmodelling my accounts again, as they cost me more trouble than I ever had with any thing; and they desire no better than to perplex me. If you can better them, do so."

Mr. Dallas, in a long speech, insisted, that the jury could not find the defendant guilty merely from Mr. Higgins's evidence, whom he conceived an accomplice.

The attorney-general, in reply, stated, that Mr. Higgins was not an accomplice, inasmuch as he was not a public officer. He said, the money which had passed through the defendant's hands, in this nefarious agreement, amounted to nearly a million sterling; the profits on this sum were 300,000*l.* so that a profit of 30*l.* per cent. had been tacked on to the 5*l.* per cent. which the house of T. Higgins and Co. made on the purchases, and which, if the defendant had possessed common honesty, he might have rendered to government at that 5*l.* per cent. Government had

thus been defrauded of 30*l.* per cent. upon an expenditure of nearly a million, and this in consequence of the corrupt agreement between the defendant and the contractor, which had been so abundantly proved.

After a charge from Lord Ellenborough, the jury found the defendant *Guilty*. The trial lasted from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon.

26th. Between ten and eleven at night, a fire was discovered on the premises of Mr. Seabourne, a block-maker, in Narrow-street, Limehouse. From the combustible nature of the stock in this and the adjoining workshop, warehouses, &c. together with the narrowness of the street, the flames extended with the utmost rapidity on both sides of the way; and notwithstanding the most prompt and vigorous exertions of the firemen, both by land and water, in about two hours time six houses, together with an immense quantity of masts, yards, blocks, sail-cloth, pitch, tar, &c. were totally consumed.

7th. Died.—Alexander Hunter, M.D. editor of Evelyn's Sylva, author of Geological Essays, &c. &c. &c.

At Thevingham, in Yorkshire, aged 107, the widow Dawson.

At Caermarthen, in his 100th year, Mr. Coburn.

At New Barns, near Dalton, aged 100, Mrs. Elizabeth Gardner.

At Stramham, Yorkshire, aged 102, Mr. Henry Childers.

At Ombersley, Herefordshire, aged 105, Margaret Darby.

At Stewkley, Bucks, aged 100, Mr. John Bull.

31st. At Guppendorf, in Austria, aged 76, Joseph Haydn, the celebrated composer.

JUNE.

1st. On the night of the 1st of June, between twelve and two o'clock, four prisoners escaped from Carrickfergus jail, in a manner not inferior to any of the escapes effected by the celebrated Baron Trenck. They were confined in two separate cells, two in each, at the usual hour, nine o'clock. With the assistance of a gimblet and penknife, they cut the wood case of the door over the iron bolt, so as to introduce the finger and shoot the bolt. By this means they got into the passage. They had yet four doors to open before they could get into the yard. Three of them they opened in the manner above stated; but the fourth, four inches thick, and studded with iron, was so effectually secured, that it resisted every effort. They had now recourse to a most singular method. By some means or other they lighted a fire, by which they heated pieces of an iron hinge and the bar of a grate, and by this method actually burned the door in two pieces, as completely as if cut with a saw. Having now got into the yard, they carried out their two wooden bedsteads, and placed them one on the other, against the wall of the yard, which is near forty feet high. They then fastened the blankets of their beds together by whip-cord: to an end of the blanket they fastened an old iron grating,

grating, which they found in the yard, and threw the blanket and grating over the wall, keeping hold of the other end, and ſo gained the top of the wall, and got clear off.

Cambridge. — The Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, has preſented the univerſity of Cambridge, with about eighty volumes of valuable oriental manuſcripts, which have been placed in the public library.

The commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the ſtate of Windſor Foreſt, have made three reports upon the ſubject, which have been laid before the Houſe of Commons and printed. The following extracts from them ſhew its preſent ſtate:

"This foreſt was formerly of much greater extent than at the preſent time. According to an inquiſition in the time of Charles the firſt, and the perambulation made under the authority of the 46th of the king, it extends into the five hundreds of Rippleſmere, Cookham, Charlton, Wargrave, and Soninge, and comprehends the whole of ſome of them, and part only of others. The entire pariſhes within the foreſt are twelve in number, and it extends into parts of five other pariſhes. It contains fifteen principal or chief manors, having within them ſeveral ſubordinate or meſne manors. Of the principal or chief manors, ſome are co-extenſive with the pariſhes in which they lie, others are not ſo, and ſome of them extend over more pariſhes than one.

The whole quantity of land in the foreſt, according to the ſurvey and map, taken in the years 1789, and the three following, amounts to ..... Acres. R. P. 59,600 0 0

Of which the incloſed property of the crown amounts to.....			5,454	2 6
The private incloſed property of individuals....			29,025	2 36
Total incloſed land			34,480	1 12
Open wood lands on the waſtes of different manors	2,230	0 28		
Open heath and commons, the waſtes of different manors..	22,233	0 39		
Land covered with water ..	165	1 9		
Total open foreſt land	24,628	2 36		
			24,628	2 36
Encroachments incloſed by individuals, from different waſtes, but claimed by the crown .....,			491	0 2
			59,600	0 0

"The number of deer has of late years been much diminiſhed. And it appears by the returns made in November, 1731, that there were at that time more than 1,300 deer in the foreſt; and by a return in November, 1806, that there were then only 318 deer in the whole foreſt. It would be ſuppoſed that theſe, having a range over 24,600 acres of land, would find ſufficient food, with proper aſſiſtance, in winter; the contrary, however, is the caſe; and the deer in almoſt every walk of the foreſt, except one, are all nearly ſtarved; many actually die of hunger, and the ſurviving does have not ſtrength to rear their fawns. This principally

pally ariſes from the unlimited manner in which animals of all deſcriptions are turned out into the foreſt, by perſons who have no right or pretence whatever to do ſo, and by the ſurcharge of the common by thoſe who have a right to a certain extent. The aſſiſtance that ought to be given to the deer in ſevere weather is not attended to. The proviſion made for that purpoſe is, in every walk of the foreſt, inadequate; and in one inſtance, that came accidentally to the knowledge of the commiſſioners, was perverted to private advantage.

The ruinous effects of the ſyſtem which has hitherto prevailed in Windſor Foreſt, cannot be better illuſtrated than by ſtating, that the timber now growing in the foreſt is valued, upon a looſe eſtimate, to be worth nearly 200,000*l.* of which (from the want of care) only a ſmall portion will be applicable to naval purpoſes. The greater proportion of the timber is now going rapidly to decay, and ought to be cut as ſoon as poſſible. There are now in the foreſt of Windſor about 2,230 acres of land, on which trees are ſtanding; but throughout the whole of that diſtrict there is not a ſingle ſapling, or growing young tree, to ſucceed thoſe which decay, or are cut down. There are alſo in the foreſt about 22,233 acres of heath and open land, on which there are no trees of any age or kind, excepting a few oak and beech pollards of inconſiderable value.

The lodges in the foreſt (except thoſe occupied by the under keepers, which are mere cottages) are Cranbourn Lodge, New Lodge, Swinley Lodge, and Bagſhot Lodge; and it appears, by the return of Lord Cranley, in the explanation of his office of out ranger, that there is a lodge annexed to his office, called Trys Lodge, near Chertſey (which is out of the foreſt), now in the occupation of Admiral Sir Richard Onſlow, Baronet.

Cranbourn Lodge was occupied by his late Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, when lord warden of the foreſt; it has, ſince his death, been completely repaired and fitted up, and is now in the occupation of the Hon. George Villiers, by permiſſion of his Majeſty, but who does not hold any office within the foreſt.

New Lodge was granted by his Majeſty, with the office of ranger of New Lodge Walk, for life, to her Highneſs Princeſs Sophia of Glouceſter, by letters patent, in the year 1798. This lodge, as her highneſs ſtates, in her explanation of her office, is in ſuch a dilapidated ſtate, that it is ſcarce habitable by the ſervants who are put into it to take care of it. There are about twenty acres of graſs land attached to this lodge.

Swinley Lodge, with its incloſures, containing about one hundred and ninety acres, is always occupied by the maſter or keeper of his Majeſty's ſtag hounds, who is at the ſame time ranger and keeper of Swinley Walk, and circuitor bailiff and chief foreſter of Battel Bailiwick.

The ſtate of Bagſhot Lodge is much more ruinous than that of New Lodge, and is in no degree whatever habitable; there is a large quantity of building belonging

ing to it, and it was for many years inhabited by the late Major-General Cox and his family, but has been long deſerted.

Brighton, June 3.—" This has been one of the moſt tempeſtuous days ever remembered here. The number of mackarel boats belonging to this place are twenty-two, twenty of which unfortunately were at ſea. In the courſe of the morning, four of them, at great hazard and difficulty, ran on ſhore, and were preſerved. An equal number, we have ſince heard, were ſimilarly ſucceſsful at Lancing. At about two o'clock *p. m.* the boat of J. Prieſt, (on board of which were his brother, W. Prieſt, a ſon of the latter, and two men, of the names of Wm. Leech and J. Serjeant,) was ſeen within a mile of the town, making every poſſible effort to gain the ſhore. Their endeavours, however, were not ſucceſsful; a tremendous wave upſet the boat, and all on board periſhed, within ſight of hundreds of ſpectators on the cliffs. The poor fellows, as the boat did not immediately ſink, but floated keel upwards, were ſeen, ſoon after the accident, on her bottom; but the waves were too turbulent and powerful to permit them long to remain there, and human aſſiſtance could afford them no relief. One of the poor fellows, J. Serjeant, partly buoyed up by a bundle of nets which he graſped, appeared within about twenty yards of the ſhore, and a very numerous body of the fiſhermen, enlinked with ropes, that the ſea might not waſh away the extremity, or ſever the line they had formed, tried every poſſible means to ſave him. At times they were within a yard or two of their object, who occaſionally claſped his hands together, as beſeeching them to continue their exertions. Serjeant, however, was not to be reſcued from the devouring element; for the nets which had previouſly ſupported, in the end twined round him. The drowning man, in the agonies of death, at the moment, had juſt ſtrength left feebly to ejaculate, " My heart is gone;" then claſping his hands together, and raiſing his eyes towards heaven, he ſunk to riſe no more. Three widows and eighteen children are left almoſt friendleſs by this ſhocking cataſtrophe. Of the Mayflower, which upſet in endeavouring to get into Shoreham harbour, John Spicer only was drowned. At Haſtings, it is underſtood, the ſtorm was more ſeverely felt among the fiſhermen than at Brighton, no leſs than twenty, it is ſaid, belonging to that town having loſt their lives.

8th. Two inqueſts were held at the houſe of Benjamin Perry, called the Brill-Houſe, Skinner-ſtreet, Somers-town, in the pariſh of St. Pancras, before George Hodgſon, eſq. one of the coroners for the county of Middleſex, on the bodies of Sarah the wife, and Henry the ſon, of Samuel Davey, of the ſame ſtreet, ſhoemaker. The principal witneſs was Elizabeth Blackman, mother of the deceaſed woman. She was extremely affected, and told her ſtory in the moſt plain and feeling terms. Her ſtatement was corroborated by the teſtimony of James Davies, a butcher, who lived next door. The ſubſtance of the evidence was this:—The deceaſed woman was thirty-ſix years of age, and her child only ſix months old; the unhappy man was thirty-ſeven. He had been afflict-

ed

ed with infanity a long while ago, and was twice confined in St. Luke's. He returned to his family about two years ago, and ever ſince his intellects were in a fluctuating ſtate, ſometimes regular, and ſometimes deranged: in the month of June his brain was obſerved to be moſt particularly diſtracted. He had made different attempts upon the life of his wife, though it was obſerved that he loved her and his children moſt affectionately. He was an uncommonly ſober and induſtrious man, but when his work grew ſlack, he became apprehenſive leſt he ſhould ſee his wife and children ſtarve; at the ſame time he ſcorned to apply to the pariſh for relief, and when adviſed to do ſo, he would ſay, "No, I would deſtroy myſelf firſt." He had had hardly any work for ſome time back, and it was known that the family had ſometimes gone twenty-four hours or upwards without ſuſtenance of any kind. About a fortnight ago he obſerved that he felt his unfortunate malady come on; for the laſt week he took no reſt by night, and enjoyed no converſation by day; he was heard frequently to mutter, "A pigeon here and a pigeon there, lay all alike; all lie alike." On Sunday night he wanted the old woman to go up-ſtairs in their ſmall houſe (conſiſting of two rooms), to ſleep in the room with him and his wife. Providentially the two eldeſt children, who ſlept with the old woman, were in bed, and ſhe did not go up until Monday night. He was then overpowered with the want of reſt, and did not awaken until ſix in the morning; the old woman then awakened without hearing any noiſe. She ſaw the child dead, and her daughter nearly ſo. After ſome ſtruggling, ſhe wreſted the handle of a hatchet from his hand, with which he had committed the horrid deed, and a broom handle with a knife-blade at one end, and a piece of lead at the other, which he kept to protect himſelf againſt being taken again to St. Luke's. He threatened her life alſo, and would have done the ſame to the whole family, ſhe believed, if he had not been ſtopped. The old woman had the preſence of mind firſt to turn the two eldeſt children down ſtairs. They gave the alarm. Davies and other neighbours came in; the man (Davey) drew a razor croſs-ways oppoſite his throat, but never touched it. The woman lingered for half an hour; ſhe was ſtabbed with a knife, her head almoſt ſevered in two with the hatchet, and was ſeverely bruiſed with the lap-ſtone. The head of the poor infant was cruſhed to a mummy. The coroner obſerved, that notwithſtanding there was to his mind abundant proof of infanity, yet that, as the man had evidently taken the life of two fellow-creatures, and thoſe ſuch as he was bound by law and by nature to protect and cheriſh, in his opinion it would not be prudent for them to diſcharge that guilt by returning a verdict of infanity. If they returned a verdict of Murder, the man would be ſecured, and taken to trial before a proper tribunal, where there was no doubt he would be properly taken care of, and there could be little doubt as to the deciſion. The jury then returned a verdict of Wilful Murder on each caſe, againſt Samuel Davey. The inqueſt ſat from one till half after four o'clock.

Dijon, June 8th.—The ſtorm, which

which on the 29th of May laſt, cauſed ſuch terrible devaſtation at Paris, has alſo done conſiderable damage in the neighbourhood of Chalons-ſur-Saone. More than twenty ſtrong-built houſes have been totally unroofed, or blown down, and whole orchards have been deſtroyed. In the woods of Baudriere and St. Etienne, more than 160 trees were blown down, amongſt which was an oak meaſuring more than two metres (ſeven French feet) in circumference. This ſtorm was ſo violently felt at Thoray, that an elm ſituated by the ſide of the houſes was torn up by the roots, and thrown to the oppoſite ſide a conſiderable diſtance. A young man, of about twenty-four years of age, was carried over a hedge of ſome height by the violence of the wind. A ſmall cottage at Boulay was wholly removed from its ſcite, and thrown into the middle of a hemp-field; providentially its poor inhabitants were abſent at labour when this ſingular occurrence took place. Fortunately no lives were loſt during this ſtorm, which, it is conjectured, was occaſioned by a water-ſpout, as the water of the Saone was obſerved at the time to have riſen with violence to a very conſiderable height.

Mont de Marſan, June 6th.—The 27th and 29th ult. have been days of great diſtreſs and deſolation to fifteen or ſixteen communes of this department, where the rye, wheat, and ſundry ſmall grain, have been totally deſtroyed by a tremendous fall of hail of an enormous ſize; the vineyards have alſo ſuffered conſiderably, as thoſe which had eſcaped the effects of the froſt, were now deſtroyed by the fall of the hail. The loſs ſuſtained is incalculable, and the unfortunate ſufferers are for the greateſt part obliged to have recourſe to public charity, or to the benevolence of the government.

Evreux, June 9th.—On Saturday, the 3d inſtant, a wolf of an enormous ſize came out of a wood, and ruſhed on ſome children of the commune of St. Clair d'Arcy, arrondiſſement de Berney, in the department of the Eure. The ferocious animal ſeized a little girl of ſeven years of age, and tore its ſkull and face very much; when Peter Robert Felix Cheron, alarmed by the cries of the children, armed himſelf with a pitchfork, and advanced towards the wolf, who immediately left his prey for the purpoſe of attacking him. The brave fellow, prompted by his humanity, ſtood undiſmayed at this critical moment, and ſteadily awaited the approach of the furious animal; when, by a well-aimed ſtroke, he pierced him with his fork, and after ſuſtaining a long ſtruggle, during which time the animal loſt part of his ſtrength, with a vaſt deal of blood, he, by a ſecond well-timed blow, knocked out one of his eyes; his wife luckily arriving at this juncture with a bludgeon, aſſiſted him in killing the wolf. The preſect has ordered a gratuity to be paid to this brave man; and has likewiſe ordered ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance to be given to the unfortunate woman whoſe children fell a victim to the ferocity of the animal.

Egra, June 13.—On the night between the 6th and 7th, a dreadful conflagration took place in this city, which in leſs than an hour ſpread its deſtructive ravages through

through it. The ſquare of St. John, with the exception of a few houſes, is totally deſtroyed. The Vorbourg, and the ſtreets called Dumoulin, Pimeney, St. Nicholas, the Fluth, the Steingaſſe, the whole of the Schifgaſſe, as far as the Dominican convent, and a part of the ſtreet called Hinterderſchulen; all the ſtreets juſt mentioned form one complete heap of ruins. The roof, together with the two towers, and the organ, of the beautiful church of St. Nicholas, was entirely burnt, and the bells melted. The churches of St. John and St. Michael, the commandery of the Teutonic Order, the hoſpital, the aſylum for orphans, the military ovens, the barracks for the recruits, the military hoſpital, and three of the city gates, fell a prey to the flames; and although eight days are elapſed ſince this terrible accident occurred, the flames are ſtill perceived, from time to time, riſing from the midſt of the ruins. One hundred and twenty-ſix houſes have been entirely burnt, and five hundred families are reduced to beggary. The fire was ſo exceſſively rapid and fierce, that it was totally impracticable to ſave any thing.

The hill called Standedge, on the line of the Huddersfield canal, is now perforated, forming a tunnel of nearly three miles in length, through a rocky mountain. It is worthy of remark, that the Yorkſhire hills, which were with difficulty paſſed a century ago, on horſeback, are now croſſed by three navigable canals, on which not leſs than a million of money hath been expended.

15th. This afternoon, as the ſecond daughter of Mr. Eley, who reſides in Northumberland-ſtreet, was paſſing through Spring-gardens, with an infant child in her arms, two bricks fell from the ſcaffolding before Mr. Thompſon's houſe, at the corner of New-ſtreet, and fractured both their ſkulls. They dropped inſtantly ſenſeleſs to the ground, and are not expected to ſurvive.

22d. *Court of Common Pleas.*—*Collins* v. *Sir Richard Phillips, Knt. and Chriſtopher Smith, Eſq. late Sheriffs.*—This was an action of treſpaſs brought by the plaintiff, a glaſs-manufacturer in the Strand, againſt the defendants, as ſheriffs of Middleſex, for the ſeizure of a number of articles in cut-glaſs, the property of the plaintiff, and in his houſe, under an allegement that they were the property of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Suſſex. The point to be decided then was, whether or not the glaſs in queſtion belonged to his Royal Highneſs.

To aſcertain the fact, the Royal Duke was ſworn and examined; and his Royal Highneſs ſtated, that as he had not at that time (nor we believe ever ſince) an eſtabliſhment of his own, he had ordered, upon a particular occaſion, a ſervice of glaſs, in the month of January, 1807, to be ſent by the plaintiff to his apartments in Kenſington palace, which he conſidered and intended to have been ſent upon hire. He had alſo ordered from the plaintiff a ſervice of cut glaſs on purchaſe, but never had ſeen any part of it. Whether any of the glaſs ſent on hire was intended to complete the order for purchaſe, he could not tell; but he certainly conceived the glaſs ſent to him on the 21ſt January, 1807, as on hire. His Royal Highneſs was then ſhown

a bill of parcels; but, on interrogation, he could not ſtate that it ſpecified any of the articles ſent to the palace.

Two ſervants of Mr. Collins proved that they had been ſent down to the palace to take care of the glaſs while there; that it was never out of their ſight, ſave during dinner; and after the entertainment, it was given back to their care, and conveyed to Mr. Collins's houſe; and they conſidered it as only hired to the duke. They could not ſpeak poſitively as to the value. They, however, proved that one of the vaſes in the ſervice was valued at five hundred guineas.

The defence alleged was, that, a delivery of the glaſs at the duke's reſidence having been proved, it conſtituted a property in his Royal Highneſs, and its return to the plaintiff, merely for the purpoſe of completing his Royal Highneſs's order.

Sir James Mansfield ſummed up the evidence for the jury, who directly found a verdict for the plaintiff, ſubject, however, to an award.

Small Livings.—According to the official returns laid before the Houſe of Commons, it appears that the number of livings under the value of 150*l.* per annum, in England and Wales, is 3291; out of theſe are 7 not exceeding 10*l.* per annum; 58 from 20*l.* to 30*l.*; 151 from 30*l.* to 40*l.*; 187 from 40*l.* to 50*l.*; 355 from 50*l.* to 60*l.*; 327 from 60*l.* to 70*l.*; 261 from 70*l.* to 80*l.*; 261 from 80*l.* to 90*l.*; 271 from 90*l.* to 100*l.*; 237 from 100*l.* to 110*l*; 258 from 110*l.* to 120*l.*; 212 from 120*l.* to 130*l.*; 167 from 130*l.* to 140*l.*; and 132 from 140*l.* to 150*l.* per annum. From the above, St. David's, Ely, Norwich, and Rocheſter, are excepted, as certificates have not yet been received from theſe dioceſes.

Portſmouth.—This morning, about eleven o'clock, 24th. a dreadful exploſion took place, attended with the moſt melancholy conſequences. The ſecond battalion of the 8th regiment having been relanded a few days ſince, their baggage and ammunition were placed on Point Beach, where they remained till this morning, when an old woman emptying a pipe which ſhe had been ſmoaking among the baggage, the ſparks fell on a barrel of gunpowder, and in an inſtant exploſion took place. The effect was moſt dreadful. About thirty men, women, and children, were literally blown to atoms, and the remains of their bodies, limbs, and heads, are ſtrewed in all directions. One poor fellow was blown over the whole of the buildings in Point-ſtreet; another againſt the wall of the Union tavern, as high as the garret-window; the thigh of a third was blown as far as Broad-ſtreet Point. I have ſeen numbers of legs, arms, &c. taken from the tops of houſes, and the whole preſents a ſhocking ſcene beyond deſcription. All the houſes below Broad-ſtreet Point have had their ſaſhes blown out; and the Star and Garter, and Union, together with every houſe from the beach upwards, have had the whole of their windows completely demoliſhed. The barrel of powder which exploded ſtood in a tier with ſixteen others, which for ſeveral hours were every moment expected to explode, as the ſmoking fragments were literally ſtrewed over them; but

but a company of the Worceſter militia, with ſome reſolute ſailors at their head, ventured to the ſpot, and cleared the burning fragments from the remaining barrels. Previous to this bold enterpriſe, which will doubtleſs be duly rewarded, almoſt all the families fled in confuſion to Portſdown-hill, expecting the whole town to be deſtroyed by the apprehended exploſion; but they have ſince returned, imploring bleſſings on the heads of the brave fellows who ſaved the town from general deſtruction. Lindergreen's ſtore, the Star and Garter, and Union, were on fire for ſome time, but not deſtroyed. Many windows were broken at Goſport, and two ovens were blown down.

26th. *Middleſex Seſſions.—Hicks's Hall.*—The Seſſions commenced on Monday, before Mr. Mainwaring, and the bench of juſtices.

Charles Chiſholm, Eſq. a Bond-ſtreet lounger of univerſal notoriety, ſtood indicted for aſſaulting a Mr. Blacklin, on Sunday evening, the 7th of May laſt, at the proſecutor's houſe, in Blenheim-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet. It appeared from the evidence, that the proſecutor lived with his ſiſters, who are reputable milliners, in Blenheim-ſtreet, and the defendant, a young man of ſeeming faſhion, lodged at the Blenheim hotel, immediately oppoſite. The defendant was obſerved to have acted at various times with the moſt reprehenſible impropriety and indecency, both in his room, which looked towards the proſecutor's houſe, and in the ſtreet, oppoſite the houſe; more particularly on the evening of the day ſtated in the indictment, when he was obſerved by the proſecutor to walk backwards and forwards ſeveral times in front of the houſe, caſting his eyes towards the drawing-room, where the Miſs Blacklins then were, with ſome of their female acquaintance. The proſecutor obſerving this conduct, called out, and deſired him to go about his buſineſs, or get home to his garret; upon which the defendant croſſed the way, and deſired to know if Mr. Blacklin had addreſſed himſelf to him. Mr. Blacklin anſwered in the affirmative. Upon which the defendant vaulted over the railings, got partly in at the parlour window, ſtruck the proſecutor repeatedly, and called him *coward*, *raſcal*, *pettifogger*, and *liar*. He was at length forced back from the window; but continued by his clamour to raiſe a mob round the door, threatening all manner of vengeance againſt the proſecutor, if he dared to come out.

A gentleman named White, who had dined with the proſecutor, his ſiſter, and Miſs White, ſuſtained the former evidence, and ſtated, that the conduct of the defendant was at all times extremely indelicate and inſolent.

No evidence was offered on the part of the defendant, and the jury inſtantly found him *Guilty*; and he was ſentenced to *two months impriſonment in the Houſe of Correction.*

The defendant, a ſmart young man, about twenty-five, faſhionably attired, went through his ordeal with an eaſy confidence, until the paſſing of his ſentence, which ſeemed a good deal to affect him.

29th. The following is an excellent illuſtration of a well-known fact, that the general tendency of currents in the ocean is from the Eaſt towards the Weſt.

(COPY.)

(COPY.)

"*Neptune, St. John's Roads, Antigua, June* 29, 1809.

"Sir,—As the incloſed letters picked up in a bottle, on the windward part of the iſland of Martinique, on the 18th of April laſt, tend to elucidate the ſtate of the current in the Atlantic Ocean, I encloſe them to you, with a requeſt that you will be pleaſed to make the circumſtance known to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty.

"The bottle appears to have been thrown overboard by the Princeſs Elizabeth packet, going to the Brazils, on the 6th of September, 1808, in lat. 14. 45, and long. 25, and it muſt have been carried about 2020 miles in 224 days, which gives nine miles per day on a weſt courſe.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "ALEX. COCHRANE."

29th. The dangerous conſequences likely to reſult from ſleeping in an outhouſe, during a ſtate of intoxication, were ſingularly exemplified on Thurſday laſt. A labourer, in the employ of Mr. Laybourn, of Whitney, near Oxford, having retired greatly inebriated, to recover from a debauch, was attacked by ſome rats. The liquor and ſleep had ſo overpowered the unfortunate man, that he was incapable either of repelling them, or calling for aſſiſtance. He continued in an agonized ſtate for two hours, when his groans attracted the notice of a perſon paſſing the door, and who, on entering, found a number of rats of a large ſpecies, aſſembled round the feet of the ſufferer, ſeven of whoſe toes had been entirely devoured by them.

29th. *Court of Common Pleas.—Sittings before Sir James Mansfield.—The Earl of Leiceſter* v. *the Proprietors, &c. of the Morning Herald.*—This was an action for a libel againſt the printer, publiſher, and proprietors of the Morning Herald. The damages were laid at 20,000*l.*

Mr. Serjeant Beſt ſtated the caſe on the part of the plaintiff. It was an action againſt the publiſhers of a newſpaper, for a libel of ſuch a nature and ſuch malignity, as perhaps was never before complained of in a court of juſtice. When he ſtated that the damages were laid at 20,000*l.* he would add, that he did not think juſtice would be done to his client, if any thing leſs than that ſum was awarded. The libel in the Morning Herald was a paragraph on the 3d of December, 1808, to the following effect:—"Articles have been exhibited againſt a noble lord by his lady, ſimilar to the articles which were exhibited by Lady Audley againſt her lord, upon which he was convicted and deſervedly executed; but in the preſent inſtance, there were circumſtances of far greater atrocity." Now, as to the libel, he ſhould firſt aſk, is it true or falſe? It was unqueſtionably falſe; for if ſuch articles had been exhibited, the defendants could have proved them from the office at Doctors' Commons, where ſuch articles muſt have been filed. This charge then, as falſe as it was wicked, the defendants muſt have known to be falſe, or they could have eaſily aſcertained that it was falſe, by taking the pains to inquire at Doctors' Commons before they inſerted it. On the 5th of December, the following paragraph was inſerted:—"The wretched ſon of

an Engliſh Marquis has abſconded, on charges which Lady C. (Chartley being his title when the old Marquis of Townſhend was alive) has exhibited againſt him. A ſpecial warrant has been iſſued for apprehending this lord, whoſe infamies have long rendered him a diſgrace to human nature." This ſpecial warrant for apprehending the plaintiff, was a pure invention of the writer of the paragraph. As a proof of the malicious motive in which theſe publications originated, he ſhould ſtate, that, in the month of April preceding, a paragraph had been put in the Morning Herald, announcing the ſeparation of Lord Chartley and his lady, at a time when they were living affectionately together. In conſidering the malignity of this libel, and the injury it was likely to do, it muſt be recollected what a horror the Britiſh nation entertained againſt the vice ſo imputed. He truſted, therefore, that the jury would conſider both the rank of the perſon injured, and the greatneſs of the injury which had been inflicted, and relied upon their finding a proper verdict.

The firſt evidence was the regiſter of pamphlets or papers at the Stamp-office. He proved the defendants to have ſworn themſelves proprietors, printer, and publiſher of the Morning Herald.

The papers were then produced, and the libellous paragraphs read.

The next witneſs was Mr. Barlow, who produced from the records of the Court of King's Bench the inquiſition upon Lord Audley, his indictment and conviction.

Mr. Mills, ſolicitor to the plaintiff, ſaid, that he believed the paragraphs which had been read to apply to the plaintiff. He had no doubt at all of it.

This witneſs was croſs-examined by Serjeant Cockle.

The caſe of the plaintiff was then cloſed.

Mr. Serjeant Cockle then roſe on the part of the defendants. He ſaid he roſe with conſiderable concern upon a ſubject, odious in its own nature, and which muſt give pain and diſguſt to every man. His learned friend would have wiſhed them to believe, that the aſperſions againſt the character of Lord Leiceſter originated in the newſpaper which was conducted by the defendants. The fact, however, was, that they did not; but as the plaintiff's own attorney had admitted, there had been *flying rumours* againſt the character of that noble lord, before ſuch paragraphs ever found their way into the newſpaper. The paragraphs had found their way into the public papers in the uſual manner, and the proprietors had offered to take their oaths that they were not the authors, and did not know who were. Certainly he was not an advocate for ſlander or licentiouſneſs in the preſs; but it was evident that public papers could not be printed, if the conductors were put to a ſtrict juſtification of the truth of every paragraph contained in them. If they maliciouſly invented falſehoods, or lent themſelves wilfully to be the inſtruments of malice in others, they ſhould be reſponſible as authors of thoſe calumnies; but if, without any malice, theſe paragraphs found their way into their papers in the regular courſe of their trade, they certainly were ſtill reſponſible, but not in the ſame degree; nor would a jury viſit them with ſo ſerious damages.

damages. It was allowed, that notwithſtanding all the evils which proceeded from the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, the publication of daily newſpapers, and the letting the public know what was going on, was of infinite advantage to the liberties and happineſs of the country. His learned friend had ſpoken of the Earl of Leiceſter and his wife having lived happily together. How did he attempt to prove it? did he call a ſingle relation, ſervant, or friend? No; all the evidence on this point was, that his attorney had ſeen Lady Leiceſter at her lord's table near a year after the marriage. The fact was, that ſo far from having lived happily together, there was nothing, perhaps, in the whole hiſtory of married life more wretched. Three ſleepleſs nights were all they paſſed together, and after that time they were never in bed, or ſeldom at board together. The lady, in the agony of an almoſt broken heart, and in ſpite of female delicacy, was obliged to reveal the wrongs ſhe had ſuffered. She had been obliged to ſit down at the table of her lord with wretches that are a diſgrace to human nature, and who ought not to be permitted to live. There was Neri, the Italian ſecretary, Hayling, Playfair, and other wretches of that deſcription. She was ſoon baniſhed from his houſe by ſuch conduct. When he was at Glouceſter-place, ſhe uſed to be at Paddington, and when he was at Paddington, ſhe came to Glouceſter-place. The noble lord had brought forward but one witneſs, who knew nothing of the matter. How came it that he brought forward no relative, no friend of rank and faſhion equal to his own, none of his juvenile friends, none of the elders of the college in which he was educated, to ſupport his character? On this ſubject there was a gaping chaſm, and it was thought proper to preſerve a profound ſilence. He, like other gentlemen of fortune, travelled in his youth, but was accompanied by this Italian, Neri, who had been called his ſecretary. This man he had kept in a moſt expenſive manner. When Neri married, although he had not a ſhilling of his own, and did not get a ſhilling with his wife, yet they took a houſe at a rent of 150*l.* per annum, and Neri lived more with his lordſhip than under his own roof.

Mr. Beſt appealed to his lordſhip whether this line of defence was to be endured. If it was, it would be in the power of any defendant to deſtroy the character of any plaintiff, by a ſtory that he could not be prepared to anſwer.

Sir James Mansfield thought the learned Serjeant ſhould be permitted to proceed in his ſtatement.

Mr. Serjeant Cockle ſaid, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to make this ſtatement, to prove that what had been ſtated by his learned friend (Mr. Serjeant Beſt) as an aggravation of the malice, was not true. It was alſo his duty to prove that thoſe *flying rumours* againſt the character of Lord Leiceſter were ſo generally heard of, that his lordſhip's character had not ſuffered by the paragraphs to the extent that had been ſtated, as he might perhaps ſhew that his lordſhip's character was previouſly as bad in this reſpect as any man's could be, who was not actually convicted of the crime. If this was the caſe, it muſt moſt materially alter the damages. As to the ob-

ſervation which had been made of the difficulty of reſtoring a man to ſociety who had been charged with ſuch an offence, he believed that his lordſhip might, whatever were the damages, continue to mix, with the ſame reſpect, in that ſort of company with which he had long aſſociated; and that whatever the damages might be, that they would not reſtore him to any ſort of ſociety which his birth and rank in life appeared to entitle him to. He felt no manner of doubt but that in the conſideration of damages, the jury would pay conſiderable attention to thoſe circumſtances which it was his duty to prove.

Mrs. —— was the firſt witneſs called. An objection was made to her examination, on the ground that it did not go totally to eſtabliſh the fact; this was over-ruled, as it went to a mitigation of damages. The witneſs admitted, that ſhe lived with Lord and Lady Leiceſter at their marriage; that they ſlept together only three or four nights immediately after it; that they ſometimes lived in the ſame houſe, but that generally his lordſhip reſided in Weſtbourn-place, Paddington, and Lady Leiceſter in Glouceſter-place. She had ſeen Hayling, Neri, and Playfair, at his lordſhip's; they all dined there; Hayling ſometimes ſlept there.—Her maſter and miſtreſs went to the country in Auguſt; his lordſhip returned from it in a day or two; her ladyſhip remained till November. She had ſeen the Lady Townſhends at Lord Leiceſter's, but never ſaw any nobleman there; except at meals, his lordſhip generally ſpent his time with Hayling.

Mr. Harraden and George Smith were the next witneſſes, but their evidence was not material.

Wm. Newton was maſter of the Cocoa-nut coffee-houſe in 1790. Neri was a waiter of his in 1792 or 1793. He knew no harm of Neri.

Mr. Ridgway depoſed, that Neri lodged with him eighteen months, about the year 1801. Lord Leiceſter viſited him there once a week. Neri paid a guinea a week for his lodging.

Mr. Derew was an auctioneer; he ſold the furniture of the houſes in Glouceſter-place and in Weſtbourne-green, by Neri's direction; he alſo ſold the furniture of Neri's houſe in Baker-ſtreet, but that was a ſeparate concern.

John Newby was chapel clerk of Trinity-college, Cambridge. He knew Lord Leiceſter and Neri there. Neri acted more as a companion than a ſervant there. Neri ſlept in his lordſhip's chambers, but it was cuſtomary for ſervants to ſleep on the ſame floor with their maſters. Lord Leiceſter was conſidered an eccentric character in college. He uſed to ſhut himſelf up in his room for a week together, and ſaw no one; inſtead of a purple gown, which noblemen generally wore, he wore a *pink* one; he dreſſed his hair effeminately, and was called Miſs Leiceſter, Lady Chartley, &c. in deriſion. Many gentlemen in the college, however, were *like ladies*. He admitted that notorious reports, accuſing Lord Leiceſter of infamous and unnatural crimes, were prevalent in college; he did not believe them. He had heard reports of others alſo. Lord Leiceſter gave ſome concerts, at which moſt of the nobility, and many of the ſeniors of the college attended.

Neri

Neri was a muſical character; his lordſhip and he often played duets together. Neri played on the guitar.

Hannah Ruſignal knew a perſon of the name of Murray; he lodged with her one year. Lord Leiceſter often viſited him, and at one time when he was ſick expreſſed his regret at it, and adviſed him to get good advice. Murray was not muſical.

Rev. H. Boulter was Lord Leiceſter's tutor at college: the cauſe aſſigned for his lordſhip's leaving college was, that he was going abroad.

Col. Rainsford, 1ſt guards, depoſed, that there was a man of the name of Frith, a private in his regiment: that after a ſhort abſence from the regiment, he found many men with gold watches, and Frith among the reſt; when in plain dreſs alſo, they wore as good cloaths as he did. Lord Leiceſter gave Frith the watch. He heard that his lordſhip uſed to walk arm in arm with the privates of his regiment in May and June 1806. He had heard vile reports of Lord Leiceſter for the laſt three years.

Lord John Townſhend ſaid, he was uncle to Lord Leiceſter. He was not on terms with him; their quarrel was not perſonal; he diſliked his lordſhip's conduct to his father; he did not know him after his marriage, but lady John ſometimes viſited at his houſe.

The evidence was here cloſed; and Serjeant Beſt, at ſome length, eloquently addreſſed the jury in favour of the plaintiff.

Sir James Mansfield commented at ſome length upon the evidence. He went into an hiſtory of the preſs in this country, from the time of its firſt eſtabliſhment to the abolition of the office of licenſer. The liberty of the preſs was a term *blindly* uſed by many modern writers and ſpeakers; it did not mean the liberty of ſpeaking political treaſon or private ſlander, but it merely meant the liberty of ſpeaking what it choſe, liable to the correction of the laws of the land. Undoubtedly in the preſent caſe a verdict muſt be found for the plaintiff, but at the ſame time the damages were liable to mitigation, from the circumſtances of the evidence, according to the judgment of the jury.—*Verdict for the Plaintiff* 1000*l.*—*Coſts* 40*s.*

Court of Exchequer.—Seduction. Strange v. *Gore.*—This was an action brought by the plaintiff, who is a watchmaker at Kingſton-upon-Thames, againſt the defendant, a captain of dragoons, ſtationed at Hampton-court, for the purpoſe of recovering compenſation for the ſeduction of his daughter, a beautiful girl from fourteen to fifteen years of age. It will probably be recollected, that this tranſaction was mentioned in the public papers, and made ſome noiſe at the time it took place, which was in January laſt.

Mr. Dauncey ſtated the caſe on the part of the plaintiff, detailing the particulars, which afterwards were produced in evidence, and then read ſome very ardent love letters written to the girl after the ſeduction. He took it for granted, that no witneſſes would be called on the part of the defendant. They would only have an able ſpeech from his learned friend (Serjeant Beſt). But they would recollect that words were not facts. The father, they would reecollect, was bound by law to ſupport his

daughter, while he was now deprived of the hope of procuring her an honourable eſtabliſhment by marriage, owing to the groſs miſconduct of the defendant, who, they would alſo remember, was nearly allied to ſome noble families, and able to afford a liberal compenſation. Under all the circumſtances, they would either give the whole of the damages, which were laid at 5,000*l.* or at leaſt a very conſiderable portion of that ſum.

Miſs Lydia Strange was then called, who depoſed, that on the 1ſt of January laſt ſhe went to Hampton Court, on a viſit to the houſe of a Mr. Bear or Vear, who had ſome charge of the palace. While walking in the cloiſters of the palace with Jane Hicks, the maid ſervant, ſhe met Captain Gore, whom ſhe had ſeen at Kingſton before, but had never ſpoke to; Captain Gore paſſed on without ſpeaking to her at that time, but he ſpoke to Jane Hicks. She then ſtated, that when ſhe went out to walk in a day or two after, Jane Hicks propoſed, by way of joke, that they ſhould go and throw ſome gravel at the window of Captain Gore. She aſſented, and the ſervant went and threw the gravel, upon which they both ran away; but Captain Gore followed them, and having come up took her by the hand. They were not together more than five minutes at that time, as Jane Hicks came up, and told her, that Mrs. Bear, or Vear, was waiting for her. Another time ſhe happened to go into the chapel, the door being open, and Captain Gore having obſerved her, followed her into the chapel. He took off his hat and kiſſed her, but obſerving ſome men at work about the windows of the chapel, he went out and left her there. Some time after he returned, and bolted the door. Jane Hicks was there at that time. Captain Gore entreated that he might ſee her in the evening, which ſhe refuſed; and then Captain Gore begged of Jane Hicks to perſuade her to meet him. Captain Gore gave her ſome grapes, and to Jane Hicks he gave a one pound note. He aſked her when ſhe was to return to Kingſton, and ſhe told him that ſhe was to return the next day. She next ſtated, that ſhe had gone home to Kingſton, but for ſome reaſon, not material to the cauſe, ſhe had gone to Hampton Court almoſt immediately after. As ſhe was out walking with Miſs Bear, or Vear, a child of about ten years of age, ſhe ſaw Captain Gore coming from the oppoſite direction in a curricle, along with a Lieutenant Liſter, or Leiceſter. They paſſed on without any thing having been ſaid. But Captain Gore came to them ſoon after, and perſuaded them to go to his lodgings. They went, and continued there till it was pretty late. He gave them three kinds of wine; claret, Madeira, hock. She drank of them all. In anſwer to a queſtion from the lord chief baron, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe had ſometimes before drank wine. They then propoſed to return home, and Captain Gore ſaid he would walk home with them. They however went to walk by the wall of Buſhy Park. Soon after ſhe heard a noiſe, as of one walking behind. Captain Gore whiſtled, and called out Henry, and then Mr. Liſter, or Leiceſter, came up. The latter took the arm of Miſs Bear, or Vear, and walked on with her

her before; leaving the witneſs and Captain Gore behind. She ſoon after ſaw ſomebody with a lantern coming up, upon which Captain Gore propoſed to her to croſs the road, that they might not be obſerved. From the voice of him who paſſed, who pronounced the name of "Strange," ſhe knew it was Mr. Vear. She then ſaid to Captain Gore that ſhe was afraid to return home after being out ſo late; upon which he propoſed that ſhe ſhould go with him, and he would take her to a young lady who would take care of her. She refuſed at firſt, but he afterwards perſuaded her. They then walked on for ſome time; when ſhe aſked whether the reſidence of the young lady was far off. He ſaid not very far off. They got a poſt-chaiſe, at a place which ſhe afterwards underſtood to be Hounſlow. This chaiſe broke down, but they got another, and proceeded ſtraight to London. They were ſet down at a place which ſhe afterwards underſtood to be Leiceſter-ſquare. From this they walked to a houſe in Chandos-ſtreet, where they had refreſhments and wine. She went to bed, and ſoon after Captain Gore came to the bed-room undreſſed. She aſked him if he intended to ſleep there? He anſwered "yes," upon which ſhe ſaid, he ſhould not ſleep there; but he ſaid he would, and in fact did ſleep with her. Next morning they went to a houſe in South-ſtreet, Soho-ſquare, where ſhe ſaw a Miſs Dunn, and there they continued for that night. Mr. Liſter, or Leiceſter, called next morning, and they went to the houſe of a Mr. Deſſin, or Veſſey, an attorney, and then drove to an hotel in a hackney coach, where they dined. Lodgings were then taken for her in Thanet-place, Temple-bar, where ſhe and Captain Gore lived under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Graham, till they were diſcovered by the Bow-ſtreet officers, and ſhe was carried to her father's. The whole of this took place between the 1ſt and 12th of January.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Serjeant Beſt.

She admitted that ſhe had nodded to Captain Gore from a window in Kingſton, before he had ever ſpoken to her. She often talked of Captain Gore among her acquaintance, and was ſometimes by them called, in jeſt, "Mrs. Gore." Her mother had been dead eight years; her father had, two years after, taken into the houſe a woman of the name of Sarah Wood, who had been bar maid of the Caſtle Inn, Kingſton, but ſhe always underſtood that they were married, although ſtories were going about that they were not married. Her brother, ſhe admitted, had threatened to leave the houſe, if that woman was allowed to continue in it.

Miſs Budd, who keeps a boarding ſchool at Richmond, ſaid, that the girl had been latterly at her ſchool, and was well-behaved. Her father viſited her regularly, and appeared very attentive to her in every reſpect.

Mary Brookes proved that lodgings had been taken for Captain Gore and Miſs Strange, under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Graham, on a Sunday, at her houſe in Thanet-place. She was ſtruck with the youth of the lady, and had a converſation with Captain Gore on Monday morning, in the courſe of

which ſhe remarked that the young lady appeared to be ſcarcely ſixteen. Captain Gore replied, that ſhe was nineteen years of age; that they had been married fourteen months, and he had known her eighteen.

Mr. Serjeant Beſt made an able ſpeech in defence, or rather in mitigation of damages. The two points upon which he chiefly inſiſted, were, firſt, That the father himſelf had ſet an example of vice to his daughter, in living with a woman in a ſtate of fornication; and, 2dly, That the daughter herſelf had exhibited a levity of conduct in making a ſignal to Captain Gore, who had never ſpoke to her before, which deprived the plaintiff of all pretence for large damages. They ought to conſider that not a farthing of what they gave might ever find its way into the pockets of the girl. He alſo ſtated, that though Captain Gore was allied to ſome diſtinguiſhed families, he was in very narrow circumſtances, and large damages would ruin him.

The lord chief baron ſummed up the evidence, and obſerved, that an improper levity in the girl would, no doubt, extremely diminiſh the claim of the father to damages. But they would conſider whether the youth of the young woman was not to be taken into account in adverting to the inſtance of levity ſtated by the counſel. In a woman of eighteen, who muſt have been aware of the conſtruction which might have been put on ſuch behaviour, it would have been unpardonable. But with reſpect to a young girl, who was only from fourteen to fifteen years of age, the caſe was different. With regard to the conduct of the father, the learned judge remarked, that whether he was married or not to the woman mentioned, his daughter had been very little in her ſociety, as it appeared that ſhe had been kept at ſchool for the greater part of the time that Mrs. Strange, or Sarah Wood, which ever ſhe was, lived in her father's houſe. In the courſe of the charge, the learned judge adverted to the conduct of Jane Hicks, and Lieutenant Liſter, or Leiceſter, in terms of the ſevereſt cenſure, and ſaid, that there was evidence of a conſpiracy between them and the defendant to ruin this ignorant young woman. Upon the whole, he thought they muſt find for the plaintiff, and that they muſt give damages. The quantum was for their conſideration.

The jury retired for a few minutes, and then found their verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 1,500*l.*

30th. Ten men and four boys, colliers, were drowned in two pits belonging to Meſſrs. Lee and Co. ſituate at Eaſt Ardley, near Wakefield, by the burſting of the tunnel of ſome old pits lying near. Three lads at the mouth of the pits, on hearing the ruſhing of the water, climbed up the rope, and alarming by their cries the men at the top, were happily ſaved.

21ſt. DIED.—At Scottlethorpe, Mr. Samuel Clay, who for thirty years was celebrated throughout that neighbourhood as a conjuror, and practiſed his art with great ſucceſs. If any thing could excuſe the credulity of thoſe whom he deceived, his ſuperior cunning, and the very extraordinary and impreſſive figure of the man,

man, might perhaps be pleaded. He was born at Scottlethorpe, and was a ſhort time apprenticed to a baker there; but having had a little education, he diſdained that purſuit, and led an idle half-ſtudious life in his father's cottage, on the Grimſthorpe domain; to which cottage, on the death of his father, he ſucceeded. By that time the recluſe life of the man had occaſioned ſome converſation, and he was regarded with a degree of terror by the children of the neighbouring villages. He ſtood ſix feet in height, was remarkably erect and thin, with "eyes ſevere and coat of formal cut, full of wiſe ſaws he was and modern inſtances;" and his loins were uſually girt with a belt, his waiſtcoat was of goat or dog ſkin, and ever at the "witching time o' night" he prowled abroad! In a little while his fame became very general, and ſilly people from conſiderable diſtances reſorted to his habitation, to have their difficulties diſpelled, and take the benefit of his occult ſtudies: almoſt innumerable are the inſtances adduced in which this *cunning man* hit upon expedients to relieve and ſatisfy his ignorant votaries. Being conſulted by a man who had loſt ſome traps for catching vermin in the purlieus of Grimsthorpe Park, the aſtrologer told him he would, by the *ſecond ſunriſe*, diſcover the perſon who had ſtolen them. He employed the interval in making inquiries; and having ſuſpicion of the offender, he went to a field in which the man was at work, and, accoſting him with all the confidence and ſeverity neceſſary for his purpoſe, "You ſtole ——'s traps," ſaid he. The appalled offender, ſmitten with his guilt, and with the *impoſſibility* of deceiving his accuſer, confeſſed the fact, and told where he had ſecreted the ſtolen articles. "I charge you," concluded the conjuror, "move them not from the ſpot in which they lie, nor ſpeak of the confeſſion you have made to me, on pain of the moſt terrible torments my ſkill is able to inflict." The man who had ſuſtained the loſs, called again at the time appointed, and, by the direction of Samuel Clay, to a particular part of the offender's cottage, recovered his property. Of courſe the amazing ſkill of the conjuror was trumpeted in all quarters. A few years ago, however, having, we ſuppoſe, miſplaced one of his ſpells, he was reduced to the dire neceſſity of declaring, by advertiſement, that HE WAS NO CONJUROR! and of begging pardon of an innocent perſon whom he had charged with theft! This circumſtance had but a ſlight and temporary effect upon his reputation, and he died in full credit as a magician, in the 50th year of his age.

At Stamford, Mr. Daniel Lambert, whoſe extraordinary dimenſions have for ſome years rendered him an object of curioſity. He had travelled the day preceding his death from Huntingdon, and on his arrival in the evening he ſent a meſſage to the office of the Stamford newſpaper, requeſting that, as "the mountain could not wait upon Mahomet, Mahomet would go to the mountain;" or, in other words, that the printer would call upon him, and receive an order for executing ſome handbills, announcing Mr. Lambert's arrival, and his deſire "*to ſee company.*"

pany." The orders he gave upon that occaſion were delivered without any preſentiment that they were to be his laſt, and with his uſual cheerfulneſs. He was in bed, one of large dimenſions—("Oſſa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Oſſa")—fatigued with his journey; but anxious that the bills might be quickly printed, in order to his ſeeing company next morning. Before nine o'clock, on that morning, he was a corpſe. He was in his 40th year, and upon being weighed a few days before his death, by the famous Caledonian balance (in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Ring, of Ipſwich,) was found to be 52 ſtone 11lbs. in weight, (14lbs. to the ſtone) which is 10 ſtone 11lbs. more than the celebrated Bright, of Eſſex, ever weighed. He had apartments at Mr. Berridge's, the Waggon and Horſes Inn, St. Martin's, on the ground floor; for he had been long incapable of walking up ſtairs. His coffin, in which there was great difficulty to place him, is ſix feet four inches long, four feet four inches wide, and two feet four inches deep: the immenſe ſubſtance of his legs makes it neceſſarily a ſquare caſe. This coffin, which conſiſts of 112 ſuperficial feet of elm, was built upon two axle-trees and four cog wheels; and upon theſe his remains were rolled into his grave, which was in a new burial ground at the back of St. Martin's church. A regular deſcent was made, by ſloping it for ſome diſtance. It was found neceſſary to take down the window and wall of the room in which he lay to allow his exit. The following particulars of this remarkable man may be relied on as authentic, having been taken from his own mouth. Mr. Daniel Lambert was born on the 13th of March, 1770, in the pariſh of St. Margaret, at Leiceſter. From the extraordinary bulk to which he attained, the reader may naturally be diſpoſed to enquire, whether his parents were perſons of remarkable dimenſions? This was not the caſe, nor were any of his family inclined to corpulence, except an uncle and aunt on the father's ſide, who were both very heavy. The former died during the infancy of Lambert, in the capacity of gamekeeper to the Earl of Stamford, to whoſe predeceſſor his father had been a huntſman in early life. The family of Mr. L. ſenior, conſiſted, beſides Daniel, of another ſon, who died young, and two daughters, who are ſtill living, and both women of the common ſize. The habits of young Lambert were not, in any reſpect, different from thoſe of other young perſons, till the age of fourteen. Even at an early period he was ſtrongly attached to the ſports of the field. This, however, was only the natural effect of a very obvious cauſe, aided probably by an innate propenſity to thoſe diverſions. We have already mentioned the profeſſion of his father and uncle, and have yet to obſerve, that his maternal grandfather was a great cock-fighter. Born and bred among horſes, dogs, and cocks, and all the other appendages of ſporting, in the purſuits of which he was encouraged even in his childhood, it cannot be a matter of wonder that he ſhould be paſſionately fond of all thoſe exerciſes and amuſements which are comprehended under the denomination of field ſports. About the

the year 1793, when Mr. Lambert weighed 32 ſtone, he had occaſion to viſit Woolwich, in company with the keeper of the county gaol of Leiceſter. As the tide did not ſerve to bring them up to London, he walked from Woolwich to the metropolis, with much leſs apparent fatigue than ſeveral middle-ſized men who were of the party. Such were the feelings of Mr. Lambert, that no longer than four years ago, he abhorred the very idea of exhibiting himſelf. Though he lived exceedingly retired at Leiceſter, the fame of his uncommon corpulence had ſpread over the adjacent country to ſuch a degree, that he frequently found himſelf not a little incommoded by the curioſity of the people, which it was impoſſible to repreſs, and which they were continually deviſing the means of gratifying, in ſpite of his reluctance. A gentleman travelling through Leiceſter, conceived a ſtrong deſire to ſee this extraordinary phenomenon, but being at a loſs for a pretext to introduce himſelf to Mr. Lambert, he firſt took care to enquire what were his particular propenſities: being informed that he was a great cocker, the traveller thought himſelf ſure of ſucceſs. He accordingly went to his houſe, knocked at the door, and enquired for Mr. Lambert; the ſervant ſaid he was at home, but that he never ſaw ſtrangers. "Let him know," replied the curious ſtranger, "that I called about ſome cocks." Lambert, who chanced to be in a ſituation to overhear what paſſed, immediately rejoined, "tell the gentleman that I am a *ſhy cock*." On another occaſion, a gentleman from Nottingham was extremely importunate to ſee him, pretending that he had a particular favour to aſk. After conſiderable heſitation, Mr. Lambert directed him to be admitted. On being introduced, he ſaid he wiſhed to enquire the pedigree of a certain mare. "Oh! if that is all," replied Mr. Lambert, perceiving from his manner, the real nature of his errand, "ſhe was got by *Impertinence*, out of *Curioſity*." Finding, at length, that he muſt either ſubmit to be a cloſe priſoner in his own houſe, or endure all the inconvenience, without receiving the profits of an exhibition, Mr. Lambert wiſely ſtrove to overcome his repugnance, and determined to viſit the metropolis for that purpoſe. As it was impoſſible to procure a carriage large enough to admit him, he had a vehicle conſtructed expreſsly to carry him to London, where he arrived in the ſpring of 1806, and fixed his reſidence in Piccadilly. His apartments there had more the air of a place of faſhionable reſort than an exhibition; and, as long as the town continued full, he was viſited by a great deal of the beſt company. The dread he felt on coming to London, leſt he ſhould be expoſed to indignity and inſult from the curioſity of ſome of his viſitors, was ſoon removed by the politeneſs and attention which he univerſally experienced. There was not a gentleman in town, from his own county, but went to ſee him, not merely gazing at him as a ſpectacle, but treating him in the moſt friendly and ſoothing manner, which he declared, was too deeply impreſſed upon his mind ever to be forgotten. Many of his viſitors ſeemed incapable of gratifying their curioſity to its full extent, and

called

called again and again: one gentleman, a banker in the city, jocoſely obſerved, that he had fairly had a pound's worth. Ever ſince that period, Mr. Lambert has been chiefly engaged in travelling to the principal provincial towns, where many thouſands have beheld with admiration his aſtoniſhing bulk. He was a cheerful companion; poſſeſſed a generous heart, and was as fond of rural ſports as any man in England. His game chickens and his dogs, when he was at home, were his chief amuſement, and the Racing Calendar his ſtudy.

At Camelford, aged upwards of 100, Mrs. Pope.

At Athen, county of Limerick, in full poſſeſſion of her faculties, Mrs. Eleonora Scaulah, aged 110.

JULY.

1ſt. *Liverpool.*—On the 27th and 28th ult., a party of the 19th light dragoons, which were in that town, and a preſs-gang quarrelled. The preſs-gang having, in ſeveral inſtances, behaved very ill, particularly one of them, called Little Jack, the ſoldiers were joined by ſome Americans, Portugueſe, Iriſhmen, and town's-people, who collected in a very large body, and repaired to rendezvous houſes in Strand-ſtreet, and Bird-ſtreet, in ſearch of the gang; but not finding them, they began to ill-treat the people they found in the houſe, and then proceeded to acts of violence. They broke the furniture and windows. By this time a very alarming mob had collected, which, coming to the knowledge of Mr. Aſpinal, a magiſtrate, he repaired to the ſpot, accompanied by Mr. Miller, the ſuperintendant of the police, attended by a number of conſtables, and after much perſuaſion, and threatening to call out the military, &c. they diſperſed about eleven o'clock at night; not, however, until ſeveral of the ringleaders were taken into cuſtody. On Wedneſday evening they aſſembled again, and conducted themſelves with increaſed violence, and entirely deſtroyed the inſide of five rendezvous houſes, ripped open the beds, and threw the feathers into the ſtreets. On Mr. Miller, the ſuperintendant of the police, receiving information of what was doing, he repaired to the ſpot, attended by ſix or ſeven conſtables, and ſucceeded in taking four of the ringleaders into cuſtody; but as they were on their way to Bridewell, two of them were reſcued from the officers by the mob. In this ſcuffle with the officers, a foreign ſailor particularly aimed at the life of Mr. Miller. He was armed with a large knife, and attempted to ſtab him, but was prevented from effecting his purpoſe, Mr. Miller being knocked down by another of the rioters at the moment the ſtab was made: his coat was cut in two places with the knife. Whilſt this outrageous aſſault was going on againſt the officers, a party of the Mancheſter local militia, who were on duty there, came to the officers' aſſiſtance, headed by the mayor, and Mr. Aſpinal, the magiſtrate. The mob, at this time, were carrying their violence to ſuch a pitch, that it

it was found neceſſary to read the riot-act. Every perſon was then deſired to depart, but it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon ſo to do. Ten of the moſt riotous were at length ſecured, and five of them have been committed to Lancaſter caſtle, to take their trial at the enſuing aſſizes. The ſoldiers patroled the ſtreets for ſeveral nights afterwards.

3rd. *Court of King's Bench.*—*Colonel Wardle's Caſe.*—*Wright* v. *Wardle, Eſq.*—The attorney-general opened the caſe on the part of the plaintiff, Mr. Francis Wright, an upholſterer, who brought his action to recover 1,914*l.* for the amount of ſundry articles of furniture, for fitting up the houſe of Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, in Weſtbourne-place, Chelſea. He ſtated the circumſtances of the caſe at full length, which were afterwards detailed in evidence. The defendant became liable to pay this debt in conſequence of his perſonal promiſe. Mrs. Clarke was already indebted to the plaintiff about 500*l.* or 600*l.*, and applied to him to furniſh her houſe, which he refuſed to do without being paid. She then told him at the end of laſt autumn, that ſhe had a friend in view who would furniſh the houſe for her. She afterwards brought Colonel Wardle to the plaintiff's houſe, who ordered the houſe to be furniſhed, and the goods were ſent in. Mrs. Clarke being diſtreſſed for furniture, had previouſly obtained of the plaintiff a few neceſſary articles, to the value of 200*l.* upon hire. Mrs. Clarke, he ſaid, would be called as a witneſs, and alſo the brother of the plaintiff, who could both of them prove the plaintiff's caſe. Beſides theſe witneſſes, there was Major Dodd, who had been preſent at one of the converſations, and if he was called, he would prove the plaintiff's caſe. If the defendant did not call him, his abſence would equally prove the caſe. But would Mr. Wardle deny the credibility of Mrs. Clarke? would he ſay that ſhe was not a witneſs to be believed upon her oath? In this caſe he would ſay, that though ſhe could not get credit of her upholſterer, yet as her evidence would be confirmed by the brother of the plaintiff, and ſhe was upon her oath, ſhe was deſerving of credit before a jury. The attorney-general then ſtated, that Mr. Wright being deſirous to have part of his money, Colonel Wardle called, and offered a bill for 500*l.*, at three months, which was received in payment by the plaintiff; but as the inveſtigation of the charges againſt the Duke of York was then to be proceeded in, Mr. Wardle would not give his own bill, but got a Mr. Illingworth, a wine-merchant of Pall-Mall, to give a bill for that ſum, which was afterwards paid. The attorney-general made ſome very ſevere and ſarcaſtic obſervations upon the frailty of human memory, which might account, perhaps, for Mr. Wardle's defending this cauſe, for it was by no means to be wondered at, he ſaid, that a gentleman ſhould now forget a promiſe of this kind made ſix months ago, when ſome perſons could not even remember, upon a great public occaſion, where they had been the very day before.

Mrs.

Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke was called. She appeared with her uſual gaiety. She was rather elegantly dreſſed in white muſlin, with a white ſilk hat, white ribbons, and a veil. A ſpotted muſlin cloak, lined with pink ſilk, a white handkerchief tied looſely round her neck, and primroſe or brimſtone-coloured French habit-gloves. She was examined by Mr. Garrow. Her evidence was to the following effect:—

Mr. Serjeant Beſt, for the defendant, objected to her being examined without being previouſly releaſed by the plaintiff; but Lord Ellenborough thought, that as ſhe did not come to charge herſelf, and the plaintiff by the ſtatement of his counſel, and by calling her as a witneſs, diſcharged her, it was not neceſſary.

She ſtated, that ſhe firſt became acquainted with Colonel Wardle in conſequence of a letter from the Exchequer Coffee-houſe. I took my houſe in Weſtbourne-place, from September, *but I did not enter till the 9th of November*. I communicated to Mr. Wardle, that I had taken it, and had ſeveral converſations about furniſhing it before I applied to Wright. I was indebted to Mr. Wright 500*l*. or 600*l*. I did not propoſe to him to furniſh my houſe on credit, becauſe I knew it would be in vain. I told him I had a friend in view, who, I believed, would furniſh it. I did not mention his name. Mr. Wardle was that friend in view, in conſequence of ſome promiſes that he was holding out to me. I was to give him every information in my power, and to aſſiſt him in the *Inveſtigation*. In return for which he was to furniſh the houſe. This was a part of the requital to me for giving that aſſiſtance. I informed Colonel Wardle of Wright's requiring ſome other perſon's credit. He aſked ſome one as a friend, firſt for his advice, and then he told me he approved of it. I had no other means then of paying. I was very much diſtreſſed at that time. He knew that, and knew of Wright's debt, becauſe he adviſed Mr. Wright to bring an action againſt the perſon who he thought ought to pay. He promiſed to Mr. Wright, if he would bring ſuch an action, that he would pay all the coſts. He afterwards accompanied me to Mr. Wright's, and I took him there to ſay, that he was the perſon who was to be reſponſible. Daniel Wright attended us that day in the ſhop. I introduced Colonel Wardle—I do not know I did that by name. What I ſaid was, this is the gentleman who is to furniſh my houſe. He went for that purpoſe. He was ſilent. We walked in the ware-room, Colonel Wardle remaining with the things. Colonel Wardle knew the ſtate of my houſe, and had ſeen the things previouſly ſent in on hire by Mr. Wright. I had gone up ſtairs to Mr. Wright, who was ill a-bed. When I came, he ſaid, he thought the ſideboard in the ware-rooms a very handſome one, and he ordered it inſtead of the one at my houſe. He ſaid nothing more—there was, indeed, very little more for him to ſay—and I gave orders for the things. He had gone to Wright's afterwards a great many times in a hackney-coach. He went another time, and the object of his going was

was to look out other things. I had choſen a pattern of a carpet in Weſtbourne-place, and a piece of carpeting was ſent in. Mr. Wardle preferred one at Mr. Wright's. Major Dodd was with him. Major Dodd had not been there before with me, but I believe he called once before with Colonel Wardle. They wiſhed to have a *ſcarlet* and *bronze* pattern. I objected to it, and thought it only fit for parlours. It was an expenſive pattern. Major Dodd ſaid it was very *Turkiſh*; he though it would ſuit me. For that very thing (being *Turkiſh*) I objected to it; but, I ſaid, as it was a good carpet, I did not care much about it; and as *they* were going to pay for it (I mean Colonel Wardle), I would not object. Neither of them then expreſſed any aſtoniſhment. Several things were ordered that morning, in the preſence of Major Dodd. They were ordered by him and Mr. Wardle.

Mr. Garrow.—I take it for granted, you did not very frequently object to his increaſing the order?

Mrs. Clarke.—Not in the leaſt. The things were ſent in, in January. In November, December, and January, as they could get the things finiſhed. The things were ſent in on Mr. Wardle's account. He was continually in every room in the houſe, without being aſked into it, looking at the furniture, from the kitchen to the garret. The maid-ſervants complained, that they had not looking-glaſſes in their bed-chambers. Sometimes he has ſent back expenſive furniture that Wright has ſent in, when he thought there was no occaſion for it. I recollect a very large mirror coming in. He flew in a paſſion, and the man that brought it almoſt dropped the mirror. They talked apart about it, and then Colonel Wardle ordered it back. I thought myſelf it was too much, as there was a large chandelier in the middle of the room. Mr. Wright called, and it being wet, begged I would give it houſe-room for that day, and perhaps he would think better of it. It was returned. Wright ſent once a writing-deſk, which was very expenſive. Colonel Wardle ſaid, there were writing-deſks enough in the houſe, and it was not wanted. I told the man to put it down to me.

Mr. Garrow.—Did he afterwards change his mind?

Mrs. Clarke.—Oh, yes; he was aſhamed of himſelf.

Mr. Garrow.—After this buſineſs going on for ſome time, did Mr. Wright expreſs a wiſh for more money?

Mrs. Clarke.—Yes; he communicated it to me, and I communicated his wiſh to Colonel Wardle. I had not a guinea on earth to pay it with. I told Colonel Wardle money was wanted, 500*l.* or 600*l.* was mentioned. He ſaid, he had not the money immediately, he would conſult a friend, and would let me know immediately. The application for money was made to me.

Lord Ellenborough here thought that Mrs. Clarke ſhould have a releaſe, which was accordingly executed and explained to her, and then ſhe was aſked, if ſhe wiſhed to qualify any thing ſhe had ſaid, but ſhe did not think that neceſſary.

Mr. Park ſaid, the releaſe ſhould

ſhould be to her huſband, ſhe being a married woman, and a ſecond releaſe was agreed to be made.

The attorney-general ſaid, however, it could not be neceſſary, becauſe the huſband could hardly be liable for theſe things.

Mr. Park, you'll ſay ſhe is not liable becauſe ſhe is an adultereſs *(at this Mrs. Clarke ſmiled)*, but that you cannot inquire into now.

The releaſe was aſſented to.

Mrs. Clarke in continuation.—Colonel Wardle ſaid, it would be ſome time before he would be prepared, and then not with money, but by a bill. He ſaid, that he ſent a friend there about it. He told me he ſent a Mr. Glenny—he called him Colonel Glenny. The bill was given. He told me that he would ſpeak to a friend, a Mr. Illingworth, a wine-merchant in Pall-mall, as at that time it would be improper for his, Colonel Wardle's name, to appear.

Mr. Garrow.—Did he expreſs in terms, or leave you to conjecture from your knowledge of buſineſs, the reaſon of that?

Mrs. Clarke.—In conſequence of the *Inveſtigation* that was going on, or about to be commenced, he thought it not right that his name ſhould appear to any bill, or in any tranſaction of mine. I believe it was the 2d of January, and I do not recollect the date of the motion in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke of York. That was about three weeks or a fortnight after. He ſaid he would ſend Illingworth to me. He was to talk over the date of the bill. I was to make my communication with Wright to know what was the longeſt time to be allowed. This was for Colonel Wardle not to interfere. I never knew Illingworth before. Illingworth waited on him. My name might have been introduced before to Illingworth, however, though I did not know him, becauſe my attorney had paid him 12 or 14*l.* for wine ſent in by him. I communicated to Colonel Wardle, that Wright wanted the bill for two months; but he ſaid it muſt be for three months. He ſaid he had ſeen Wright ſince I had ſeen him. I was informed by Colonel Wardle, that this bill was drawn on a friend, to prevent any ſuſpicion, or any thing getting round to the public. Illingworth was to take a bill on me for the like amount, which he told me was not worth any thing.

Mr. Garrow.—That was no new information to you?

Mrs. Clarke.—No. It was done, he ſaid, leſt Wright might be tempted to make more charges than he ſhould like to pay, and then he would be able to keep the tranſaction with me ſecret.

I was acquainted with Colonel Wardle before I knew Major Dodd. I ſaw Colonel Wardle about the end of Auguſt. I had a letter from the Exchequer Coffee-houſe without a ſignature. In conſequence of that letter I ſaw Colonel Wardle. The note was written by Mr. M'Callum. Colonel Wardle came to my mother's in Bedford-place, about one o'clock, and ſtaid till dinner about ſix o'clock, when he told me, that Major Dodd had been waiting for him all that time. I was rather fearful of doing what he wanted me with him alone, becauſe he was not much known in Parliament. Major Dodd was introduced as a gentleman,

gentleman, a friend of his. I had heard of Major Dodd before. His perſon was unknown to me. About the end of November we went a tour for three days, to view the Martello Towers. Mr. Wardle, Mr. Glenny, the engineer, and Major Dodd. They would not let me off the journey; I was in very diſtreſſed circumſtances; I never went out of town but with Mr. Wardle.

Lord Ellenborough thought it unneceſſary to purſue this courſe of examination further.

Mrs. Clarke.—I firſt heard of an objection to pay from Mr. Wright, about a fortnight or three weeks ſince, about the time parliament was prorogued. Mr. Wright truſted entirely to Colonel Wardle. Before I could go out of town I was obliged to have 50*l.* of Colonel Wardle, to pay the butcher, and the fiſhmonger, and other things. He always told me that he would lend me 50*l.* at a time. His expreſſion was—lend, but I did not underſtand that I was to repay it. The reaſon of my going out of town was, becauſe I had many friends about me, and it was feared they would perſuade me not to accept of Colonel Wardle's propoſals. There were no goods ſent in till after the 23d of November.

Croſs examined by Mr. Serjeant Beſt.

The houſe was firſt taken in November.

Mr. Serjeant Beſt.—It was in conſequence of a correſpondence with M'Callum that you became acquainted with Colonel Wardle?

Mrs. Clarke.—Yes. If you call one letter a correſpondence.

Mr. Serjeant Beſt having put ſeveral queſtions as to the time when ſhe firſt became acquainted with Colonel Wardle, and ſhe ſaying it was in the end of autumn, ſhe ſaid it was quite ridiculous to examine her as to that. She did not recollect exactly when the firſt order was given, but ſhe believed it was after Major Dodd's letter on the 21ſt of November. It might be the 23rd; it was a few days before ſhe went to the Martello Towers. Being aſked, whether Colonel Wardle had ordered coals, ſhe ſaid, he gave a general order to Mr. Wright to let me be indulged in any thing. He would have let me had money through Wright. He ſaid one day when I wanted money, cannot you borrow money of Mr. Wright. He often complained that he had no money, but ſtill he found me ſome whenever I wanted it. Being aſked, whether ſhe had not ſent him a threatening letter, ſaying, that if he did not let her have 1000*l.* ſhe would do for him; and whether ſhe had quarrelled with him? ſhe ſaid, ſhe had not quarrelled; but ſhe had ſent a letter, written by her, but dictated by a Dr. Metcalf, which ſhe was ſorry ſhe had ſent. She had not ſeen him for two months. As to receiving money of him, ſhe ſaid, that he was averſe to letting her have any thing after their negociation was ſettled. She once went to his houſe. He aſked her in with a friend who was there. She ſent for him into the carriage, and told him ſhe wanted ſome money, and did not care how ſmall a ſum. He ſaid it would be aſked of her, if ſhe was giving her information

with a view to any future advantage, but if every thing was previouſly ſettled, that might be fairly anſwered to the contrary. He afterwards ſent her a draft on Marſh, Sibbald, and Co. for 20*l.* ſigned by Scott, an army-taylor, who aſſiſted in the *Inveſtigation*. She then begged leave to ſay ſomething to correct her evidence as to quarrelling with Colonel Wardle. She then ſtated, that Corfield, his attorney, had called on her with a ſubpœna laſt Saturday, and ſaid, he wiſhed to ſhow her every reſpect. He wiſhed, therefore, to ſerve it himſelf, but in a common caſe he ſhould have ſent a clerk. That he deſired very much that the caſe ſhould go to arbitration to keep it from being public. That if it came before the court, Mr. Serjeant Beſt would cut her up by a ſevere croſs-examination, and Mr. Wardle would give it out to the public, that ſhe was bribed by miniſters.

Mr. Garrow.—Are you in fact bribed by any one?

Mrs. Clarke.—Certainly not.

Mr. Daniel Wright (the plaintiff's brother), confirmed Mrs. Clarke in every particular as to the credit given to Colonel Wardle; and ſaid, that he called in a gig, when he was told, that Wright wanted money, and aſked whether a bill would not do as well. Being told he wanted 500*l.* or 600*l.* he ſaid he would attend to it immediately. He alſo ſtated, that the defendant looked out the ſideboard, and that Dodd and he choſe the carpet; and Mrs. Clarke yielded, becauſe, ſhe ſaid, they were to pay for it. The amount of the bill was originally 1,914*l.* and 500*l.* being paid off, there were 1,414*l.* left due. No goods were ſent in on credit till after Colonel Wardle had called. His name was not mentioned, but he knew him by ſight. The goods ſent in to fit up the houſe at firſt to the amount of 200*l.* were afterwards charged to Colonel Wardle. They began furniſhing about the laſt day of November, or the 1ſt of December. Mrs. Clarke was not in the houſe till after the furniture was in.

On his croſs-examination by Mr. Park, he ſaid, the bill contained a charge of 26*l.* for carpenter's work done, which was not ordered by Colonel Wardle; this carpenter had done repairs to the kitchen. There was a charge alſo for 9*l.* 15*s.* for coals; plaſterer's work, 24*l.*; painter's work, 18*l.* One item was a taſteful figure of Mirth and Wine, for a pier, that is, a lamp ſupported by a figure, 14*l.*; a Grecian ſofa, 50*l.*; another Grecian ſofa, 43*l.*; chimney-glaſſes, 200 guineas; French window curtains, two ſets for the front drawing-room (there was a third ſet enumerated in this charge), 93*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* theſe were without the cornices; and a charge alſo of 5*l.* 14*s.* for inſurance from fire.

Mr. Serjeant Beſt, for the defendant, denied that he was liable to pay. He ſaid, that Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Daniel Wright contradicted each other materially as to the 200*l.* worth of furniture on hire, and alſo as to the time when the furniture was ſent n on ſale. Mrs. Clarke at firſt wiſhed to make it believed, that the tranſaction took place at the end of

of autumn, in order to include many things which Colonel Wardle could not poſſibly be required to pay. They differed as to the 200*l.* worth of furniture on hire. One ſaid that it was taken back, the other ſaid it was paſſed to the defendant's credit. This was clearly within the ſtatute of frauds, and the promiſe ſhould have been in writing. With theſe contradictions he called upon the jury to reject all the teſtimony of Mrs. Clarke, and of Wright alſo. There was good reaſon why the plaintiff ſhould truſt Mrs. Clarke, becauſe ſhe was 600*l.* in his debt, and he knew her intriguing ſpirit, and hought it better to truſt her with goods to enable her to keep up appearances, than to let her ſink into inſignificance, by which means he would loſe his money. The inſurance of the goods ſhewed that he looked to Mrs. Clarke as his ſecurity. As to Mrs. Clarke, ſhe was a woman whom nobody ought to believe. She was the moſt artful inventor of a fictitious tale that ever appeared. As to Major Dodd, he could not call him, becauſe he did not believe he was preſent.—(One of the jury aſked her, why the bill was given for 500*l.* and in whoſe name?—To this the learned ſerjeant anſwered, that it was all a fabrication.)—In this caſe Colonel Wardle's honour was at ſtake; for Mrs. Clarke wiſhed it to be underſtood, that all this furniture was given as a bribe for her to appear in the Houſe of Commons. The jury would ſurely not invade both his property and his honour, upon the teſtimony of a woman who could not be believed in any court of juſtice. If he could judge of Colonel Wardle by his own feelings, he ſaid, he was ſure after the exhibition ſhe had made today, it was impoſſible that had that happened before the motion againſt the Duke of York, he could have attached any credit to her teſtimony.

There were no dates to any particular items throughout the whole bill.

Lord Ellenborough ſummed up the caſe, and complained both of the plaintiff and the defendant. The one, he ſaid, had introduced charges which were evidently unfair in his bill, ſuch as the inſurance, the plaſterer's bill, &c. (Theſe were given up by the attorney-general.) There was alſo a charge for kitchen furniture, but that was ſometimes ſupplied by perſons who furniſhed the houſe, and the jury would inquire whether that was within the ſcope of the defendant's order. On the other hand, the defendant had denied the circumſtance of the bill, but he would do that at his peril. For if he denied it, then the charge would be ſo much increaſed. His lordſhip likewiſe thought, that if credit was ever given to Mrs. Clarke for the 200*l.* worth of furniture, that ſhould have been provided for by a promiſe in writing. His lordſhip then detailed the evidence, becauſe there were ſome miſtakes, or ſome inconſiſtencies in the dates, ſome of which were haſtily applied to things which were not accurately ſettled. There was ſome little confuſion in this reſpect, which could only be cleared up by reading the whole evidence.

The jury retired, and about nine o'clock brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, deducting the 200*l.* the 500*l.* paid, and also all the items for plastering, painting, insurance, &c. which are to be taken out of the bill by the officer of the court.

4th. *Colonel Wardle's Letter.*—Honoured as my parliamentary conduct has been by the approbation of so many of my countrymen, I feel myself called upon in consequence of an event that yesterday took place, immediately to address you, and that in vindication of my character, rendered open to attack from the verdict of the jury upon the evidence of Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Wright, the brother of her upholsterer, in a cause in which I was defendant, in the Court of King's Bench. The detail of the evidence the public prints will afford. It is with me to state, that my counsel, satisfied in their minds that the jury would not, upon such testimony as had been given by the plaintiff's brother and Mrs. Clarke alone, find a verdict against me, did not comply *with my earnest entreaty (repeated to them in writing during the trial in the strongest terms)* that Major Dodd, Mr. Glenny, and other respectable witnesses subpœnaed by the plaintiff and myself, might be examined, as I knew their testimony would be founded in truth, and be in direct contradiction to what had been sworn against me. Under such circumstances the verdict was obtained. There only remains for me now, before my God and my country, to declare, that it was obtained by *perjury alone*; and I do pledge myself to prove that fact the earliest moment the forms of the law will allow me to do so. Anxiously, therefore, do I look forward to that period; and I trust that *till then* the public will *suspend* their *judgment* upon the case.

With sentiments of the deepest *gratitude* and *respect*, I remain, your ever faithfully devoted servant,

G. L. WARDLE.

James-street, July 4, 1809.

Impressment and False Imprisonment.—*James Sabine* v. *Sir Christopher Baynes, James Godfrey De Burgh, and William Perry, Esq.*—Mr. Park stated, this was an action to recover damages for an assault and false imprisonment, under very aggravated circumstances; so much so, that for the thirty years he had been at the bar, he had never witnessed one so dangerous, or marked with such tyranny. Expressions like these were often made use of by counsel, and juries gave them only that credit which they deserve; but he pledged himself, that both his lordship and the jury would think with him before the cause was over. The plaintiff was a young man, not more than twenty-two years of age; his father was a farmer, and dealer in horses, at Hounslow; the defendants were magistrates of the county of Middlesex, gentlemen of fortune, respectable characters for aught he knew; he did not know any thing of them; he did not mean to say any thing of them out of this cause; but the conduct which produced it was so glaringly bad, that it did not require him to burnish it, to make it shine with its full lustre. On the 15th of October,

October, 1808, the plaintiff was left at home by his father, in care of thirty horſes, he being obliged to go from home to attend ſome horſe-market; in the evening of that day the plaintiff found it neceſſary to take one of his father's horſes and cart to ſome place in the neighbourhood of Hounſlow; he did certainly what was wrong and unlawful,—he was ſitting in the cart, driving the horſe, without any reins from his head, by which means the horſe got on the wrong ſide of the road; he was met by Mr. De Burgh, one of the defendants, who ſaid he would fine him: on the following day, the plaintiff received a ſummons to appear at Uxbridge on the 17th, a diſtance of ten miles from Hounſlow: his father had not returned home; but he went, and took two friends with him: when he arrived there, the three defendants were ſitting as magiſtrates; they ordered him to be confined in the cage, a kind of priſon; he was there about one hour and a half, when two conſtables came and handcuffed him, and told him they were ordered by the defendants to put him on board the tender: he told them he had never been at ſea, and remonſtrated with them, but in vain. He begged of them not to handcuff him, as he would go quietly with them. They told him they muſt, as they were ordered by the magiſtrates; but they would take them off when they got to a diſtance, ſo as the defendants would not know that they had dared to ſhow ſo much humanity. They put him into a poſt-chaiſe, and drove to Oxford-ſtreet, where they got a hackney-coach, and brought him to the Tower, and put him on board the Enterprize tender for the receiving of impreſſed men, where he was kept for ſeven days, without a bed to lie on: it was not until the 20th that he could procure pen, ink, and paper, to write to his friends the ſituation he was placed in: on the 22d he was ſent to the Nore, on board the admiral's ſhip. The plaintiff's two friends, who had accompanied him to Uxbridge, went before his lordſhip on the 22d of October, and made oath of theſe facts, and his lordſhip granted a habeas corpus to the admiralty, which was not anſwered immediately, but the plaintiff was put on ſhore at the Nore on the 12th of November, and had to find his way back to Hounſlow the beſt way he could. He, Mr. Park, would admit every thing that the defendant's counſel could wiſh: his client might have been inſolent, might have treated the magiſtrates (the defendants) with diſreſpect; but nothing could juſtify their conduct, to take away the liberty of a ſubject, perhaps, for ever, to ſatisfy their own choler and ſpleen; the plaintiff was an hour and a half in the cage, they had time to reflect; his friends offered to pay any fine; they offered to give ſecurity in 500*l.* for his appearance, when or where they wiſhed, but to no purpoſe. He had certainly committed an unlawful act, by ſitting on his cart, but the penalty was only 10*s.* and in caſe of inability of paying it, ten days confinement in the houſe of correction. It could not be ſuppoſed that the defendants were ignorant that they were doing an unlawful act; but,

even if they were, it was no anſwer to this action; they were not ignorant that they were doing a cruel and tyrannical act: men, whoſe duty it was to protect every ſpecies of his Majeſty's ſubjects, the poor as well as the rich; men, who were choſen to adminiſter juſtice, and ſupport the laws of their country, to become traitors, and trample both law and juſtice under their feet! he would not mention humanity, afraid the defendants might ſtart at the ſound, as they never could have known what it was before. There were no damages too great for them to pay. What might have been the conſequences? A young man, tenderly reared, put on board a priſon-ſhip, kept there ſeveral nights and days, without a bed to lie on, in the cold month of November, might not his death have been the reſult, and would it be doubted that the defendants would have been obliged to anſwer for ſuch an event? The only queſtion for the jury to conſider was, what would be the quantum of damages. He only aſked them for ſuch as they would conſcientiouſly think they ought to be entitled to, if they had been treated as the plaintiff was. This ſtatement was fully ſupported by the evidence.

Mr. Garrow, counſel for the defendants, ſtated they were reſpectable perſons; they bore no malice towards the plaintiff. They were extremely ſorry for what they had done. It had been done through error; the law would have juſtified them in ſending the plaintiff to the houſe of correction for three months, and they thought they were empowered to ſend him on board any of his Majeſty's ſhips. He, Mr. Garrow, did not attempt to defend their conduct; he knew the verdict muſt be againſt them; but there was nothing in the caſe that called for heavy damages. The defendants were not anſwerable for the delay that took place between the 22d of October, when the habeas corpus was iſſued out, and the 12th of November, when the plaintiff was diſcharged.

Lord Ellenborough.—"This is a caſe that calls for ample juſtice. A young man, in driving his cart, commits an offence, for which he is fineable; inſtead of which he is impriſoned, without any authority of law, and afterwards put on board of a ſhip: there is nothing a magiſtrate ought to guard ſo much againſt as the playing with the liberty of the ſubject; there can be no excuſe for the conduct of the defendants. The plaintiff is entitled to ample juſtice from a jury of his country: you will, therefore, gentlemen, take the caſe into conſideration, and give him thoſe damages that you think will make him ample compenſation for the injuries he has ſuſtained."

The jury, without heſitation, gave a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 500*l.*

A petrified land tortoiſe, in the higheſt ſtate of preſervation, was lately diſcovered by ſome labourers, who were digging on Swanuage rocks, on the iſland of Purbeck, at the depth of ſeventy feet. A clergyman offered five guineas for it, which was refuſed; but, after exhibiting it about, the labourers ſold it to a gentleman of Upway for eight guineas; ſince which, 300*l.* has been offered for it. The mate was ſubſequently dug up, but

but it was broken to pieces, and ſpoiled.

6th. About ſix o'clock in the evening, the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Cirenceſter were alarmed by the approach of a tornado, or whirlwind. It was firſt obſerved about three miles to the ſouthward of the town, when it aſſumed the appearance of a large conical hay-rick, encompaſſed with ſmoke. It moved very ſlowly at firſt, in a direction towards Cirenceſter, forcing up by the roots many trees in the pariſh of Siddington: indeed, ſo tardy was its progress, that ſome perſons had time to get upon the tower of Preſton church, in order to obſerve its courſe.—When it approached nearer to Cirenceſter, it moved on with a velocity almoſt incredible; and making towards the baſin of the canal, where it did conſiderable damage, ſkirted the town, and entered Lord Bathurſt's park from the Tetbury road, juſt above his lordſhip's manſion. Here its fury ſeemed to be at its height; for timber trees (ſome meaſuring from ſix to ten feet in girth) were torn up by the roots, whilſt others were ſtript of their branches, or literally cut aſunder; forming a ſcene of devaſtation very rarely witneſſed in this climate. After croſſing the park, it entered an orchard of Barton farm, where it threw down ſeveral trees, &c. and ſeemed to diſperſe, as it could no longer be traced by the naked eye. Its courſe might eaſily be traced, from the fallen trees, &c. which lined each ſide, completely in a withered and burnt ſtate. Large branches of trees were carried to a very conſiderable diſtance; and hay-fields, where the graſs had been cut down, were nearly ſtripped of their crops.

The following is the Quantity of Porter brewed by the firſt twelve Houſes in the London Porter Brewery, from the 5th of July, 1808, to the 5th of July, 1809.

	Barrels.
Barclay and Co. -	205,328
Meux and Co. -	150,105
Trueman and Co.	130,846
Brown and Parry	114,001
Whitbread and Co.	100,275
F. Calvert and Co.	90,365
Combe and Co. -	75,551
Goodwyn and Co.	60,233
Elliott and Co. -	45,608
H. Meux and Co.	40,663
Taylor - -	40,007
J. Calvert and Co.	39,155

The Quantity of Ale brewed in the London Diſtrict, by the ſix principal Houſes, during the ſame Period, is as follows:—

Stretton - -	23,125¾
Charrington -	17,935¾
Begbie - -	12,519¾
Goding - -	11,158¼
Hale - -	9,106½
Webb - -	8,247¼

On Saturday night, a dreadful fire broke out in the houſe of Miſs Slarke, milliner and dreſs-maker, No. 62, Conduit-ſtreet, Bond-ſtreet. The whole family had retired to reſt; but before Miſs Slarke fell aſleep, ſhe ſmelt fire, and inſtantly roſe to aſcertain the fact, when, to her aſtoniſhment, ſhe diſcovered that the flames had reached the ſtaircaſe. She had preſence of mind inſtantly to fly to the top of the houſe, where the young people her apprentices ſlept, and happily

ſucceeded in getting them all down ſtairs, and out of the houſe, where Miſs Slarke and they remained a conſiderable time, during a heavy rain, without any other cloaths on than their night dreſſes. The fire by this time had got to ſuch a height that the whole houſe was in flames. Had the diſcovery been ten minutes later, every ſoul in it muſt have periſhed. It next communicated to the houſe of the Hon. Mr. North, who has lately ſailed for Malta, the whole of which is entirely conſumed. Great part of Mr. North's library, which was one of the beſt in London, and had been very lately removed to Conduit-ſtreet, we are ſorry to add, has been either burnt or damaged. The fire on the other ſide of Miſs Slarke's houſe, communicated to the houſe and ſhop of Mr. Hurley, a grocer, which, with the contents, were conſumed. We are ſorry to ſtate, that two men of the Imperial Fire-office, (one of the name of King) in endeavouring to ſave the library of Mr. North, nearly fell a prey to the flames. The ceiling of the room unexpectedly fell in upon them, and they were for a conſiderable time buried in the burning ruins. King is ſo much burnt in the legs, that it is feared amputation of one or both of them will be the conſequence. The other is alſo much burnt, and otherwiſe hurt by a beam falling acroſs his body. They are both in the Middleſex Hoſpital. Miſs Slarke has loſt every particle of her furniture and ſtock. She was juſt on the point of ſetting out for Brighton for the ſummer, with ſuitable articles, all of which were in the houſe.

This fire is memorable as having been the remote cauſe of the death of the celebrated Mr. Windham. With all the zeal of the friend and the ſcholar, Mr. Windham exerted his utmoſt to ſave the valuable library and manuſcripts of his abſent friend Mr. North: in the courſe of his exertions, he received a blow upon his thigh, for which an operation was ſubſequently deemed neceſſary, and which was ſoon followed by his death.

Italy.—Rome.—The journal of the capital contains a variety of decrees of the new government. One of theſe aboliſhes the tribunal of the inquiſition, and all the eſtabliſhments attached to it. The archives and papers belonging to theſe ſeveral juriſdictions are put under ſeal, and conſigned to the depôt of the archives; an inventory of them being made. By another decree, a great number of eſpecial tribunals are alſo aboliſhed, as well as every temporal juriſdiction hitherto poſſeſſed by the clergy, ſecular or regular. All clerical privileges are annulled; the right of aſylum remains no longer; in conſequence, the authors or accomplices of crimes will no longer be ſheltered from the vengeance of the law. A new eſtabliſhment is made of juſtices of the peace, &c. all of whom are nominated by the emperor. By a third decree, a committee is appointed for the preſervation of all the ancient and modern monuments of Rome, and the Roman ſtates. This committee is in particular charged to take precautions for preſerving the cupola of St. Peter from lightning; and the paintings of Raphael, which are in the loggi of the Vatican, from injuries ariſing from the air. This committee conſiſts of Martorelli, director of 10th,

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the imperial archives; Marini, director of the library of the Vatican; Canova and Camuccini.

An accident of the moſt painful kind occurred lately at the Cape of Good Hope. Three Britiſh officers having gone out on a party of pleaſure to the Table Mountain, were overtaken by the night.—Before they could regain the plain, they loſt their tract, wandered, and ſeparated. One of them with much difficulty found his way into the town; but no intelligence having been received of his companions, a party went out in ſearch of them. They were both found at the foot of a high precipice, cruſhed and mangled in the moſt ſhocking manner. One of them, an aid-de-camp to Lord Caledon, had juſt expired, and the other was juſt at the point of death. Both theſe ſufferers were men in the prime of life, and moſt promiſing officers.

13th. *Captain Barclay.*—This gentleman on Wedneſday completed his arduous pedeſtrian undertaking, to walk a thouſand miles in a thouſand ſucceſſive hours, at the rate of a mile in each and every hour. He had until four o'clock *p. m.* to finiſh his taſk, but he performed his laſt mile in the quarter of an hour after three, with perfect eaſe and great ſpirit, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of ſpectators. For the laſt two days he appeared in higher ſpirits, and performed his mile with apparently more eaſe, and in ſhorter time, than he had done for ſome days paſt. With the change of the weather he had thrown off his looſe great coat, which he wore during the rainy period, and on Wedneſday performed in a flannel jacket. He alſo put on ſhoes remarkably thicker than any which he had uſed in any previous part of his performance. When aſked how he meant to act, after he had finiſhed his feat, he ſaid he ſhould that night take a good ſound ſleep, but that he muſt have himſelf awaked twice or thrice in the night, to avoid the danger of a too ſudden tranſition from almoſt conſtant exertion to a ſtate of long repoſe.

One hundred to one, and indeed any odds whatever, were offered on Wedneſday morning; but ſo ſtrong was the confidence in his ſucceſs, that no bets could be obtained. The multitude of people who reſorted to the ſcene of action, in the courſe of the concluding days, was unprecedented. Not a bed could be procured on Tueſday night at Newmarket, Cambridge, or any of the towns and villages in the vicinity, and every horſe and every ſpecies of vehicle was engaged. Among the nobility and gentry who witneſſed on Wedneſday the concluſion of this extraordinary feat, were:—the Dukes of Argyle and St. Alban's; Earls Groſvenor, Beſborough, and Jerſey; Lords Foley and Somerville; Sir John Lade, Sir F. Standiſh, &c. &c.

Captain Barclay had 16,000*l.* depending upon his undertaking. The aggregate of the bets is ſuppoſed to amount to 100,000*l.*

As three men, in the employ of Mr. Hopkins, ſoap-boiler, in Barbican, were cleaning out a ceſs-pool, into which the ſpent lees had been emptied, they were overcome by the noxious effluvia, and fell apparently lifeleſs. A carman, a perfect ſtranger, hearing the cry, "Will no one go down to ſave the men?" volunteered his ſervices.

vices. A rope was put round his body, and, being let down, he ſeized one of the ſufferers, and they were both dragged up together; but we regret to ſtate, that this poor generous fellow is likely to fall a victim to his humanity; for he not only ſuffered from the effluvia, but was ſeverely injured by the rope. They were all carried to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, two of them without hopes of recovery.

14th. *Court of King's Bench, Guildhall.—Sale of Public Offices.—The King* v. *Pohlman, Keylock, Sarah Hardy, and John Watſon.*—This was an indictment, charging the ſeveral defendants with conſpiring together to ſell a certain office or place of truſt in his Majeſty's cuſtoms, namely, that of coaſt waiter, for the ſum of 2000*l.* with intent to defraud his Majeſty, and with intent of defrauding Le Grue Heſſe, Eſq. to which indictment they ſeverally pleaded not guilty. This proſecution emanated from the late inquiry before a ſelect committee of the Houſe of Commons, appointed to inveſtigate public abuſes, and made ſo prominent a figure in that inquiry, as to lay the foundation for the act which now exiſts for preventing the ſale of places of truſt under the crown. Our readers will recollect, that in the courſe of the foregoing inquiry, it came out that an office was opened in the city where places under the government were publicly advertiſed to be bought and ſold. It was therefore found expedient to diſcover and puniſh the parties. The principal witneſſes to prove this fraudulent conſpiracy were a Mr. Heſſe and a Mr. Harvey, the former a gentleman who had been a barriſter, the latter a clerk in the office of the ſolicitor to the treaſurer.

Mr. Heſſe proved, that in purſuance of an advertiſement in a morning paper, he went to an office in Threadneedle-ſtreet, where he became acquainted with Pohlman and Keylock; that they undertook to procure him, through the medium of Sarah Hardy, the place of coaſt waiter in the cuſtoms, for which he was to pay the ſum of 2000*l.* which he was previouſly to depoſit in the banking-houſe of the other defendant Watſon, and it was proved that Sarah Hardy joined in the undertaking, and received 10*l.* on account from Mr. Heſſe.

Mr. Harvey confirmed Mr. Heſſe's teſtimony in all the principal points, but nothing appeared that could implicate Mr. Watſon in this foul conſpiracy, and under his lordſhip's directions he was acquitted, and the other three defendants were found guilty.

Caution againſt premature Interment.—A woman of the name of Proſſer, reſiding at Hay, Breconſhire, who had been for ſome time in a very ill ſtate of health, was lately ſuppoſed by the perſons in attendance to have died, and the neceſſary preparations for the funeral had commenced; the body was laid out by a female uſually employed on ſuch occaſions, who, on returning to the houſe in about ſix hours afterwards, and obſerving the hands had been removed from the ſituation they had been placed in, concluded ſome perſons had been in the room; but on going to cloſe the mouth, was greatly alarmed by the ſuppoſed corpſe exclaiming, "Do not cloſe my mouth, for I am not quite dead," which threw her into fits.

fits. The ſick perſon has ſince ſo far recovered as to be able to ſit up in her room, although in a very languid ſtate, and ſhe declares that ſhe heard all the converſation which paſſed relative to her funeral, but from extreme weakneſs had not the power of ſpeech or motion.

14th. *Fairlop Fair.*—This fair was attended by a numerous aſſemblage of viſitants. The venerable and ſtupendous oak-tree ſtands in Hainault Foreſt, about ten miles from London, four from the famous ſeat of the earl of Tylney, three from Ilford, and two from the village of Chigwell, in the county of Eſſex. The trunk or main of this lord of the foreſt meaſures in girth 66 feet, or 22 feet in diameter, from which 17 large branches iſſue, each of the dimenſions of a tree of moderate growth, and moſt of them meaſuring not leſs than 12 feet in girth. For many years paſt it has been gradually decaying, yet it ſtill retains periodical powers of vegetation, though the loftieſt parts of the boughs are withered. About 20 years ago, in the meridian of the day, the whole ſhadow extended over an acre of ground. We have not been able to learn, with any degree of preciſion, the age of this national ornament; but comparing it with other large oaks, whoſe ages have been aſcertained, and particularly with that viewed by his Majeſty in Oxfordſhire, and lately felled in the domains of one of the colleges, the girth of which was 25 feet, and ſaid to be 600 years old, it may not be unfair to conclude, that Fairlop oak, being nearly thrice as large, is three times its age.

15th. *Yorkſhire Aſſizes.*—The aſſizes for this county were opened at the caſtle, before the Hon. Sir Allan Chambre, Knt. and the Hon. Sir Geo. Wood, Knt.

David Parilon, jun. of Beverley, butcher, was charged with the wilful murder of Robert Gardner, of the ſame place, on the 10th of April laſt, by ſtabbing him in the ſide with a knife.

This was a trial which excited much intereſt: the priſoner was much reſpected, and the particular circumſtances under which the deceaſed came to his death, powerfully intereſted the feelings of the court in the priſoner's favour. The deceaſed was ſuſpected by the priſoner, and as appeared from the evidence not without ſufficient reaſon, of a criminal intercourſe with his wife. A few minutes before this unfortunate event took place, he found his wife at a very unſeaſonable hour in company with the deceaſed in the ſtreet, which ſo irritated him, that he declared he would ſtab him, if ever he came into his houſe or premiſes. The deceaſed unfortunately perſiſted in accompanying the woman into the houſe, and the priſoner immediately ſaid to the deceaſed, "D—n you, Gardner, I will ſtab you: you have huddled my wife in the ſtreet;" and immediately made a thruſt at him with a knife he had ſnatched from the table, and wounded him mortally. The unfortunate man languiſhed until the 16th of April, and then expired. Previous to his death, he admitted that the ſuſpicions of the priſoner were well founded; and which was indeed ſufficiently apparent from circumſtances laid before the court.

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The judge, in explaining the law to the jury, ſaid, that if a man ſhould kill another in the act of criminal intercourſe with his wife, it would not be murder, but manſlaughter; but if a perſon who had received ſuch injury ſhould deliberately contrive the death of the perſon who had ſo injured him, it would doubtleſs be murder; his lordſhip, however, thought that any circumſtance which fell ſhort of the actual crime, and yet ſhould clearly indicate ſuch an intention, might come within the meaning of the law.

The jury, without a moment's deliberation, acquitted the priſoner of murder, and found him guilty of *Manſlaughter* only, to the ſatisfaction of a very crowded court.

Foot-racing having of late eclipſed the ſports of the turf, it has, like other faſhions, deſcended from the higher to the lower order of ſportſmen, and not even the ſweeps of St. Giles's, or Tottenham-court-road, will now mount their Jeruſalem ponies, but decide their wagers by footing it *a-la-mode*. Half a dozen demi bucks, in the courſe of laſt week, announced a foot-race, for a conſiderable wager, at Hornſey, where they took care to have a good dinner provided; and having laid in a reaſonable foundation of ham and fowls, duck and peaſe, and other palatable luxuries, with a *quantum ſufficit* of wine to exhilarate their ſpirits, they ſet off ſix abreaſt down the hill, towards the eel-pye-houſe, which they were to double, and return by the ſame path—the three beſt to win the race. The firſt part was run in capital ſtyle; but as ſome delay occurred in the re-appearance of the competitors, the umpires followed, to ſee what kept them, and the whole *raced* off without paying the bill, and thus *diſtanced* the landlord to the complete amount of his reckoning.

Meeting of the Creditors of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales.—We have been favoured by a creditor with the following account of what paſſed at a meeting of the creditors of the Princeſs of Wales, held on Friday laſt, at the York Hotel, Bridge-ſtreet, Blackfriars, in conſequence of a letter circulated by Meſſrs. Blagrave and Walter, their ſolicitors, intimating that Mr. Adam, the prince's chancellor, and Mr. Gray, his royal highneſs's deputy treaſurer, would attend, when the plan which the prince had adopted to pay their debts, and ſecure them in future, would be laid before them. Mr. Adam ſtated to the creditors, that the prince had taken their caſe into his moſt ſerious and gracious conſideration in every point of view. That his royal highneſs's object was not merely to pay the debt in the manner already ſettled and accepted, but to ſecure them in future as far as the law would enable him; that the affairs of his royal highneſs were all adminiſtered under an act of the 35th of the king, which rendered it illegal for the prince to grant any bond or obligation, and protected him againſt perſonal action; but rendered his revenue liable, if the creditors followed out the proviſions of the act, by delivering in their bills ſigned within ten days after the quarter, and provided they ſued on them within three months from that 17th.

delivery.

delivery. Mr. Adam then ſtated, that the prince's treaſurer had uniformly and regularly every quarter paid the allowance of 12,000*l.* a year to the officer of her royal highneſs; that this had never been in arrear one inſtant from 1802 to the preſent time; that Mr. Gray (who was preſent) was the perſon who paid it; that the prince had always paid this ſum to the princeſs without deducting the income-tax, although there was 12,000*l.* per annum deducted from him at the exchequer on that account. That his royal highneſs had now increaſed the princeſs's income to 17,000*l.* a year, to be paid quarterly, without deducting the income-tax. That the princeſs was paid for perſonal expences at the exchequer, 5,000*l.* a year, making in all an income of 22,000*l.* Mr. Adam then ſtated, that it was upon this increaſed income of 17,000*l.* a year nett, that the prince had deviſed the ſecurity for the creditors in future, having made it a condition, that the princeſs ſhould appoint an officer to receive that income, who was enjoined in the ſettling the accounts, to follow the courſe preſcribed by the act of parliament for regulating the expenditure of the prince. Mr. Adam ſaid, that a paper to this effect had been accordingly ſigned by the princeſs, ſo that the creditors had now only to obſerve the forms of the act of parliament to enſure their payment; but the prince did not ſtop here, but in providing for his own future indemnity, the particulars of which, Mr. Adam ſaid, he did not enter into, as not belonging to that place or meeting, the prince had taken care that if this voluntary regulation did not effectuate the object, the legiſlature was to be applied to. Mr. Adam then ſaid that the prince had by economical regulations appropriated as large a ſum as his circumſtances would admit, to diſcharge this debt, greater in proportion than he had been able to apply to his own, which he was ſure his own creditors would juſtify, as from the moment he undertook the payment of the debts of the princeſs, they were to be conſidered as debts of honour. Mr. Adam then ſaid, that the regularity of the payments might be depended upon. There was an event, however, of which ſome of the creditors had expreſſed a dread, the calamity of being deprived of the prince. Mr. Adam aſſured them that that event had not been unthought of by his royal highneſs. The prince could not by law bind himſelf by deed or note, but he had property and rights which might be rendered available in caſe of the event alluded to, and theſe would be ſo regulated that his royal highneſs had the heartfelt ſatisfaction to think, that no perſon would ſuffer ultimately any loſs by him. Mr. Adam ſaid, this nearly compriſed the whole matter which he had to lay before them, which would be moſt ſatisfactory, he had no doubt, to them, and would convince them that every thing that could be done for their benefit within the prince's power was done, and that without his royal highneſs's intervention they could never have received any thing. That their petition, without the conſent of his Majeſty, ſignified by the chancellor of the exchequer, would never have been received in the houſe of commons;

and

and Mr. Adam ſaid that he knew that ſuch conſent would have been refuſed. So that unleſs the prince had ſpontaneouſly undertaken for the arrangement of their debts, the creditors would have had no redreſs. In doing this, the prince ſtipulated, that he ſhould be fully indemnified againſt future demands, a claim which his royal highneſs was held to be juſtified in making, becauſe to the 41,000*l.* there was to be added the ſum of 34,000*l.* which the princeſs had received from his Majeſty's droits of admiralty, making together 75,000*l.* of debt contracted by her royal highneſs; which, divided on the number of years, exceeded by many thouſand pounds a year the greateſt income ever propoſed for her royal highneſs; that after the payment of 41,000*l.* had been undertaken by the prince, and guarantee againſt future demands arranged to his ſatisfaction, Mr. Adam ſaid, that towards the concluſion of the buſineſs, it was ſtated to him by the chancellor of the exchequer, to be by him (Mr. Adam) laid before the prince, that the debt was 8,000*l.* more than the 41,000*l.* This his royal highneſs took alſo into his moſt gracious conſideration, and gave his commands to Mr. Adam to repreſent to thoſe of the king's confidential ſervants, who were engaged in the tranſaction:—"That the main and principal object which had uniformly directed his royal highneſs's determination, and which he had never for a moment loſt ſight of in any one part of this tranſaction, had been to prevent (in theſe times of great and neceſſary expenditure) any debt of his own or any other for which he might be conſidered liable, becoming either directly or circuitouſly a burden upon the country. That he had been likewiſe greatly influenced by the deſire of ſeeing juſtice done to the creditors of the princeſs, although under no legal obligation whatever to pay thoſe debts. On theſe grounds, the prince of Wales gave it to be underſtood to thoſe of his Majeſty's miniſters concerned in the tranſaction, that his royal highneſs would ſpontaneouſly take upon himſelf the payment of the ſum of 8,000*l.* in addition to the ſum of 41,000*l.* formerly undertaken to be liquidated by his royal highneſs upon the indemnity being given to him; and by ſo doing his royal highneſs had the ſatisfaction of preſerving the public from any burden, directly or indirectly, and of ſeeing juſtice done to the creditors of the princeſs, who had no other means whatever of being relieved, but through the voluntary interpoſition of his royal highneſs." Mr. Adam then obſerved, that the whole debt of 49,000*l.* being thus aſſumed by his royal highneſs, the prince gave directions to Mr. Gray and himſelf (Mr. Adam) to make the inſtalments as liberal as poſſible. In conſequence of which, 10,000*l.* has now been paid, and the ſecond inſtalment would be paid in the firſt week of January.

24th. *Hertford Aſſizes.—George Earl of Eſſex* v. *the Hon. and Rev. William Capel.—Before Lord Ellenborough and a Special Jury.—Fox hunting.*—This was a cauſe which excited a conſiderable degree of intereſt, and there was ſcarcely a gentleman of rank for many miles round, who did not attend for the purpoſe of hearing it.

Mr. Serjeant Shepherd addreſſed the jury on the part of the plaintiff.

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He lamented that the jury ſhould be called upon to decide a queſtion of this nature, between two perſons who ſtood in ſo near a degree of relationſhip to each other; but inaſmuch as the Earl of Eſſex was under the neceſſity of bringing this action, for the purpoſe of protecting himſelf in the enjoyment of his property, and as Mr. Capel had ſtood forward as the manager and principal perſon of the Berkeley hunt, he had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary, that he ſhould be the firſt perſon attacked by the Earl of Eſſex. The complaint was, that the defendant had committed a treſpaſs in breaking and entering his grounds, called Caſhiobury Park, and with horſes and hounds deſtroying the graſs and herbage, and breaking down his fences. The defendant juſtified himſelf this way —he ſaid, that he had ſtarted a fox on other ground, which was not the property of the Earl of Eſſex, and that the fox being a noxious animal, and liable to do miſchief, he for the purpoſe of killing and deſtroying him, and as the moſt effectual means of doing ſo, broke and entered the park with hounds and horſes, and hunted the fox. The anſwer of the Earl of Eſſex to this was, that the defendant's object was not to deſtroy the fox, and that if it was ſo, hunting was not the moſt effectual means of killing the animal; but that on the contrary, his motive was the amuſement and diverſion afforded by the chaſe. The learned ſerjeant obſerved, that the object profeſſed by the defendant in his plea was perfectly ridiculous and abſurd; he would have it ſuppoſed, that himſelf and the gentlemen compoſing the Berkeley hunt, had aſſociated themſelves, not for their amuſement or diverſion, but for the pure patriotic deſire of deſtroying theſe noxious animals; the defendant would have the jury believe, that clergymen were deſcending from their pulpits, bankers neglecting their counting-houſes, brewers running away from breweries, and all flocking from London, for no other purpoſe than to confer the obligation on the people of Herts, of freeing the country from noxious vermin. So far from it being their object to deſtroy foxes, he rather thought if they were to ſtart a fox, and ſome man happening to have a gun in his hand was to fall in with their patriotic motive, and was to ſhoot the fox, he would meet with but *lenten* entertainment. In fact, every one knew that their object was the diverſion of the chaſe, and that they did not care three farthings whether the fox was killed or not, except for the triumph of his bruſh. The object of rooting them out of the country was abſurd, for every one knew they wiſhed to increaſe them, in order to have the pleaſure of running them to death; but to put it beyond all doubt in this caſe, he ſhould prove that Lord Eſſex, as one of the proprietors of land, had employed a man to take the moſt effectual mode of killing foxes, which was by catching them in a trap, or ſhooting them with a gun; theſe two modes Mr. Capel did not like, and he ſpoke to the man upon the ſubject, but the man was ſteady, and he went on ſhooting wherever his bullets would reach, and catching wherever his traps would take. Mr. Capel then ſaid, "I do not aſk you not to deſtroy the foxes, but I will tell you what, I will ſend you a barrel of ale to drink

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ſucceſs to the Berkeley hunt." Now, when a man ſaid to another, "I do not aſk you to do a particular thing," it was generally the moſt expreſſive way of indicating a wiſh to have it done. It put him in mind of a ſtory of a quaker, who being on board of a ſhip, (a merchant ſhip) the maſter obſerved to him, that there was a French row-boat coming towards them, no doubt with a deſign to board them; but, added the maſter, with an appropriate oath or two, "I'll run the fellows down," the quaker ſaid, "Oh, ſurely, you won't do ſuch a wicked thing as to deſtroy ſo many poor people's lives." "Yes, but I will," exclaimed the maſter. "I would not," replied the quaker, "for the world; but I will tell thee what friend, if I was inclined to do ſuch a thing, I would *ſtarboard my helm*." The maſter did ſtarboard the helm, and the boat was run down. The learned ſerjeant repeated, that the object of the defendant and the Berkeley club, was to preſerve foxes in order to hunt them. Very like raiſing the devil for the purpoſe of laying him. After ſome other general obſervations, he concluded by expreſſing his perfect confidence, that the verdict of the jury would prevent a repetition of the injury.

Two witneſſes, one of the name of Richard Pugh, his lordſhip's bailiff, and John Hollinſhead, his lordſhip's gamekeeper, clearly proved the facts of the caſe, and the laſt witneſs diſtinctly ſtated, that he had been aſked by the defendant, Mr. Capel, not to deſtroy foxes.

Lord Ellenborough interrupted the further progreſs of the cauſe, obſerving, that it was a contention againſt all nature and conviction. Could it be ſuppoſed that gentlemen hunted for the purpoſe of killing vermin, and not for their diverſion? Could the jury be deſired to ſay upon their oaths, that the defendant was actuated by any other motive than a deſire to enjoy the pleaſures of the chace? He had wiſhed to ſuffer the cauſe to go to a certain extent before he expreſſed his opinion upon the ſubject. Even if the dogs might be allowed to run, was there any pretence for ſaying, that where the dogs did not go, any perſon could ride and break down the fences? The defendant ſaid, that he had not committed the treſpaſs for the ſake of the diverſion of the chace, but as the only effectual way of killing and deſtroying the fox. Now, could any man of common ſenſe heſitate in ſaying, that the principal motive was not the killing vermin, but the ſport? It was a ſport the law of the land would not juſtify, and there ſhould not be a new law of the land accommodated to the pleaſures and amuſements of theſe gentlemen. The pleaſures of the chace might be taken when there was the conſent of others who were injured by them, but they muſt be ſubſervient to ſuch conſent. There might be ſuch a nuiſance by a noxious animal as would juſtify the attempt to deſtroy him, by running him to his earth, but that would not juſtify the digging for him afterwards—that had been ſettled to be law; but even if an animal might be purſued with dogs, it did not follow that fifty or ſixty perſons had therefore a right to treſpaſs on other people's lands. He could not ſee what there was in the caſe of Fentham

tham *v.* Grundy, 1ſt Term Reports, to warrant the opinion that any perſon might follow the hounds over the lands of another. He had looked into that caſe, and had referred to the others quoted in it. Even in the caſe chiefly relied on, it was ſtated that a man might not hunt for his pleaſure or profit, but only to deſtroy ſuch noxious animals as were injurious to the *common wealth*; therefore, the good to the public muſt be the *governing* motive. He would aſk the jury, whether that could have been the motive of the defendant? The laſt witneſs had expreſsly ſtated, that he wiſhed rather to nouriſh theſe noxious animals than to deſtroy them.

Mr. Serjeant Beſt.—After what your lordſhip has ſaid, I will not occupy the time of your lordſhip or the jury with one word more.

Lord Ellenborough. — There ſhould be nominal damages; it is only meant to quiet a right. The plaintiff's counſel tell me they will be ſatisfied with nominal damages, therefore nominal damages will do. If this treſpaſs is repeated it will be a different thing.

The jury conſulted a ſhort time, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff, with forty ſhillings damages.

The foreman ſtated, that it was the wiſh of the jury to give exemplary damages, but underſtanding that his lordſhip and the plaintiff acquieſced, they had only given forty ſhillings.

Lord Ellenborough. — You do very right to find forty ſhillings; though in this caſe, as there is a ſpecial juſtification on the record, one ſhilling damages would anſwer the purpoſe of carrying the coſts, &c. I ſhould, however, ſtill adviſe the damages to be forty ſhillings, but that there are ſeven other actions depending, and the effect of your verdict would be not to give one forty ſhillings, but forty ſhillings ſeven times over. One ſhilling damages will anſwer every purpoſe, and I ſhall, if neceſſary, certify that the treſpaſs was wilful and malicious.

The jury then altered their verdict to one ſhilling damages.

Trial of Lord Gambier. 26th.
—*Portſmouth.* — The trial of Admiral Lord Gambier came on this day. The court-martial aſſembled about eleven o'clock, when the order for ſummoning the court, ſigned by the lords of the admiralty, was read by the judge-advocate. The order ſtates, that Lord Gambier had, by his letter of May 30th, requeſted his conduct to be inquired into during his command of the fleet in Baſque Roads. That it appears that on the 19th of April, the enemy's ſhips being on ſhore, and the ſignal having been made that they could be deſtroyed, the ſaid Lord Gambier did, for a conſiderable time, neglect or delay taking effectual means for their deſtruction. The inſtructions of the admiralty to Lord Gambier, and various other documents, were afterwards read, and the court proceeded to the examination of witneſſes, viz. W. Stokes, maſter of the Caledonia; Lieutenant Hawkins, of ditto; Mr. Raven, maſter of the Cæſar; Mr. Thompſon, maſter of the Beagle. Lord Cochrane was next examined. He ſtated, with the production of a number of charts, &c. that he had not only made ſignals of there being ſufficient depth of water and anchor-

age to enable Lord Gambier to ſend in ſhips of the line to deſtroy the whole of the enemy's fleet that had taken ſhelter in the Iſle of Aix, but that he had alſo written to the admiral to that effect. In proof of this his lordſhip produced two letters, in ſubſtance as follows:

"*Caledonia, April* 13.

"My dear lord, You have done your part ſo admirably, that I will not ſuffer you to tarniſh it, by attempting impoſſibilities. You muſt therefore join me, as ſoon as you can, with the bomb, &c. as I wiſh to have ſome information from you before I cloſe my diſpatches.

"GAMBIER.

"P. S. I have ordered three brigs and two bombs to join you in the attempt; but I don't think it will ſucceed. You muſt come to me on the turn of the tide, as I want to ſend you to England as ſoon as poſſible."

To which Lord Cochrane replied:

"*Imperieuſe, April* 13.

"My lord, I have juſt received your lordſhip's letter: we can deſtroy the enemy's ſhips on ſhore, of which I hope you will approve.

"COCHRANE."

Lord Cochrane's teſtimony upon the whole went to maintain, that there was a ſafe anchorage for ſix of our ſhips of the line; and had only two been ordered to the aſſiſtance of the frigates, at the time required by ſignals, his lordſhip was of opinion that ſeven ſail, including a three-decker, of the enemy's ſhips might have been deſtroyed.

The Hon. Admiral Stopford being called upon to give evidence, declared that he did not think that, while the fleet lay in Baſque Roads, there was any delay or deficiency on the part of the commander-in-chief in executing the ſervice intruſted to him. Never underſtood that the Imperieuſe had made ſignal that two ſail of the line would be ſufficient to deſtroy the enemy. Had himſelf recalled the Cæſar, Theſeus, and Valiant, from Aix Roads, in conſequence of the imminent danger of the anchorage, as well as the ſtrength of the batteries. The Cæſar was once aground, and all the veſſels were within range both of ſhot and ſhells. Thus far is nearly the outline of the two firſt days of the trial.

On the third day Admiral Stopford further ſtated to the court, that he would not have riſked the fleet in Aix Roads, as the broadſides of the enemy commanded the paſſage, and the veſſels would have been crippled in going in, and would not have afterwards been able to work out. The fire from the Iſle of Aix was uninterrupted.

Mr. Sparling, maſter of the Imperieuſe, confirmed Lord Cochrane's evidence in the moſt material parts; and ſtated that he had himſelf, previous to the attack, aſcertained that there was ſafe anchorage for three or four ſail of the line.

Captain Wolfe, of the Aigle, being called, depoſed that he did not know, at the time of attack, that there was ſufficient anchorage for ſix ſail of the line; thought that, if the ſhips had remained at the firſt anchorage without removing to the ſecond, they would have been deſtroyed by the ſhot and ſhells, which fell from the batteries.

teries. Was of opinion that the commander-in-chief had neglected nothing which could insure success to the enterprise.

Captain Rodd confirmed the evidence of the preceding witness: after which, the president acquainted Lord Gambier, that the evidence for the prosecution was closed.

On the fifth day Lord Gambier entered upon a very masterly defence, of which we have room only for the following extract.

After a minute examination of the charge in all its details, and a review of the evidence, as well as of the whole of his conduct in Basque Roads, Lord Gambier drew the following deductions: "First, That, during the whole of this service, the most unwearied attention was paid by me to its main object, the destruction of the enemy's fleet. Secondly, That in no part of the service was more zeal and exertion shown, than during the whole of the 12th of April, when I had necessarily in view two objects: the destruction of the enemy's fleet, and also the preservation of that under my command; for the extreme difficulties in approaching an enemy closely surrounded by shoals, and strongly defended by batteries, rendered caution in my proceedings peculiarly necessarily. Thirdly, That three out of seven of the enemy's ships aground on the Pallas were, from their first being on shore, totally out of the reach of the guns of any ships of the fleet that might have been sent in; and that at no time whatever, either sooner or later, could they have been attacked. Fourthly, That the other four of the eleven ships of which the enemy's fleet consisted, were never in a situation to be assailed after the fire-ships had failed in their main object. These are the points on which I rest my justification, trusting, that it will appear to the court, upon their review of my whole case, that I did take the most effectual measures for destroying the enemy's fleet; that neither neglect nor unnecessary delay did take place in the execution of this service; and, on the contrary, it was owing to the time chosen by me for sending a force in to make the attack, that the service was accomplished with so very inconsiderable a loss. Had I pursued any of the measures deemed practicable and proper in the judgment of Lord Cochrane, I am firmly persuaded the success attending this achievement would have proved more dearly bought than any yet recorded in our naval annals, and, far from accomplishing the hopes of my country, or the expectations of the admiralty, must have disappointed both. If such, too, were the foundation of his lordship's prospects, it is just they should vanish before the superior considerations attending a service involving the naval character and most important interests of the nation.

The following witnesses were then called in support of the defence: Mr. E. Fairfax, master of the fleet; Mr. Stokes, Captain Bligh, &c. &c. They deposed generally, that there was no anchorage near the Boyart Shoal; that had four sail of the line gone into Aix roads when the signal was made, they would have been exposed to inevitable destruction; and that no effort was left untried

by the commander-in-chief to insure the destruction of the enemy's fleet.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth days were employed in examining witnesses. At the request of Lord Gambier, Admiral Stopford, Lieutenant Hawkins, Sir H. Neale, Captains Hardyman, Seymour, Newcome, and Kerr, were examined, and supported the honourable admiral's statement. The court, for its own satisfaction, afterwards called Captains Wolfe and Malcolm.

Captains Kerr, Malcolm, Burkhill, Ball, and Newman, were examined by the court, and their testimony was in direct contradiction to that of Lord Cochrane; while the evidence of Captain Broughton, of the Amelia, tended, though but partially, to support the charges.

On the ninth and last day, by direction of the court, the judge advocate read the sentence: — "That the court having duly deliberated on the evidence in support of the charge exhibited against Admiral the Right Hon. Lord Gambier, and having also minutely weighed the evidence adduced by his lordship in his defence, have determined that the charge—'that Admiral the Right Hon. Lord Gambier, on the 12th day of April, the enemy's ships being then on shore, and the signal having been made that they could be destroyed, did for a considerable time neglect or delay taking effectual measures for destroying them,' has *not* been proved against the said Admiral Lord Gambier; but that his lordship's conduct on that occasion, as well as his general conduct and proceedings as commander-in-chief of the channel fleet, employed in Basque Roads, between the 17th day of March and the 29th day of April, 1809, was marked by zeal, judgment, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his Majesty's service, and therefore do adjudge him to be most honourably acquitted: and he is hereby most honourably acquitted accordingly." The president then complimented Lord Gambier on his acquittal, and returned him his sword.

As the night Bath coach was travelling near Colnbrook, the leaders took fright at the lightning, and became unmanageable; the consequence was, the animals started off at full speed, and the vehicle was upset, and literally shattered in pieces. Nine persons were seriously hurt, and a female passenger died of her bruises, on being conveyed to Hounslow.— About two miles from the same spot a poor man was killed in a lane by a cart turning over, the animal also having plunged out of the road. About eight o'clock the same night, the neighbourhood of St. Albans was visited by a thunderstorm, which continued a considerable time, attended by rain, which fell in such torrents that the roads were quite inundated, and wood palings were thrown down, and other wood-work floated in the stream, which rendered the highways almost impassable; the atmosphere appeared like a sheet of fire, the air was impregnated with sulphur, and the lightning made such a hissing noise, and the whole presented a scene so frightful, that the horses on the road would not proceed.—This very severe tempest proved fatal to the cattle in the county

county of Norfolk. At Bradenham and Shipdam, a bullock and two cows were killed; and at Shenks Mill a cow, the property of Mr. Chephin, in the wildneſs of anxiety for the ſafety of her calf, which had ſtrayed ſome diſtance, ruſhed into the mill-ſtream, and was followed by nineteen bullocks. The rain falling in torrents, the banks were ſoon overflown ſo conſiderably, that all efforts to reſcue them became fruitleſs, and the whole were drowned.

27th. At Boſton, this night, was experienced a moſt alarming tempeſt: it began about half paſt eight, and was not over till nearly eleven. During great part of that interval the rain deſcended in torrents, and the thunder and lightning were of the moſt awful kind. About ten, four houſes were ſtruck by fire-balls; a window of one of the houſes was driven in, the bed-clothes were torn off a bed, and a cat was killed.—At Kirton, near Boſton, a mare and foal were killed by lightning; and a ſmall houſe on the bank of the Forty-foot navigation was deſtroyed by it.

29th. On Friday, about three o'clock, the buſineſs of the Waterford aſſizes was interrupted by an alarm of fire. The ſmoke was ſtrongly felt in the county court, and the flames, at times, flaſhed powerfully through the windows. The fire commenced at the weſt end of the county gaol, and at the diſtance of ten or eleven houſes from it. By this calamity nearly ſixty houſes, moſt of them thatched, in the ſhort ſpace of one hour were totally deſtroyed, with the exception of the walls, and even of theſe many had fallen down. Only one life was loſt, a boy about four years old.

Died. Aged 103, in Long-lane, Mr. James Robinſon.

Aged 106, James Bourns, of Carbolly, county of Down.

Jacob Humphreys, pariſh clerk of Welſh Pool. 15th. His family, for more than 200 years, were pariſh clerks of the place, and were all named Jacob Humphreys, and his ſon Jacob is expected to ſucceed him.

At Bradford, Elizabeth Briggs, aged 102.

AUGUST.

Fine Arts.—On this day, Thurſday, the ſcaffolding and 4th. awning were removed from the ſtatue erected in Ruſſel-ſquare, in honour of the late Duke of Bedford. Many friends of the duke, and lovers of ſculpture attended; the effect produced on the ſpectators was a lively admiration of the performance, mingled with emotions of regret for the loſs of a nobleman who delighted in promoting the good of his country. The ſtatue is coloſſal; the attitude well choſen, graceful, and manly; the folds of drapery are ample, yet ſufficiently detailed. His grace repoſes one arm on a plough, the left hand holds the gift of Ceres, conforming with the general plan of a monument intended to mark the duke's patriotic fondneſs for agricultural purſuits. Spring, ſummer, autumn, and winter, perſonified in the endearing ſemblance of children, play round the feet of the ſtatue, whoſe apparent magnitude ſeems augmented by the con-

traſt. The pedeſtal, in embelliſhments and ſize, is well adapted to the purpoſes of illuſtration and ſtrength: to the four corners are attached bulls' heads in very high relief; the cavity immediately beneath the upper moulding is adorned with herds of cattle in recumbent poſtures; on the curved ſides are rural ſubjects in *baſſo relievo*, the firſt repreſents the preparation for the ploughman's dinner; the huſbandman's wife, on her knees, attends the culinary department; a youth ſounding a horn, two ruſtics, and a team of oxen at reſt, finiſh the groupe. The ſecond compoſition is made up of reapers and gleaners variouſly employed, the young woman in the centre is delineated with the comelineſs and grace of a village favourite. Theſe enrichments, the four ſeaſons, and the ſtatute of the duke, are all caſt in bronze, and ſo very ſucceſsfully, that, with the poliſh of high finiſhing, they preſerve the ſpirit of an original model.

The maſſy material of the pedeſtal is Scotch granite, and together with the ſuperſtructure meaſures, from the level ground to the ſummit of the monument, twenty-ſeven feet. The principal figure is nine feet high.

This ſtatue is the production of Mr. Weſtmacott, to whom the public are already indebted for the admirable monument erected to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

6th. *Indian Goats.*—Some very beautiful animals of the goat kind have been ſent home from India in the late fleet, as a preſent from Sir E. Baillie, to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales. They are larger than the ordinary ſize, with ſmooth hair, beautifully ſpeckled, as we ſometimes ſee deer with very brilliant colours. One of them in particular, a male, is beautifully variegated with red and white. His horns, which are ſmooth, are alſo elegantly mottled. Theſe animals were brought to Calcutta, at the expreſs deſire of his royal highneſs to Sir E. Baillie, from Delhi, where they have been introduced from Perſia. His royal highneſs intended them for his royal mother's lodge at Frogmore, and has already preſented them to her Majeſty, who is highly gratified with the gift.

10th. At Chippenham, Cambridgeſhire, a tower windmill, the property of Mr. Thomas Chapman, was ſtruck by lightning on the middle bolt of the ſail, and ſhivered into 2460 pieces, which were picked up and told from the ſail. It came down at one corner, ſplit the brick work, and ſhivered a piece of the door. A few ounces of lamp black that were in the mill was ſcattered about, and the paper which contained it ſcorched, but no damage was done to the inſide of the mill.

13th. The Marquis di Romana has cauſed a very ſplendid monument to be erected to the memory of Sir John Moore, in a conſpicuous ſituation, to which the remains of the lamented hero have been removed, from the obſcure place where they were depoſited in the fortreſs of Corunna. The following inſcription is placed on the monument:

A la Gloria
Del General Ingles Moore,
Y ſus valientes Compatriotas,
La Eſpana Agradecida.

(To the Glory
Of the Engliſh General Moore,
And

And his valiant Countrymen,
The Gratitude of Spain.)

And on the other ſide:

Memoria del Dia 16 de Enero,
1809.
(Memory of the Action of the 16th
January, 1809.)

15th. This evening, as Lieut. General Baron Hompeſch was returning from Windſor in his ſulky, he was ſtopped between Datchet and Colnbrooke, by a ſingle footpad, who demanded his money. The baron preſented the butt end of his whip, which forms a bugle horn, and ſwore, if he did not take himſelf off, he would lodge the whole of the lead which it contained in his brains. The fellow, who miſtook it for a blunderbuſs, quickly diſappeared. The baron, to avoid a ſecond attack, quickened his pace, and ſhortly after, as he was driving rapidly, he came in contact with a man on horſeback, when both horſes were knocked down by the ſhock, and the ſulky daſhed to pieces. The baron and the man, as well as their horſes, were ſo much bruiſed, that it was with difficulty they were removed. Fortunately no limbs were broken.

18th. A great many perſons, from Dornoch, and other parts of Sutherland, who were on their way to attend the Tain market, on Wedneſday, the 16th, imprudently crowded into the paſſage boat at the Meckle Ferry, to the number of 152, being conſiderably beyond its burden. Unfortunately, however, from an anxiety to get acroſs, they were inſenſible to the imminent danger to which they were about to expoſe themſelves, for they had ſcarcely proceeded half way from the ſhore, when, dreadful to relate, the boat ſunk, and all on board periſhed, excepting five perſons! The buſineſs of the fair having been the object of almoſt all who were on board the boat, many of them had all the money they could command along with them; a circumſtance which aggravates the misfortune of the afflicted relatives. There were ſixty-three ſufferers from the pariſh of Dornoch alone. Whole families periſhed. The day was quite calm. The accident is partly attributed to the miſconduct of the boatmen, who were ſaid to have been intoxicated, and who ſuffered with the reſt on this afflicting occaſion.

20th. *Joint Stock Companies.*—*The King* v. *Webb and others, proprietors of a company calling themſelves the Birmingham Union Flour and Bread Company.*—This was a proſecution, by indictment, preferred by the millers and bakers of that town and neighbourhood, againſt the conductors of the Union Flour and Bread Company, on the ſtatute of the 6th Geo. I. as being a joint ſtock company, and prohibited by that ſtatute.

Several witneſſes were examined on the part of the proſecution, with a view of ſhewing that it had been *injurious* to the proſecutors, and therefore illegal; and, on the part of the defendants, it was clearly proved, that the inſtitution was of a *general benefit* to the town, and that a ſhort time previous to the eſtabliſhment the inhabitants were *ſcantily ſupplied* with flour and bread, and that of an *inferior* quality, and much *adulterated*, and

therefore it was formed with a view of preventing a recurrence of it.

After a conſiderable diſcuſſion of the legal queſtion, ariſing upon the conſtruction of the above act, the learned judge recommended certain points to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the jury, for the purpoſe of making a ſpecial caſe for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, which were as follow:—1ſt. Whether the undertaking was originally beneficial to the public? 2dly. Whether it continues to be ſo? And, 3dly. Whether it was injurious to the millers and bakers?

On which the jury returned the following verdict: "That its original inſtitution was *laudable*, that it was *beneficial* to the town of Birmingham, and continues to be ſo: but that it was prejudicial to the *private intereſts* of the millers and bakers concerned in that trade."

Ireland.—Extraordinary Caſe.—From the Dublin papers of the 22d ult.—"On Thurſday laſt, at ſeven o'clock in the evening, as a man was paſſing by the lime-kiln of D. Goſſon, near Finglas, he ſaw in a hollow below the wall of the kiln, a perſon in a grey coat lying on his face on the ground. At firſt he ſuppoſed him to be aſleep or intoxicated, but, after ſome time, perceiving he did not ſtir, he was induced to examine him more cloſely, when he found him apparently dead. On turning him on his back, to aſcertain who he might be, a ſight the moſt awful and horrid preſented itſelf to his view. The perſon was not dead, but on moving his coat, the whole ſurface of his body ſeemed a moving maſs of worms; his face was much diſfigured, apparently from ſome bruiſes inflicted either by blows or from a fall; and from every aperture of his head, his eyes, ears, mouth, and noſe, poured innumerable worms, as if the interior of the ſkull were entirely filled with them. His eyes were diſſolved, and the cavities, as well as thoſe of his ears, mouth, and noſe, were filled with a white moving maſs, more horrid and diſguſting than it is poſſible for imagination to conceive, without ocular inſpection. After ſome time, the miſerable man recovered ſufficient ſtrength to walk, and ſo far recovered his recollection and voice, that he diſtinctly anſwered ſeveral queſtions put to him; he told who he was, where he lived, &c. that he was returning home on a car the evening before, and having drank too much he fell off, and lay ſtunned with the fall till he was diſcovered. He could not account for the wounds in his head, nor for his being ſo far off the road; but it is probable he had received the contuſion on his face from the fall, or perhaps the car had gone over him, and he had inſenſibly crawled to the place where he lay. The humidity of the air, and the heat of the weather, had rapidly brought on a ſolution of the ſolids in thoſe bruiſed parts already prediſpoſed to putreſcency, and now lying in contact with the moiſt earth. In this was ſpeedily depoſited the eggs of innumerable inſects, whoſe generation was as rapid as the prediſpoſing cauſes were favourable; and thus, while the vital powers rallied at the center, and the blood, yet circulating round the heart, preſerv-

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ed the vital principle, the extremities, in which all pulsation had ceased, were dissolving into their primitive elements, and the whole surface of the body exhibited a mass of animated corruption. He was brought into an out-house, and laid on some hay; the loathsome objects were removed, as far as that could be done; he was washed with spirits and vinegar, had cordials poured down his throat, which he swallowed, though with some difficulty. In fact, every precaution was taken by the worthy people by whom he was discovered, but without effect; the putrescency rapidly increased; in a very short time the spasms in his throat prevented his swallowing; he gradually became insensible, and at twelve o'clock the next day he died, in a state of total putri-solution, having lived in that dreadful situation twelve hours, from the time he was first discovered, and the greater part of that period in full possession of his senses, so much so, that he at several times inquired eagerly for his pocket, in which he recollected he had put some money, and which to a small amount was found.

An information was lately heard before the sitting magistrate at Bow-street, against a master sweep, named Henry Doe, residing in the parish of Mary-le-bone, for having in his service, as an apprentice, a child under the age of eight years, contrary to the act of parliament, which particularly specifies that the children must be upwards of that age, and not bound for a longer time than eight years.

The circumstances of the case were truly distressing, and exhibited an instance of human depravity rarely to be equalled. It appeared that the mother of the child went some distance from London, and left her little son, a fine child, five years of age, in the care of its father, who is a working plumber, named Millet. She remained out of town for nearly a twelvemonth, and, on her return, flew with anxious hopes to the lodging of her husband, where she, of course, expected to be gratified with the sight of her son; but what was her misery and astonishment, when she was informed, by her unnatural husband, that during her absence he had the inhumanity to place his infant offspring in the service of a sweep, and thus early to expose its tender frame to all those melancholy vicissitudes, unhappily so often experienced by the unfortunate children doomed to that wretched employment. Her sensations may be more easily felt than described. She rushed from the presence of the monster, her husband, almost frantic, and after some difficulty found the den, for it could not be called a human habitation, where her unfortunate infant, then initiated in the mysteries of sweeping a chimney, was doomed to pass its existence, without the fostering care of a tender mother, and subject to all the cruelties which an inexorable master might heap upon it. The measure of her woes, however, was to be heaped still higher; for she had yet the horrid tale to hear, that the father of the helpless child absolutely had sold it for three guineas, without the production of which the equally unnatural master refused to restore it to the embraces of its distracted mother. The only resource now left her was to apply to a solicitor for advice, and Mr. Humphries humanely

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took the caſe in hand, and ſummoned the maſter before the magiſtrates, who, without a moment's heſitation, ordered the child to be reſtored to its mother, and impoſed a fine of five pounds on the maſter.

21ſt. DIED.—Matthew Boulton, Eſq. He was born at Birmingham, Sept. 3, (O.S.) 1728; being the ſon of Mr. Matthew Boulton, hardware manufacturer, by Chriſtiana, daughter of a Mr. eers, of Cheſter; and was educated principally at Deritend, in the academy of the Rev. Mr. Anſted. At the age of 17, he invented, and afterwards rapidly brought to perfection, the inlaid ſteel buckles, buttons, watch-chains, trinkets, &c. which were for ſo many years in great requeſt. Of theſe, vaſt quantities were exported to France; whence they were repurchaſed with avidity by the Engliſh beaux, as the offspring of French ingenuity. In 1762, Mr. Boulton, who had inherited conſiderable property at the death of his father, very naturally ſought a larger ſcope for his induſtry than could be conveniently found within the walls of a town. He purchaſed, therefore, a leaſe of the Soho, near Handſworth, in Staffordſhire, about two miles from Birmingham, at that time a barren heath, on the bleak ſummit of which ſtood ſingly a naked hut, the habitation of a poor warrener. Theſe tracts of common were converted by Mr. B. into the preſent extenſive and ſuperb manufactory, of which he laid the foundation at an expenſe of nearly 10,000*l.* and in 1794 he purchaſed the fee-ſimple of Soho, and much of the adjoining land. Until 1767 Mr. B. had carried on his works, by means of water-mills; but the power of this element thus applied, even aided as it was by the ſtrength of horſes, was found very inadequate to the extent of his deſigns. In this year, therefore, he had recourſe to that maſter-piece of human ingenuity, the ſteam-engine. That which he firſt conſtructed was on Captain Savary's * plan; but it fell far ſhort of his purpoſes. Two years after this, however, he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. James Watt, of Glaſgow, (who had obtained a patent for an important improvement in the ſteam-engine), and ſoon induced him to come and ſettle at Soho. In 1775, ſo obvious were the advantages of Mr. Watt's improvement, that parliament prolonged his patent for twenty-five years. Theſe two ingenious men now formed a partnerſhip; and, under the direction of Meſſrs. Boulton and Watt, a very extenſive manufactory of theſe engines was eſtabliſhed at Soho, whence moſt of the great mines and manufactories in England continue to be ſupplied; and they are now rendered applicable to almoſt every mechanical purpoſe in which great force or power is required. About 1788, Mr. B. projected a converſion of the ſteam-engine to the purpoſes of coinage; and he has of late years brought his coining-mill to amazing perfection. He has been employed by the government to coin halfpence, penny and two-penny pieces; and ſo in-

* This gentleman, about the year 1700, erected many of theſe machines for draining the tin-mines in Cornwall.

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geniouſly has he contrived their form and ſtructure; as to render counterfeiting apparently impoſſible. Speaking of Mr. B's mode of applying the ſteam-engine to the purpoſe of coining, the late Dr. Darwin ſaid, "The whole of this expenſive and magnificent apparatus moves with ſuch ſuperior excellence and cheapneſs of workmanſhip, as well as works with ſuch powerful machinery, as muſt totally prevent clandeſtine imitations, and, in conſequence ſave many lives from the hands of the executioner; a circumſtance worthy the attention of a great miniſter. If a civic crown was given in Rome for preſerving the life of one citizen, Mr. B. ſhould be covered with a garland of oak." The impreſſion of the coin, being on a concave ground, is leſs liable to friction; and, of courſe, the coin will be more durable than the preceding coinage on a flat ſurface could be expected to be. Eight of Mr. B's mills were employed on the late coinage, each of which received, ſtamped, and delivered out, with the attendance only of a little boy, from ſeventy to ninety pieces of copper in one minute. From Mr. Boulton's mint have alſo iſſued coinages of copper for the Eaſt India Company, of ſilver for the Sierra Leone Company, and two complete coinages for the Ruſſian government. The works of Soho have been rendered by Mr. B. a fruitful ſeminary of artiſts. Wherever men of taſte or ingenuity were to be found, he cordially invited and liberally patronized them; and, by collecting around him artiſts of various deſcriptions, rival talents were called forth into exertion, and, by ſucceſſive competition, have been multiplied to an extent highly beneficial to the public. On the 30th of December, 1797, Mr. B. purſuing his public ſpirited projects, obtained a patent for an apparatus and method of raiſing water and other fluids. This is an invention perhaps only inferior to the ſteam engine; and the uſes to which it may be applied are numerous, and of daily occurrence.

At Elmſet, near Sheffield, aged 108, Mr. Humphreys.

At Grange, near Cartmel, aged 101, Alice Thompſon.

SEPTEMBER.

William Iley, under oſtler at the Swan, in Chertſey, was married Auguſt 8. In the evening, ſome interruption was given to the harmony of the new married couple and their friends, by two young men who threw a ſtone at the door. W. Vincent, ſon of a butcher, coming by, was aſſailed as the ſuppoſed aggreſſor. This produced a quarrel, ſo much ſo that Vincent next day watched Iley going to his buſineſs at the Swan, and beat him ſo unmercifully as to break one of his ribs, and cauſe ſeveral contuſions on his head: he was conveyed home, and died on the Sunday following. Coroner's jury returned a verdict of—Died by the viſitation of God. The neighbourhood deeming this by no means correct, ſome diſorderly proceedings took place, with a threat to pull down Vincent's houſe, &c. Upon this, the magiſtrates called a ſpecial meeting on the 23d of Auguſt. Several medi- 1ſt.

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cal and other witneſſes were examined; and, after the moſt minute inveſtigation, the magiſtrates were fully ſatisfied that he had died in conſequence of the blows he had received from W. Vincent, who has ſince ſurrendered to take his trial. One of the witneſſes was Mr. Summers, a reſpectable young apothecary and ſurgeon of Chertſey. After giving his evidence, it was imputed to him, that, being the medical man who attended Vincent's family, he had delivered himſelf more favourably as to the cauſe of Iley's death than the circumſtances would warrant, and that with a view to ſhelter Vincent. Hand-bills were publiſhed in Chertſey, and even doors and ſhutters written upon, reflecting, in very groſs language, on Mr. Summers; other mortifying attacks were likewiſe made upon him by ſome of his neighbours. At length this gentleman, being naturally of a deſponding nervous habit, about ſeven o'clock this morning left his houſe, and repaired to the Abbey river, from the ſide of which, after placing his ſtick in the mud, he threw himſelf in, and was drowned.

Forged Notes.—By the late trials at Lancaſter, it appears that a traffic in one, two, and five pound notes has exiſted for ſome time to a moſt alarming extent. The Bank of England have long been aware of theſe forgeries, and they have taken means of detecting and bringing to puniſhment many of the delinquents. It appeared that the traffic in forged notes was carried on in Lancaſhire and the adjoining counties on a larger ſcale than was ever known before; and a witneſs ſtated, that he had been aſſured by one of the priſoners, that at Birmingham he could buy forged ſmall notes by wholeſale, enough to load a jackaſs. It appeared theſe were retailed by poor ignorant, deluded wretches, few of whom could write or read, at from five to ten ſhillings in the pound. Birmingham was clearly traced to be the fountain head from whence theſe forgeries flowed, and Wales and Scotland the parts where they were principally paſſed. Comparatively but a ſmall portion found their way to London, as here they were liable to be detected almoſt immediately. It was found, in many inſtances, that the forgers had blundered in the ſignatures of clerks of the Bank of England who had long been dead, and ſome of the notes bore the Chriſtian names of thoſe who ſigned them. From theſe inconſiſtencies, and the general bad colour of the paper of which they were fabricated, they were not likely to paſs undiſcovered in London, and were, therefore, chiefly circulated in parts remote from the metropolis.

The *cant* terms for falſe notes are *ſofts* and *ſcreens*; of counterfeit gold, *yellows*. It appeared, the paper compoſing the notes was manufactured in Ireland; and the forgeries executed at Mancheſter and Birmingham.

Various accounts, ſimilar to the above, were given by the officers employed in taking into cuſtody theſe unhappy, deluded people, who imagined they were free from danger, if the forged notes were not actually *found in their poſſeſſion*; and that they could not be convicted, unleſs by the evidence of a *third perſon ſeeing them take the money for the diſpoſal of them.*

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The recent improvement of the port of Briſtol, by the formation of the moſt extenſive docks in Europe, the float being two miles and a half in length, and covering eighty-two acres of ground, promiſes to be of very important advantage to the commercial intereſt, and eventually of great benefit to the land and houſe proprietors in the vicinity of the Wells. At all hours of the day ſhips and veſſels can now paſs from the dam head to the quays of the city, and diſcharge their cargoes into warehouſes while afloat, the mud (ſo offenſive formerly in its appearance and ſmell, on which they uſed to ground) being no longer viſible. The ſwamps near the works are alſo filled up in a judicious and uniform manner; ſo that in a few months that which reſembled a barren waſte, will be turned into uſeful culture, and bear the appearance of a rich lawn. Clifton already is influenced by the completion of theſe magnificent docks; moſt of the houſes of the Upper and Lower Creſcent, which had remained in a ſtate of dilapidation ſeveral years, being now ſold, and in the actual operation of fitting up. Indeed, from the pictureſque natural ſcenery of the delightful hill of Clifton, combined with the ſalubrious effects of its waters, and the created plain of ground beneath, we conceive it bids fair to be the moſt favoured ſpot in England.

3d. A cauſe of ſome intereſt came on at the Suffolk aſſizes. It was brought by Mr. Smith, who is a proteſtant diſſenter, to recover back the ſum of 3*d.* which he had been obliged to pay to Johnſon, a toll-keeper of the turnpike gate at Haleſworth, for a taxed cart, in which he was going on Sunday to divine worſhip at a meeting-houſe at the above place. The plaintiff claimed an exemption from toll under the clauſe of the ſtatute which gives exemptions to perſons going to their *proper parochial* church, chapel, or other places of public worſhip. It was intended by both parties that a caſe ſhould have been agreed on for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench; but the judge was ſo decidedly of opinion that the plaintiff was entitled to the exemption, that he would allow only a verdict to be taken for him, with liberty for the defendant, if he thought proper, to move the court next time to have a nonſuit entered.

It was decided at the late Eſſex aſſizes, that no perſon has a *right* to glean in any field, unleſs by permiſſion of the occupier.

Italy.—By order of a decree of Joachim Napoleon, king of the Two Sicilies, moſt of the religious orders and convents throughout the whole of his dominions, are ſuppreſſed.

At Rome, the conſulta has ordered that from the 1ſt of October of the preſent year, the diviſion of time at Rome, and throughout the whole Roman territory, ſhall be the ſame as in France and other European countries. It is well known, that it has hitherto been the cuſtom there to begin to reckon the hours from ſunſet, and count forward through the whole twenty-four.

At Somerſet aſſizes, a cauſe of conſiderable intereſt to the proprietors of lands adjoining rivers, and alſo to mill-owners, was tried before Mr. Baron Graham.—Mr. Kinglake,

Kinglake, the owner of a floor of meadows, adjoining a ſtream of water, brought this action againſt Mr. Norman, the proprietor of griſt-mills and ſilk machinery, worked by ſuch ſtreams; and the queſtions were, whether the mill-owner had a right to pond the water higher than its accuſtomed level, and whether it was not his duty to draw his fenders after heavy rains, to prevent the adjacent lands from being flooded?

The judge declared, that the occupiers of lands have a right by common law to the natural flow of water through the ſame, and that any claim in oppoſition to ſuch rights, muſt be proved to have been exerciſed without interruption for at leaſt twenty years. He ſtated the law on the other queſtion to be, that if a mill-owner, had been in the practice of drawing his fenders to diſcharge by the natural channel the ſuperfluous water, it was evidence of his having been permitted by the proprietors of the adjoining lands to erect the drains, and pond the water, upon ſtipulation ſo to do. In this caſe, it appeared that the fenders had been raiſed within twenty years, and that the mill-owner had neglected to draw the ſluices, until the plaintiff's lands were flooded. —The plaintiff therefore obtained a verdict.

Property Tax.—Return to an Order of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, dated the 8th day of June, 1809, for an Account or Eſtimate of the Nett Aſſeſſment of the Property Tax, for the years ending 5th April, 1807, 1808, and 1809, reſpectively.

Anno ending 5th April, 1807, 11,299,936*l.*

Anno ending 5th April, 1808, 11,345,350*l.*

Anno ending 5th April, 1809, 11,359,229*l.*

For the year ending 5th April, 1807, the above account is made out from actual returns, except from the department of the war office.

For the year ending 5th April, 1808, returns from 218 ſurveyors' diſtricts have been received, from which it appears that the aſſeſſments on trade and profeſſions have decreaſed: ſo that on the whole a diminution of duty may be computed, to the extent of 72,000*l.* nearly in the aſſeſſments by commiſſioners for general purpoſes; but which is overbalanced by the deductions of duty in other departments.

For the year ending 5th April, 1809, returns from twenty-five ſurveyors' diſtricts have been received; the reſult from which is more favourable than in the year preceding, at the rate of 4 $\frac{1}{6}$th per cent. increaſe, and will therefore warrant an eſtimate to the amount of that year. The remainder of that year, except in the article of duty on dividends, is likewiſe computed on the amount of the preceding year, from the ſame ſources, for want of returns.

Mount Veſuvius.—A letter from Naples, of the 9th ult. 4th. ſtates, that on the 4th of September a new crater opened to the ſouth-eaſt, from which there had been a continued eruption of lava. The torrent of lava, which took a direction towards the town of Della Torre, had divided into two branches, and formed an iſland, at the extremity of which it again united, and produced a lake of fire in

in the diſtrict of A Trio del Cavallo. In the night of the 5th there was an eruption of an immenſe quantity of aſhes and ſtones.

5th. About two o'clock, Collingbourn, one of the officers of Union-hall, having received information that ſome perſons had been conveyed in a wounded ſtate to a houſe in Belvidere-place, St. George's-fields, and that the report of two piſtols had been heard, he immediately went to the houſe pointed out to him, and demanded admiſſion: this was refuſed by thoſe in the houſe; and it was not till he had attempted to force open the door that he was admitted. The officer immediately proceeded up ſtairs; and in the front room, on the upper ſtory, he diſcovered a young gentleman in bed, apparently in great agony, in conſequence of a wound which he had received in the ſide; in the back room, on the ſame floor, was a young lady in bed alſo, in a wounded ſtate. Collingbourn inſtantly ſent for Mr. Wagſtaff, a ſurgeon, who immediately examined the wounded perſons. It appeared upon inquiry, that the gentleman had paid his addreſſes to the lady for about three months; they had been out together the preceding evening, and on their return to his father's houſe, in a hackney coach, juſt before the coach reached his father's door, he diſcharged a piſtol at his companion, and a ſecond at himſelf. The gentleman is the ſon of Mr. Eliſton, of Belvidere-place, and the young lady a Miſs Colſon, whoſe friends reſide in the Borough. Several perſons who had a knowledge of the tranſaction were examined on Wedneſday at Union-hall, amongſt whom the following were the principal:

Huſtlon, driver of the coach, No. 278, ſtated, that he was called off the ſtand in the Minories, on Monday night laſt, about eleven o'clock, by a gentleman and two ladies, who ordered him to drive to Crooked-lane, where one of the ladies got out. The gentleman then deſired him to drive to No. 42, in Belvidere-place, and paid him his fare. When he arrived within two or three doors of the place he was ordered to, he was alarmed by the report of a piſtol, and almoſt immediately after another, and heard the gentleman exclaim, "Oh, can you forgive me in your dying moments?" The lady anſwered, "Yes, yes, yes." He ſtopped his horſes, and, getting off his box, ran to look for a watchman. On his return, he found the coach empty, and a perſon informed him that the lady and gentleman were in the houſe, and that no harm was done. In ſearching among the ſtraw of the coach afterwards, he had found a pair of piſtol bags.

Mr. Taylor, No. 42, Belvidere-place, was ſitting at ſupper about twelve o'clock on Monday night, when he was alarmed with the report of two piſtols; he ran out to ſee what was the occaſion of it, and perceived a coach ſtanding near the door with no perſon on the box; he went up, and opened the door, when, by the light of the candle, he perceived Mr. Eliſton and Miſs Colſon, the latter apparently fainting: he ſhut to the door again, and, going to the horſes' heads, drew the coach cloſe up to Mr. Eliſton's door, and aſſiſted in getting them out of the coach:

Mr.

Mr. Eliſton was begging to be forgiven, ſaying, he had no intention to hurt her; ſhe anſwered, "Yes, yes, I forgive you." Mr. Taylor went for the ſurgeon; and on his return, in ſearching the coach, he diſcovered on the back ſeat a piſtol bullet; he ſaw no appearance of blood, but perceived the marks of powder on the woman's dreſs.

Mr. Wagſtaff, a ſurgeon, ſaid, he was called on Monday night to attend two perſons at Mr. Eliſton's, who were ſuppoſed to be dangerouſly hurt. He went, and found Miſs Colſon ſitting on the bed, partly undreſſed. On examining her perſon, he found ſhe had received a contuſed wound on the right ſide, which was very much inflamed and ſwelled, her clothes were perforated in ſeveral places, and from their appearance, and the appearance of the wound, he had no doubt it was inflicted with firearms. Having dreſſed her wounds, he was deſired to attend Mr. Eliſton; he found him lying on the bed; he had a wound, which appeared to have been inflicted with a piſtol bullet on his right ſide; the ball had ſtruck upon his ribs, juſt below the breaſt, and, having fortunately taken a ſlanting direction, it had not penetrated the abdomen. The wound was very much inflamed and ſwelled; but the witneſs did not apprehend any immediate danger from that cauſe: from the expreſſions, however, which fell from Mr. Eliſton, he was fearful he had taken ſomething of a poiſonous nature; and after being repeatedly preſſed on the ſubject, he acknowledged, that finding the ball had not taken effect, he had contrived to ſwallow a conſiderable quantity of opium. The witneſs had queſtioned Miſs Colſon as to what paſſed previous to the firing of the piſtols. She ſaid, that Mr. Eliſton had deſired her to look out at the window, and ſee if the coachman had not paſſed the houſe: whilſt ſhe was doing ſo, ſhe heard the report of the piſtol, but did not at firſt perceive that ſhe was wounded, nor was ſhe much alarmed till ſhe heard the ſecond report, and ſaw the flaſh in the coach, when ſhe ſcreamed out.

The Examination of Miſs Colſon.

This young lady not being in a ſtate to be removed from Mr. Eliſton's houſe, a magiſtrate attended on Thurſday, there to take her examination, relative to the injury ſhe received whilſt in the coach with Mr. Eliſton, jun. on Monday evening laſt. Her ſtatement was nearly as follows:—She had been acquainted with Mr. Eliſton about three months; her friends, however, for ſome reaſon that does not appear, did not approve of the connexion. They paſſed the afternoon of Sunday together at a friend's houſe, when ſhe took an opportunity to ſuggeſt to him the propriety of putting an end to their acquaintance, aſſigning as a reaſon, that her friends did not approve of her receiving the addreſſes of any man: he appeared extremely hurt, and remonſtrated with her with ſome degree of warmth. Before they parted, however, he ſeemed reconciled, and ſhe conſented to go on the following morning (Monday) with him, and a female friend with whom ſhe was going home that night, to the Tower. He accordingly called for them on Monday morning, at the houſe of her friend

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in Crooked-lane, and they went to the Tower, and afterwards to the Royalty Theatre in the evening. They paſſed a very pleaſant evening, and on their return took a coach in the Minories, and ſet down her friend in Crooked-lane, as before ſtated. When they got into the Borough, however, inſtead of directing the coachman towards Newington-gate, near which her friends reſide, he ordered him to drive down Dirty-lane; and on her obſerving that that was not her way home, he ſaid he wanted to call at his father's. After ſome pauſe, he aſked her, "if ſhe ſtill continued in the ſame reſolution ſhe expreſſed the evening before, of breaking off their acquaintance?" She anſwered him in the affirmative; and obſerved, that "as it was the wiſh of her friends that the intercourſe between them ſhould ceaſe, the ſooner it was put an end to the better it would be for both parties." He ſoon after requeſted ſhe would look out of the coach, and ſee whereabouts they were: ſhe did ſo; and whilſt ſhe was looking out ſhe heard a ruſtling behind her in the coach, and turning herſelf round quickly, ſhe ſaw a piſtol in his hand; ſhe attempted to ſeize hold of it, and it went off. She did not immediately perceive that ſhe was wounded, and almoſt inſtantly after ſaw the flaſh of another piſtol, which ſhe thought he had pointed at his own head. She ſoon after perceived that ſhe was wounded, and told Mr. Eliſton, who exclaimed, "Then we are both dead people!" and called to the coachman to drive to No. 42, his father's houſe; he frequently begged her forgiveneſs, ſaying, he had no intention to hurt her, and ſhe repeatedly aſſured him ſhe forgave him. She thought his intention was not to injure her, but to deſtroy himſelf. Here this ſtrange affair reſts, till Mr. Eliſton is in a ſtate to allow of his being interrogated. The piſtols were on Tueſday morning delivered up to Mr. Wagſtaff by a younger brother of Mr. Eliſton. Jealouſy is ſaid to have been the cauſe of this raſh act. Neither of the parties is more than twenty years of age.

7th. The annual conference of the Methodiſts, held this year at Manchester, terminated laſt week: 250 preachers attended.—Actual increaſe of members during the paſt year, 14,200; 6200 in England and Ireland, and 8000 in America. The number of preachers received at conference, after the four probationary years, excluſive of thoſe in the diſtricts, was twenty; and the number of new chapels opened ſince laſt conference is ſtated to be conſiderable.

17th. *Opening of Covent Garden Theatre.*—The New Theatre opened on Monday night, with the tragedy of *Macbeth* and the *Quaker*. It was crowded the inſtant the doors were open; and though on the ſteps of the portico the mob were exclaiming againſt the advance of prices, yet when they got into the theatre, they were at firſt ſilenced by the beauty of the ſpectacle they beheld. After waiting quiet for ſome time, the band ſtruck up "God ſave the King," and then the call for the ſong was ſo general, that no performer in the orcheſtra could be heard, but the double-drum player. The ſingers then made their appearance, and could as little be heard as the inſtrumental performers. However,

during all this uproar, applauſe was predominant, and it was evident, from the appearance of pit and boxes, that the majority in favour of the managers was at leaſt twenty to one! Preſently Mr. Kemble appeared to ſpeak the opening addreſs, habited in the coſtume of the part he was about to play, *Macbeth*. The uproar was now greater than ever; Mr. Kemble waited in hopes of ſilence for ſome time. At laſt he motioned his lips through the following addreſs:—

In early Greece, and in a barbarous age,
A wretched tumbril was the Actor's Stage:
The muſe, with cheek reclined in penſive ſhame,
Bluſh'd for her wanderers from the path to Fame.

Æſchylus ſprang; and ſtorm'd, as he aroſe,
His country's paſſions, like his country's foes.
Rough from the battle, train'd to vanquiſh men,
E'en as his ſword he wielded, ſo his pen.
He ſmote the heart, the trembling ſenſe oppreſs'd,
And gave no quarter to the human breaſt.

Yet, ſtage improvement mark'd the Soldier's ſway,
And tinged with taſte the captives to his lay.
Then, firſt (the cart of Theſpis overthrown)
Form'd by rude planks, a Theatre was known
Coped by th' Heavens, it o'erſpread the lawn,
And light on ſcenic dreſs appear'd to dawn.

But, all divine, when Sophocles appear'd,
'Twas then the Drama's majeſty was rear'd.
Builders and decorators came,—their boaſt
Was who could grace the loſty Poet moſt.
The lofty Poet lack'd not brains to know
That Dramatiſts require the Drama's ſhow.
Nature's perfection ſprings from various parts;
And "Nature's Mirror" needs the Siſter Arts.

Hence grew the ſplendour of the ſcene—and hence
The handmaids that embelliſh eloquence:
Dance, muſic, painting, pageantry, parade,—
All that give zeſt, or yield illuſion aid.
Rome caught the ſpark from Greece, improved the plan:
At laſt the flame through modern Europe ran.
Our ſcene now decks, in an illumined age,
The Bards who firſt gave vigour to our ſtage:—
Thus Shakſpeare's fire burns brighter than of yore;
And may the ſtage that boaſts him burn no more!

From this our fabric, baniſh we to-night,
Figures worn threadbare, metaphors grown trite,

No Phœnix from her aſhes ſhall ariſe,
Stale to our thoughts as ſparrows to our eyes;
No naked truiſm be cloak'd anew,
To tell that fire, which cheers, conſumes us too;
No,—let a Briton now to Britons ſpeak;
His cauſe is ſtrong, although his language weak.
We feel with glory all to Britain due,
And Britiſh Artiſts raiſed this pile for you:
While, zealous as our patron, here we ſtand,
To guard the ſtaple genius of our land.

Solid our building, heavy our expenſe;
We reſt our claim on your munificence;—
What ardour plans a nation's taſte to raiſe,
A nation's liberality repays.

Mr. Smirke, jun., the architect, has ſelected, and upon very juſt grounds of preference, the Doric ſtyle of architecture, which, in majeſty, ſimplicity, and ſtrength, ſo much excels the other orders. The front of the theatre occupies one half of that ſide of Bow-ſtreet neareſt to Covent-garden; and upon our firſt approach, we are ſtruck with the aſtoniſhing breadth and majeſtic ſimplicity of the building. The portico, in the centre, is of the ſame proportions as thoſe in the portico of the temple of Minerva at Athens; and the characteriſtics of Greek architecture are preſerved in the other parts of the front. The columns of the portico, we believe, with the exception of thoſe of St. Peter's at Rome, and thoſe in the temple of the Acropolis, are the largeſt of any exiſting building in Europe.

We obſerve that the ruſticated work, which is more familiar to the eye, as having the appearance of *lines in ſcore*, and which is, in truth, a modern corruption, has been judiciouſly omitted by the architect,—who was, doubtleſs, aware of their effect in deſtroying the ſimplicity of a building, by diſtracting the eye, and diverting its attention from the main features.—The mouldings on the exterior of the building, the architraves round the windows, in ſhort every part, are correct examples of Greek forms and purity. In the lower part of the front an arcade extends from one end to the other, and there is no decoration introduced which does not tend to the general effect and character of the whole. The front of the building is terminated at each end by two pilaſters, and the figures of comedy and tragedy are placed in niches between them. It is worthy of remark, that there is a breadth of plain ſurface under each niche, by means of which the effect of the figures is very much aſſiſted. The *baſſo relievos* in front are each about forty-five feet long, and are executed with the ſame *relief* as thoſe in the temple of Minerva, which were the work of Phidias. The projection of the moſt prominent figure, not exceeding three inches, they have a peculiar effect from

the plain ſurface behind them, and, being ſlightly indented, harſh ſhadows are avoided. They thus form a part of the general character and prevailing ſimplicity of the ſtructure, and conſtitute a modeſt decoration and delicate enrichment.

Under the portico, in the ſame relief as the other *baſſos relievos*, the king's arms are introduced. The main walls of the theatre, which are about one hundred feet in height, and of a proportionate thickneſs, riſe conſiderably above the other parts of the front, and arched openings have been judiciouſly introduced, by which the chimnies are concealed, and the water is diſcharged from the great roof. In the other fronts of the building all architectural decoration has been omitted, but the ſame flowing lines, the ſame exactneſs of proportions, and purity of parts,—the ſame noble ſimplicity, and character of ſevere grandeur, is preſerved throughout. The building is entirely inſulated, but a communication has been preſerved between Hart-ſtreet and Bow-ſtreet, and the Piazzas in Covent-garden.

There is one peculiar praiſe which belongs to this building—*it is the only exiſting ſpecimen of pure Greek architecture*, uncorrupted by Roman or Gothic appendages. It is filled up as it were from the remaining ſhell of the Acropolis at Athens. Mr. Smirke has caught from the temple of Minerva the general idea; the proportions, the parts, the finiſhing, are all Mr. Smirke's own; in a word, it is a building of which Athens would not have been aſhamed, and of which England, therefore, may be reaſonably proud. Like every true work of art, it does not command attention by its mere maſs; the effect is purely given to it by the art, the harmony, the mind of the workman.

The maſs, the brick and mortar, and all that was done by the trowel and the plane, belong to Mr. Copeland; the order and effect, the *mens agitans molem*, to Mr. Smirke, jun. It is he that has lifted the maſs into lightneſs, and, like the Atlas in the fable, carries it with majeſty and ſimplicity on his ſhoulders.

The baſſo relievos in front of the theatre.—The ſpecimens of the fine arts, exhibited in the ſculpture of the front, are repreſentations of the ancient and modern drama, in baſſo relievo. The deſigns are claſſical, and the execution maſterly. The piece repreſenting the ancient drama is to the north of the portico, and that repreſenting the modern drama is on the ſouth ſide.

The ancient drama.—In the centre three Greek poets are ſitting; the two looking towards the portico are Ariſtophanes, repreſenting the old comedy, and (neareſt to the ſpectator) Menander, repreſenting the new comedy. Before them Thalia preſents herſelf with her crook and comic maſk, as the object of their imitation. She is followed by Polyhymnia, playing on the greater lyre, and by Euterpe, on the leſſer lyre, Clio, with the long pipes, and Terpſichore, the muſe of action or pantomime. Theſe are ſucceeded by three nymphs, crowned with the leaves of the fir-pine, and in ſuccinct tunics, repreſenting the hours

hours or ſeaſons governing and attending the winged horſe Pegaſus. The third ſitting figure in the centre, looking from the portico, is Æſchylus, the father of tragedy. He holds a ſcroll open on his knee; his attention is fixed on Wiſdom, or Minerva, ſeated oppoſite to the poet. She is diſtinguiſhed by her helmet and ſhield. Between Æſchylus and Minerva, Bacchus ſtands leaning on his fawn, becauſe the Greeks repreſented tragedies in honour of Bacchus. Behind Minerva ſtands Melpomene, or tragedy, holding a ſword and maſk; then follow two Furies, with ſnakes and torches, purſuing Oreſtes, who ſtretches out his hands to ſupplicate Apollo for protection. Apollo is repreſented in the quadriga, or four-horſed chariot of the ſun. The laſt deſcribed figures relate to part of Æſchylus's tragedy of Oreſtes.

The modern drama.—In the centre (looking from the portico) Shakſpeare is ſitting; the comic and tragic maſks, with the lyre, are about his ſeat; his right hand is raiſed, expreſſive of calling up the following characters in the Tempeſt:—Firſt, Caliban, laden with wood; next, Ferdinand, ſheathing his ſword; then, Miranda, entreating Proſpero in behalf of her lover: they are led on by Ariel above, playing on a lyre. This part of the compoſition is terminated by Hecate (the three-formed goddeſs) in her car, drawn by oxen, deſcending. She is attended by Lady Macbeth, with the daggers in her hands, followed by Macbeth, turning in horror from the body of Duncan behind him. In the centre (looking towards the portico) is Milton, ſeated, contemplating Urania, according to his own deſcription, in the Paradiſe Loſt. Urania is ſeated facing him above; at his feet is Sampſon Agoniſtes chained. The remaining figures repreſent the maſque of Comus; the two brothers drive out three Bacchanals, with their ſtaggering leader, Comus. The enchanted lady is ſeated in the chair; and the ſeries is ended by two tigers, repreſenting the transformation of Comus's devotees. The deſigns of both baſſos relievos, and the models of the antient drama, are by Mr. Flaxman. The models of the modern drama, and the execution in ſtone, is by Mr. Roſſi.

Statues, ſeven feet in height, repreſenting Tragedy and Comedy, are placed in niches in the wings of the theatre. Tragedy, on the ſouth wing, is a fine figure, holding the tragic maſk and dagger: the ſculptor is Mr. Roſſi. Comedy holds the ſhepherd's crook, or pedum, on her right ſhoulder, and the comic maſk in her left hand. This is the workmanſhip of Mr. Flaxman, and occupies the northern wing.

Interior of the theatre.—Entrance.—The entrance from the Piazza is by a double flight of ſtone ſteps; the walls are alſo of ſtone, and the whole is lighted by antique lamps, placed on tripods of bronze. Taſte and judgment have concurred in producing the union of beauty and convenience. Nothing can be more elegant than the ornaments, and nothing more perfect than the accommodation provided for the public. The communication from one part of the houſe to another is complete, being facilitated by ſtaircaſes, by

which one may go from the ſtage, or the pit, to the upper gallery, in a few minutes. Large reſervoirs of water have been judiciouſly formed, from which pipes lead to every part of the houſe. Theſe conduits are of a very conſiderable diameter, and would, in an inſtant, inundate any ſpot to which it might be neceſſary to direct the flood.

Within the ſolid parts of the walls, and, indeed, in the very heart of the building, are introduced ventilators, for the purpoſe of œconomizing and diſtributing the air. The houſe, therefore, is always capable of being purified and refreſhed, and, in figurative language, may even be ſaid to *reſpire*.

The ſtage.—The ſtage, in height, breadth, and eſpecially in depth, appears to be of admirable dimenſions, and excellently adapted to ſcenic ſhew and proceſſions. The boxes, except thoſe over the ſide doors, are not ſuffered to intrude upon the *proſcenium*; a proper departure from the common practice. On each ſide of the *proſcenium* are two lofty pilaſters in *ſcaliogla*, with light gilt capitals; between which, are the ſtage doors, and manager's boxes, &c. Theſe ſupport an arch (the ſegment of a circle): the ſoffit painted in light relief; from which deſcends the crimſon drapery, over the curtain. Above is a bold and ſimple entablature, with the royal arms (the ſupporters *couchant*) reſting on its centre. In each ſpandrel of the arch is an emblematical antique celeſtial figure, holding the wreath, torch, &c. excellently executed in relief. The entablature, devices, and the whole frontiſpiece, are in the ſame light relievo as the cupola.

The whole will be lighted by patent lamps, ſuſpended by brackets.

The ceiling is painted to reſemble a cupola, in ſquare compartments, in a light relief. In the centre is a lyre. The character of the decorations is perfectly Grecian, and every part is chaſtened and controuled by an uniform tone of ſimplicity. The artiſt appears to have ſtudied the *ſimplex munditiis*, in the general effect of the ornaments which he has introduced; and never did artiſt more completely accompliſh his object. An elegant ſimplicity, in which the *antique* tone and character abound without pedantry or quaintneſs; a ſimplicity equally remote from glare and glitter on the one ſide, and crudity and coldneſs on the other, prevails throughout.

The machinery of the ſtage is moſt admirably contrived for expedition and facility of application. A ſcene, once uſed and done with, is not ſuffered to ſtand in the way, and block up the lateral avenues of the ſtage: it is thrown back into the rear of the ſtage, and finds its place in an orderly and capacious receptacle. The ſcenes are let down from above, and lifted up again with ſurpriſing facility, and moſt dexterous mechaniſm. There will be no more clamour and confuſion as formerly behind the curtain. On each ſide of the ſtage are rooms appropriated to the uſe of the performers, fitted up with great neatneſs and commodiouſneſs.

There

There are likewiſe three green rooms (as they are termed) ſpacious, elegant, and ſimple.

The drop is peculiarly grand. It repreſents a temple dedicated to Shakſpeare, in the back of which is ſeen his ſtatue, copied from his monument at Weſtminſter Abbey, ſupported by Tragedy and Comedy; and between pillars, on each ſide, are ſtatues of Æſchylus, Plautus, Lopez de Vega, Ben Jonſon, Moliere, &c. &c.

The boxes, pit, and galleries.—There are three tier of boxes, which are diſpoſed in a ſemicircular form, and afford a perfect view of the ſtage from every point. The front of the boxes is of a cream colour, with Greek ornaments in gold, upon a pink ground and gold mouldings. The boxes are alſo ſupported by gold fluted columns. In each box there are three rows of ſeats, with light blue coverings. The three circles of boxes are furniſhed with large chandeliers, elegantly mounted. Theſe ſplendid ornaments were made by Collins, at Temple-bar. They are chaſte and beautiful in their deſign, which appears to be after the ſtyle of Piraneſi, forming a graceful canopy of the richeſt cut drops, of which there are at leaſt *five and twenty thouſand*. Theſe were all modelled and cut for the purpoſe, on an entire new faſhion, and they produce a luſtre almoſt equal to the diamond. The mountings are alſo coſtly and elegant, combining ſtrength and beauty. There are forty in number, ſuſpended from a rich gold bracket in front of the three tier of boxes, and over the ſtage doors; the latter are large and magnificent, bearing nine lights each; thoſe in front of the boxes bear five and ſix lights each. The principal green room is alſo ſplendidly illuminated by a large chandelier, correſponding with thoſe on the ſtage, rich ornaments bearing lights on the chimney-piece, &c.

The pit, beſides its uſual lateral paſſages, has two central paſſages, which extend through its whole length from the front boxes to the orcheſtra, an improvement, the advantage of which will be moſt beneficially felt, both in egreſs and ingreſs, when the houſe is crouded. It ought alſo to be mentioned, that the ſeats in the pit are gradually elevated in a manner which will greatly conduce to the convenience of the audience. The eye of each individual will be raiſed ſo high, that it will be impoſſible for the head of the perſon ſitting before him to intercept his view of the ſtage. The ſeats are twenty-five inches broad, and are covered with light blue cloth, edged with ſcarlet.

The upper gallery is divided into five compartments, and may be thus conſidered a tier of five boxes, with a ſeparate door at the back to each: theſe doors open into a ſpacious lobby, one ſide of which is the back of the gallery, and the other the exterior wall of the theatre, with the windows into the ſtreet. The lobby to the middle gallery beneath is ſimilarly ſituated. One great advantage attends this conſtruction: in ſummer the doors of the galleries and the windows of the lobbies being left open, the audience in thoſe parts cannot be oppreſſed by the heat, as in the former theatre.

Under the gallery is a row of private boxes, conſtituting the third tier. They conſiſt of twenty-ſix in number, with a private room behind each. The acceſs to theſe boxes is by a beautiful ſtair-caſe, excluſively appropriated to them, and not connected with any other part of the houſe; with, alſo, a ſaloon, excluſively—ſpacious and magnificent in the extreme. This ſaloon is adorned with magnificent columns of Sicilian marble, the colour of which is a beautiful light *verd antique*, inſtead of porphyry. Buſts of Shakſpeare, Milton, &c. are introduced in various parts of it,—drawings in *chiaro obſcuro*, principally from the works of our dramatic poets, executed in an elegant and ſcientific manner,—ſplendid luſtres and chandeliers, and the moſt ſumptuous furniture, contribute to the decoration of this magnificent apartment, which for convenience, taſte, and elegance, will become another Ranelagh. The carpeting is laid down in theſe boxes, but the furniture of each, and alſo of the adjoining room, will be according to the taſte of the ſeveral occupants, among whom are ſome of the royal dukes, and the leading perſons of rank and faſhion in the country. The lower boxes appear to be upon the ſame plan with thoſe in the old houſe. There is an additional ſeat; each box will thus hold twelve perſons, being three more than in the old houſe.

There is not a point of the houſe, before the curtain, that does not command a complete view of the ſtage; nor a point in which a word diſtinctly ſpoken on the ſtage is not perfectly audible to the remoteſt extremity.

The artiſt has been alſo particularly attentive to the comfort and accommodation of the performers. The gentlemen's dreſſing rooms are on one ſide, and thoſe of the ladies on the other. The wardrobe room is ſpacious and ſuperb; in the centre is a ſquare table of immenſe ſize—the ſurface mahogany, highly poliſhed; the preſſes which line the room are in wainſcot, finiſhed with the moſt exquiſite taſte. In the conſtruction of this ſplendid edifice, the calamitous fate of the late two great winter theatres has not been forgotten. Every means of ſafety againſt fire, or other accident, that ingenuity could deviſe, has been adopted. At all convenient intervals are ſtrong party walls, with iron doors, by which, if a fire were to break out, it would be confined within that particular compartment, and be prevented from ſpreading through the houſe. The fire-places are alſo made with the grates turning upon a pivot, by which means the front can be moved round to the back, and the fire is thus extinguiſhed without the poſſibility of accident. Water-pipes are alſo inſinuated into every part of the houſe, through which they are ſpread like veins through the human body. Great braſs cocks, which, when turned, would pour the contents into the houſe, preſent themſelves to the eye in the lobbies and other open places.

The flight of ſtairs to the upper gallery conſiſts of 120 ſteps, and the number of bricks laid down in ſeven months, amounted to ſeven millions; a circumſtance which

may

may afford an idea of the magnitude of the edifice, and the celerity with which it has been built. The materials are of the beſt quality, and the building is moſt ſubſtantial and ſecure. Previous to its opening its ſtrength was tried by immenſe leaden weights placed on the ſeveral tiers, greatly exceeding the weight of the moſt crouded audience that could be compreſſed into the houſe, and yet the building did not in any point give way.

We ought to have mentioned a very great improvement in the doors, which not only facilitates admiſſion, but which affords the moſt ſatisfactory means of ſecurity, in caſe any accident ſhould render the immediate evacuation of the theatre neceſſary. The doors, now, inſtead of opening backwards or forwards, upon touching a ſpring, ſlide laterally, and are wholly removed from the paſſages.

The interior of this theatre is exceeded by no building ancient or modern, and the entire ſtructure will probably remain an example to the preſent and ſucceeding ages, of elegance and magnificence controuled and directed by an unrivalled ſimplicity and taſte, and a commodiouſneſs and general competency to its various purpoſes of which there is no parallel in any building of the ſame kind.

21ſt. A duel took place early this morning between Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Canning, in which the latter received a wound in the left thigh; it is not dangerous, being merely a fleſh wound. The meeting took place at Putney Heath. *See Appendix to the Chronicle.*

The American papers contain the following tragic occurrence, which took place in Halifax county on the 5th ult. A young man, of the name of William Parker, had for two or three years paid his addreſſes to a Miſs Dolly Griffin, and the marriage of the parties was expected; recently, however, Miſs Griffin had diſcarded him. On the 5th. they, with ſome other company, dined at a Mrs. Harris's, where Parker behaved towards Miſs Griffin with ſome rudeneſs. His conduct, and ſome expreſſions which fell from him, excited her ſuſpicions, and ſhe invited two of her female friends to accompany her home. When they had nearly reached her mother's, Parker came out ſuddenly from an angle of the fence, and preſenting a gun at Miſs Griffin, ſhot her through the arm, and lodged the contents in her ſide. She fell inſtantly; and the horſes rode by the other young ladies being frightened, they were alſo thrown. Parker then began very deliberately to reload his gun: the young ladies, bereft by their fears of the power of either flight or reſiſtance, entreated him not to kill them. He told them he had no ſuch intention, that he was then loading for himſelf, and aſked one of them for a corner of her ſhawl for wadding, which he tore off. When he had finiſhed loading, he placed the muzzle to his breaſt, and ſprung the trigger with his foot; it miſſed fire; he then picked the flint, and on the ſecond attempt the load entered his breaſt; he then tottered to the fence, againſt which he leaned in great agony, and deſired the young ladies to pray for him; he

then

then walked towards the dying Miſs Griffin, and fell beſide her. Both expired in a few moments. Miſs Griffin was the only child of a widowed mother, who heard the cries and firing, and came to the place juſt in time to ſee her daughter expire.

27th. Thurſday, James Hewit, an old man, nearly 60 years of age, was indicted for a miſdemeanor, in having, in the month of May laſt, contrary to an act paſſed in the reign of George II., ſeduced an artificer of this country to leave this kingdom. From the teſtimony of the witneſs examined, it appeared that the priſoner, although recently from America, is an Engliſhman, and had lately frequented a public-houſe, called the York Minſter, immediately in the vicinity of the cotton manufactory of Meſſrs. Hughes and Lewis, Bunhill-row, to which the men employed in the ſervice of Meſſrs. Hughes and Lewis reſorted; and, amongſt others, a man named Hutchinſon, who had been formerly apprenticed from the pariſh of St. Martin, to a cotton manufactory near Mancheſter, where he remained till he arrived at the age of 21. He then came to London, and was employed in the ſervice of Meſſrs. Hughes and Co. in the wool-dyeing buſineſs, and was in fact returned a fair workman. This man the priſoner frequently met, and, by glowing repreſentations of the advantages and great wages he was likely to obtain by going to America, induced him to agree to emigrate, for the purpoſe of being employed in a cotton manufactory, at a place called Cooper's Town, within two miles of New York, and a ſhort diſtance from the reſidence of the priſoner. Meſſrs. Hughes and Lewis having heard of this negotiation, ſent for the priſoner, and remonſtrated with him on the illegality of the ſteps he was purſuing, forewarning him at the ſame time, that if he perſiſted in his delinquency they would puniſh him with the rigour of the law. The priſoner then declared his ignorance of any criminality attaching to his conduct, and promiſed moſt faithfully that he would relinquiſh his intentions. In a few days, however, Mr. Hughes diſcovered that Hutchinſon was making preparations for his departure, and that his paſſage had actually been taken on board an American ſhip. The priſoner was then apprehended; and on being brought before a magiſtrate produced a receipt for 121 dollars, paid by him to the mate of an American ſhip for Hutchinſon's paſſage, and alſo a promiſſory note of Hutchinſon's for that ſum, and for other moneys which had been advanced to him by the priſoner, to be paid out of the produce of his labours in America. The priſoner's defence was, that Hutchinſon came a ſecond time to him, and ſaid he had his maſter's permiſſion to leave the country, and that from his ſolicitations he was induced to pay his paſſage out.

The common ſerjeant, who tried the caſe, in ſumming up the evidence, dwelt with peculiar force on the miſchievous tendency of the crime of which the priſoner ſtood charged, which, he ſaid, was moſt materially connected with the manufacturing intereſts of the country,

try, and well deſerved puniſhment by law in a moſt exemplary manner; the legiſlature having decreed, that perſons convicted of ſuch an offence ſhould be ſubject to twelve months impriſonment, and to pay a penalty of 500*l.*—The jury, without a moment's heſitation, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

Hutchinſon, the artificer ſeduced, was then tried under an act, paſſed in the 5th of George the Firſt, which enacts, "That any artificer, particularly in the manufactures of cotton, wool, ſilk, mohair, &c. who ſhould be convicted of, or detected in, preparing to leave the kingdom, for the purpoſe of devoting his knowledge for the benefit and advantage of foreign countries, not within the Britiſh dominions, ſhould be bound to enter into recognizances himſelf, and two ſureties, for remaining in the country."

The evidence in the former caſe was again gone through, and the priſoner was found *Guilty*.

Died.—On the 15th, at Liverpool, aged 106, Mr. David Salmon.

23d. At Exeter, Hugh Downman, M.D. author of "Infancy," and many other poetical productions of great merit.

28th. Mr. Cleveley, the marine painter.

At Shipton, New York, aged 100, Suſannah Riggs.

OCTOBER.

Dijon, Oct. 1.—We are informed, that, during the night of the 28th ult. the whole village of Prenicores had been filled with alarm by a wandering wolf. It firſt aſſailed the door of a wood-cutter's cottage, which it ſhook powerfully. Awakened by the noiſe, the man armed himſelf with an iron-headed ſtick, and haſtened to the door, perceiving the animal breaking with his teeth a thick wooden partition. Several blows compelled it to deſiſt; and after injuring other parts of the cottage, it ruſhed furiouſly into a ſtable, bit a dog, and ſeized a cow, the bellowing of which called her maſter to her aſſiſtance. Informed by the wood-cutter that the wolf was mad, theſe heroes, happy at having frightened it out of the ſtable, ſuffered it to overthrow a honeycomb, and bite one of their pigs, while they reſorted to a place of ſafety. Entering another cottage through the window which it had broken, the ferocious animal was on the point of ſnatching a child, whoſe cradle lay on a table, when a dog ſprung at it, and ſeized its throat, overthrew it, and dragged it to its maſter's habitation. This man, called Tabard, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of his dog; but on opening his door, the two enraged combatants ruſhed into his houſe. Tabard's two daughters came down on hearing their father's cries while wreſtling with this ſavage viſitor. One of them, while looking for a light, had both her hands ſeized by the wolf's teeth, but her ſiſter ſucceeded in diſengaging her with a knife. Light was at laſt procured, and the wolf immediately fled; but Tabard had time to get his gun before it was out of ſight. With the firſt ſhot he brought it to the ground, and then finiſhed it with a heavy club.

The following particulars of Lefebvre's expedition 4th. againſt

againſt the Tyrol, in Auguſt laſt, were communicated by a Saxon major, who eſcaped from the deſtruction of thoſe terrible days:—

"We had penetrated to Inſpruck without great reſiſtance; and although much was every where talked of the Tyroleſe ſtationed upon and round the Brenner, we gave little credit to it, thinking the rebels to have been diſperſed by a ſhort cannonade, and already conſidering ourſelves as conquerors. Our entrance into the paſſes of the Brenner was only oppoſed by ſmall corps, which continued falling back, after an obſtinate though ſhort reſiſtance. Among others, I perceived a man full eighty years of age, poſted againſt the ſide of a rock, and ſending death amongſt our ranks with every ſhot. Upon the Bavarians deſcending from behind to make him priſoner, he ſhouted aloud, *Hurrah!* ſtruck the firſt man to the ground with a ball, ſeized hold of the ſecond, and with the ejaculation, *In God's name!* precipitated himſelf with him into the abyſs below. Marching onwards, we heard reſound from the ſummit of a high rock, *Stephen, ſhall I chop it off yet?* to which a loud *Nay* reverberated from the oppoſite ſide. This was told to the Duke of Dantzic, who, notwithſtanding, ordered us to advance; at the ſame time he prudently withdrew from the centre to the rear. The van, conſiſting of 4000 Bavarians, had juſt ſtormed a deep ravine, when we again heard hallooed over our heads, *Hans! for the moſt Holy Trinity!* Our terror was completed by the reply that immediately followed: *In the name of the Holy Trinity! Cut all looſe above!* and ere a minute had elapſed, were thouſands of my comrades in arms cruſhed, buried, and overwhelmed, by an incredible heap of broken rocks, ſtones, and trees, hurled down upon us. All of us were petrified. Every one fled that could; but a ſhower of balls from the Tyroleſe, who now ruſhed from the ſurrounding mountains in immenſe numbers, and among them boys and girls of ten and twelve years of age, killed or wounded a great many of us. It was not till we had got theſe fatal mountains ſix leagues behind us, that we were reaſſembled by the duke, and formed into ſix columns. Soon after the Tyroleſe appeared, headed by Hofer, the innkeeper.—After a ſhort addreſs from him, they gave a general fire, flung their rifles aſide, and ruſhed upon our bayonets with only their clenched fiſts. Nothing could withſtand their impetuoſity. They darted at our feet, threw or pulled us down, ſtrangled us, wrenched the arms from our hands; and, like enraged lions, killed all—French, Bavarians, and Saxons, that did not cry for quarter. By doing ſo, I, with 300 men, was ſpared, and ſet at liberty. When all lay dead around, and the victory was completed, the Tyroleſe, as if moved by one impulſe, fell upon their knees, and poured forth the emotions of their hearts in prayer under the canopy of heaven; a ſcene ſo awfully ſolemn, that it will ever be preſent to my remembrance. I joined in the devotion, and never in my life did I pray more fervently."

This day W. Marlborough and his wife were charged, at the public-office, in Marlborough-ſtreet, with ſtarving almoſt to death, and otherwiſe cruelly mal-treating, 9th.

treating, a female child of the husband by a former wife, only six years of age, and of behaving to her with a degree of barbarity scarcely exceeded even in the history of Mrs. Brownrigg. The prisoners keep a potatoe warehouse in Goodge-street, Oxford-road; and the poor child was usually doomed to pass the night in a cellar under ground, where pigs and potatoes were kept; and was frequently whole days without food. She was accustomed to be beaten with leather thongs, pointed with iron wire, and her emaciated form bore the dreadful marks of the tortures which she had experienced. The cries of the little sufferer at length excited the compassion of the neighbourhood, and a body of them went to the prisoners' house, and forcing their way in, found the wretched victim concealed under a bedstead, and almost famished with hunger. In a state too dreadful to be described, she was conveyed to a neighbour's house, where she devoured, with the rapacity of a tiger, some food that was set before her. The prisoners alleged, as an excuse for their infernal cruelty, that they were obliged to punish her in the manner stated, to correct a habit of pilfering, and to save her from the gallows. The magistrate, however, having expressed a becoming indignation at their brutal conduct, ordered them to be committed for trial, and the parish-officers were bound over to prosecute. In the course of the day, the mob broke every window in the house in Goodge-street.

10th. The late disturbances in the East India Company's college, at Hertford, originated, it is said, with those students who had once before proved refractory.

On Saturday night, the 21st ult. having been rusticating all the preceding day, two or three of them returning late, seized the watchman who was particularly obnoxious to them, and treated him very roughly. They afterwards summoned their adherents, who took their stand in the court-yard, calling out "No watch!" and keeping up a perpetual volley of stones, added to the firing of pistols and blunderbusses, (which, however, since appear to have been only loaded with powder) set all opposition at defiance. Apprehensions were at length entertained that they intended to fire the building; in consequence of which, the professors were induced to enter into a negotiation, which was speedily followed by a treaty on the following basis: that the rioters should be thenceforward exempt from corporal punishment; that their grievances should be redressed; and that the too vigilant watchman should be dismissed.

At the commencement of the disturbance, intelligence had been transmitted by express to the court of directors, several of whom arriving when tranquillity was restored, three of the misguided young men, who had acted as ringleaders, were brought to an examination before the college council, and finally expelled; the remainder, on expressing their contrition, were severely reprimanded, and suffered to pursue their studies.

16th. *Extraordinary Phenomenon.*—At Sandside, in the parish of Reay, in the county of Caithness, there was seen, about

two

two months ago, an animal ſuppoſed to be the mermaid. The head and the cheſt, being all that was viſible, exactly reſembled thoſe of a full grown young woman. The mammæ were perfectly formed; the arms longer than in the human body, and the eyes ſomewhat ſmaller. When the waves daſhed the hair, which was of a ſea green ſhade, over the face, the hands were immediately employed to replace it. The ſkin was of a pink colour. Though obſerved by ſeveral perſons within the diſtance of twenty yards, for about an hour and a half, it diſcovered no ſymptoms of alarm. It was ſeen by four or five individuals, of unqueſtionable veracity, at the ſame time. Something of the ſame kind was obſerved in the ſame neighbourhood, about ſeven or eight years ago, by a gentleman then reſiding near the ſpot.—*Edinburgh Weekly Journal.* *See Natural Hiſtory.*

In the courſe of this month, the viceroy of Italy and his conſort viſited the ruins of the antient Pompeia, accompanied by Chevalier Arditi, ſuperintendant of the Royal Neapolitan Muſeum. A freſh ſearch having been made for antiquities, a few days before, by order of their Majeſties, M. Arditi preſented on the occaſion ſeveral pieces of antient pitch, a veſſel full of wheat, a piece of coral, ſeveral beautiful paintings, and a lamp of baked earth in the form of a leaf, and bearing a Latin inſcription. This lamp was covered with a very fine varniſh, or vitrification, which gave it a ſilvery or pearly appearance. It ſeems to be a miſtake, therefore, of ſome authors, when they inform us that this vitrifaction was not invented until the fifteenth century, by Luc de la Rubria, a Florentine ſculptor.

Their Majeſties having expreſſed a deſire to have ſome of the ruins dug up under their own inſpection, the workmen had the good fortune to find ſeveral pieces of money, of various denominations; a quantity of bronzes, among which was a very fine vaſe, and an urn for wine; ſome articles formed of bones: a great quantity of glaſſes, of various dimenſions and ſhapes; and in particular a great number of vaſes, improperly called Etruſcan, on which were Latin inſcriptions. On the ſame occaſion, their Majeſties found ſome works in marble, and in particular ſome comic maſks; a few but elegant altars, adorned with bas-reliefs and weights, marked with cyphers in the upper part.

Hitherto only a ſingle ſubterranean apartment had been diſcovered at Pompeia, improperly called a cantione, but which ought rather to have been named crypto-portico; in the recent diggings, one was diſcovered conſiſting of ſeveral ſtories. It is remarkable for having a pipe or tube of ſtucco placed in a corner, and intended for the conveyance of ſmoke.

This diſcovery ſeems to ſet at reſt the queſtion ſo long agitated by the learned; namely, whether the antients were acquainted with the uſe of vents or chimnies for carrying off ſmoke? In the ſame apartments were alſo found ſeveral pieces of marble and alabaſter, valuable on account of the bas-reliefs and inſcriptions with which they are adorned.

Their Majeſties afterwards proceeded into a *triclinium*, or dining apartment, recently diſcovered. The walls of this magnificent ſaloon are covered with paintings of the moſt exquiſite taſte, repreſenting fiſhes, birds, and game of all kinds. Here there are three couches of maſon work, in perfect preſervation, being the places in which the antients reſted during their meals. Adjoining the three beds, there ſtill exiſts a marble foot, which muſt have ſerved as a ſupport for the table on which the diſhes were placed.

His Majeſty, on quitting the ruins, expreſſed a moſt ardent deſire that the exertions made to expoſe them to public view ſhould be continued, and has ſince iſſued the neceſſary orders to his miniſters of finance.

25th. *Jubilee at Windſor.*—The jubilee, as was expected, was celebrated on Wedneſday with every demonſtration of joy at Windſor. At ſix o'clock in the morning, the commencement of the jubilee was announced by the ſound of trumpets; after which the drums beat to arms, the Royal Horſe Guards, (Blues) the Staffordſhire Militia, and the Volunteers: the bells alſo rung a merry peal.

Between eight and nine o'clock their Majeſties, Princeſs Elizabeth, and the Dukes of York and Suſſex, attended divine ſervice at the private chapel in the caſtle. After divine ſervice, Turnerelli was introduced to her Majeſty and the royal party, and preſented the jubilee buſt which his Majeſty has lately ſat for, the ſtriking likeneſs of which was taken upon this memorable occaſion, and was highly approved of.

Fête at Frogmore.—But a more refined and claſſical entertainment, a ſuperb *Fête*, was given, on Wedneſday night, by her Majeſty at Frogmore. At half paſt nine o'clock the gates were thrown open for the nobility, gentry, and others having tickets of admiſſion. On the entrance into the gardens, the ſpectator was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and delight at the charming and fanciful ſcene of variegated lamps, of different figures and colours. The avenues and walks were hung with brilliant coloured lamps, in the ſhape of watchmen's lanthorns. The lawns adjoining to the houſe afforded a rich diſplay of the choiceſt ſhrubs and plants, taken from the green-houſe. At ten o'clock the Queen arrived, and after her Majeſty had joined the company, the fire-works began, at the concluſion of which there appeared on a ſudden, and as it were by magic, on a beautiful piece of water oppoſite the garden front of the houſe, two triumphal cars, drawn by two ſea-horſes each, one occupied by Neptune, and preceded by the other with a band of muſic. The cars had a very ſuperb appearance. On coming to the temporary bridge erected over the canal oppoſite to the garden front, tranſparencies were diſplayed in an equally ſudden and unexpected manner on the battlement, with the words—"Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves," inſcribed on them. At the ſame moment the band ſtruck up the tune. Oppoſite the bridge, an elegant Grecian temple was erected on the mount, ſurrounded by eight beautiful marble pillars.

pillars. The interior of the temple was lined with purple, and in the centre was a large tranſparency of the Eye of Providence, fixed, as it were, upon a beautiful portrait of his Majeſty, ſurmounted by ſtars of lamps. From the temple a double ſtaircaſe deſcended to the water's edge. On the windings of the ſtaircaſe were erected nine altars with burning incenſe.

On the lawn twelve marquees were erected, where the company partook of tea and coffee during the fireworks. Covers were laid in the principal dining-rooms, and at twelve o'clock the company ſat down to an elegant ſupper, conſiſting of all the delicacies of the ſeaſon. The frames were beautifully done in emblematic figures, part of which repreſented Britannia kneeling by the lion, the eye of Providence above, and underneath was written by her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Elizabeth, "Britannia, grateful to Providence, celebrates the 50th year of a reign ſacred to piety and virtue."

On the iſland, in the middle of the ſheet of water in the gardens at Frogmore, there has been erected a temple; it is a ſquare pile of building, decorated with Doric columns and a dome, with emblematical figures deſcriptive of the happy event repreſented thereon. Fronting the noble viſta, or grand promenade-walk, leading from the palace to the lake, there was a bridge, conſiſting of only a ſingle arch, and like the celebrated Rialto at Venice, it was decorated in the ſame manner, and illuminated. In the centre of the temple was an altar, claſſically ornamented with figures, &c. the deſigns were furniſhed by the Princeſs Elizabeth, and executed under the direction of Mr. Wyatt. In the front of the altar there was a female figure of Gratitude, in a kneeling poſture: this figure exactly reſembles the Venus of Cleomenes. The altar, &c. could be ſeen in perſpective, by means of open arches, from the houſe and gardens on every ſide. The temple and the bridge were the only erections made at Frogmore expreſsly for the celebration of the jubilee. Tents had been erected ſufficiently capacious to entertain from twelve to fifteen hundred people. The fanciful and romantic bower, or ruſtic ball-room, erected under the ſuperintendance of the Princeſs Elizabeth, about ten years ſince, and which was ſuffered to fall into decay, has been repaired and decorated with laurel leaves, the roſe, thiſtle, and ſhamrock; it was illuminated with coloured lamps. In the town of Windſor, the grand triumphal arch extended from the Caſtle Inn, over the High-ſtreet, to the Town Hall. It was decorated with obeliſks and devices in tranſparent colours, executed by Mr. Matthew Wyatt. Another triumphal arch in Sheet-lane, at the ſole expence of Mr. Tibbett, who is the carpenter to the Board of Works at Windſor: the latter was illuminated by exactly 2000 variegated lamps.

At Kew, the whole of the town was illuminated. A grand Gothic arch was erected, from the centre of which a ſtar was ſuſpended: it was of vaſt dimenſions, and underneath a medallion of his Majeſty, a very correct likeneſs, with a motto, "Virtue, Honour, and Glory." The whole of the trees around

around the green were illuminated by variegated lamps, in arches, wreaths, and columns.

Celebration of the Jubilee by the City of London.—The joyful event of our beloved ſovereign entering the 50th year of his reign, was celebrated by the corporation of this great metropolis with a magnificence and ſplendour becoming its wealth and diſtinguiſhed rank among the nations of Europe. At an early hour the day was uſhered in by the ringing of bells in the different churches, among which we noticed particularly the fine peal of St. Michael's, Cornhill.

At half paſt ten o'clock the lord mayor proceeded from the Manſion-houſe to Guildhall, in the city ſtate coach, drawn by his ſet of ſix beautiful grey horſes, ſplendidly adorned with ribbons, and attended by the uſual officers, preceded by the trumpets ſounding, and the band of the Weſt London Militia playing God ſave the King. At Guildhall his lordſhip was joined by the members of the corporation, and at half paſt eleven o'clock the proceſſion moved from thence.

In the large ſpace between the iron gates and great weſt door of the cathedral, the Weſt London Militia received his lordſhip, and the reſt of the proceſſion, with preſented arms. On entering the great weſt door of the cathedral, his lordſhip was received by the dean and chapter. The centre aiſle to the choir was lined on each ſide by the river fencibles, in full uniform.

A moſt excellent and appropriate ſermon was preached by his lordſhip's chaplain, from a well choſen text, in the 8th chapter, 2d Kings, and 66th verſe, "And they bleſſed the king, and went into their tents joyful and glad of heart, for all the goodneſs the Lord had done for David, his ſervant, and for Iſrael his people."

The coronation anthem was performed previous to the ſermon, by the full choir with great effect. The proceſſion returned about three o'clock in the ſame order. At five o'clock the corporation were introduced up the grand ſtaircaſe, in front of the Manſion-houſe. The trumpets ſounding during their entrance in the veſtibule. The building had been previouſly decorated with a ſplendid illumination, conſiſting of elegant devices of the oak, thiſtle, and ſhamrock, in coloured lamps; in the centre, a radiant diſplay of G. R. and the crown, with "Long may he reign." The pillars were taſtefully ornamented with wreaths of lamps; the whole was much admired for its general grandeur and effect. On entering the grand ſaloon, which was lined by the band of the Weſt London Militia, playing God ſave the King, Rule Britannia, &c. the company were individually received by the lord mayor in his robes of ſtate, with that affability, politeneſs, and attention, that diſtinguiſh this worthy chief magiſtrate.

The ſaloon was brilliantly lighted with ſeveral large Grecian lamps, beautifully painted, and diſplaying a ſcene at once novel and elegant. At half paſt five o'clock, the doors of the magnificent Egyptian Hall were thrown open, illuminated by the blaze of innumerable lamps, taſtefully arranged round the pillars and the elegant luſtres and chandeliers ſuſpended from the roof.

The tables were laid out with

the greateſt taſte, and covered with an elegant and hoſpitable dinner, the whole of which was ſerved with plate, and a plentiful ſupply of Madeira and red port of a moſt ſuperior quality and flavour. The band continuing during the whole of dinner to play ſeveral delightful military and other airs. After the cloth was removed, *Non Nobis Domine* was charmingly ſung by Meſſrs. Taylor, &c. &c.

The lord mayor then gave,

"The King, God bleſs him, and long may he reign over a free and united people."

Which was drank with three times three, and with exulting enthuſiaſm, amid thunders of applauſe, that continued unabated for a conſiderable length of time. After this effuſion of loyal feeling had ſubſided, the grand national anthem of God ſave the King was performed by the profeſſional gentlemen preſent, with appropriate additional verſes for the occaſion, the whole company ſtanding and joining in the chorus with the moſt heartfelt zeal, accompanied by the animating ſound of the military band.

The worthy chief magiſtrate then gave,

"The Queen."

"The Prince and Princeſs of Wales, and the reſt of the Royal Family."

"The Wooden Walls of Old England."

After which, Rule Britannia was ſung, accompanied in full chorus by the band and company preſent.

"The Army of the United Kingdom."

"Proſperity to the City of London," &c. &c.

The illuminations of the public buildings and offices were unuſually taſteful and ſplendid.

The following is the Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving appointed to be read in the Churches on this Occaſion:—

O God, in whoſe hands are the iſſues of life and death, and to whom alone it belongeth to diſtribute mercies, as well in lengthening as in ſhortening the days of men, we yield thee praiſe and thankſgiving for the protection thou haſt vouchſafed to our gracious ſovereign, during a long and arduous reign. Continue, we pray thee, thy watchfulneſs over him; ſhield him from the open attacks of his enemies, and from hidden dangers; from the arrow that flieth by day, and from the peſtilence that walketh in darkneſs; enlighten his counſels for the public good; ſtrengthen all his meaſures; and when it ſhall ſeem fit to thine unerring wiſdom, perfect the ends of both—the reſtoration of peace and ſecurity to his people; of concord and independence to contending and bleeding nations. Theſe bleſſings and mercies we implore for our ſovereign, ourſelves, our allies, and our enemies, through the merits and mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

On this happy occaſion, too, a proclamation was iſſued for pardoning all deſerters from the fleet, whether they return to their duty or not; and another, pardoning all deſerters from the land forces, provided they ſurrender in two months from the 25th. The lords of the admiralty ordered an extra allowance of 4lbs. of beef, 3lbs. of flour, and a pound of raiſins, to every eight men in his Majeſty's ſhips in port, with one pint of wine, or half a pint of rum each man.—Eleven crown debtors were this day

day discharged from prison, in addition to above 100 liberated by the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for small Debts. The donations to this laudable society for the above charitable purpose have been most liberal. The city of London set the example by subscribing 1000*l.*

30th. *Coroner's Inquest.*—An inquest was held at the Bull-and-Mouth-inn, Bull-and-Mouth-street, before T. Sheldon, esq. on a view of the body of the Rev. G. Glasse, late rector of Hanwell, who strangled himself in his apartment at the inn the preceding night. After the jury had examined the body, which exhibited marks of strangulation, witnesses were called.

Sarah Horn said, she was chamber-maid at the Bull-and-Mouth. About five o'clock on Tuesday morning, she went to call the deceased, as she had been told by her fellow-servant that the gentleman was going at five o'clock by the Leeds coach. When the witness opened the door of his apartment, a candle was burning, and she saw the deceased lying on the floor with his clothes off, near the foot of the bed. Witness did not know that he was dead, but she felt alarmed at seeing him, and immediately called up Dowker, the book-keeper, who found the deceased hanging to the bed-post.

Anne Horn, also a chamber-maid at the Bull-and-Mouth, deposed, that she was called about nine o'clock on Monday evening to attend the deceased. The witness found him sitting in the coffee-room near the fire. The deceased asked for a bed, and the witness told him he might sleep in a double-bedded room. He objected to sleeping in a room with two beds, unless he was allowed to sleep in the room by himself. He asked the witness, at the same time, whether she could inform him where he could buy a night-cap; the witness told him he might purchase one near the inn. The witness then lighted him up stairs to his room, and left him. About half an hour after this, a gentleman came and inquired for the deceased, and the gentleman was shown to the room where the deceased slept. He was then in bed; the witness saw him stretch out his hand, and shake hands with the gentleman, after which she left them together. Twenty minutes after, the witness met the gentleman coming down stairs from the deceased, with a candle in his hand. The deceased had informed the witness that he was going by the Leeds coach at five in the morning, and begged she would call him in time. In consequence of this order, she told her fellow-servant, Sarah Horn, to call him. The witness did not see the deceased after the gentleman left him.

Samuel Dowker said, he was book-keeper at the Bull-and-Mouth. About a quarter before five o'clock on Tuesday, he was called by Sarah Horn, the chamber-maid, to go into the room where the deceased had been put to bed. On entering the room, he found the deceased lying on his belly at the foot of the bed. A napkin was tied round his neck, and his head was suspended from the bed-post, about half a yard from the floor. The deceased was cold, and quite dead. The witness was without a knife in his pocket,

and he called up one of the helpers belonging to the ſtable, who cut the napkin aſunder which ſuſpended the head of the deceaſed to the bed. The witneſs ſent for a ſurgeon, but ſurgical aſſiſtance was of no avail. The deceaſed had not taken a place in the coach. He had mentioned to the witneſs before he went to bed, that he intended to go by the Liverpool coach. He afterwards ſaid he would go by the Glaſgow coach in the morning. The witneſs did not notice any thing uncommon in the behaviour of the deceaſed when he made inquiry reſpecting the coach.

Mr. Starr, a ſurgeon reſiding at Smithfield-bars, depoſed, that he was ſent for about five o'clock on Tueſday morning. He accordingly went to the Bull-and-Mouth, and found the deceaſed lying on his belly. The deceaſed was quite dead: he had tied his white cambric handkerchief to a towel, and faſtened the ſame with a nooſe round his neck, fixing the knot under his left ear. The witneſs examined the body, and he found every appearance of ſtrangulation, therefore he was ſatisfied the deceaſed had been ſtrangled. The witneſs had attended the bodies of ſeveral inſane perſons who had hanged themſelves, and all thoſe bodies exhibited the ſame appearance as the deceaſed. The witneſs conceived that the deceaſed, who was a corpulent man, had remained on his knees at the lower part of the bed, until he had ſuſpended himſelf from the bed-poſt, when he fell, and that by his ſtruggles he had accelerated his death.—The witneſs expreſſed his opinion that the deceaſed was inſane.

The oſtler, who had been called in to cut the napkin round the neck of the deceaſed, corroborated the evidence of Dowker. He alſo ſaid, he recollected having ſeen the deceaſed at Canterbury, and at Lord Darnley's, ſome time previous.

Wm. Loden, eſq. ſolicitor, of Gray's-inn-ſquare, depoſed, that he conducted the affairs of the deceaſed. The witneſs ſaw him about eleven o'clock on Monday morning, at the houſe of Dr. Hume, in Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet. The deceaſed was then in a ſtate of mental derangement, occaſioned by the embarraſſed ſtate of his affairs. He was conſidered in ſo dangerous a ſtate, that Dr. Hume and the witneſs thought it was dangerous to leave him by himſelf. He frequently put his hand up to his head, and exclaimed, "I muſt be cupped." He alſo told the witneſs he ſhould like to go to Scotland until his affairs were ſettled. The witneſs ſaid that the deceaſed might go to Scotland if Dr. Hume would give conſent. The witneſs ſaid Dr. H. would conſent, and he appeared much more eaſy in his mind under the idea of going to Scotland. In the courſe of Monday morning, the witneſs and Mr. Glaſſe went to Lincoln's-inn about buſineſs. Mr. Glaſſe then ſaid, he would go off by the Glaſgow coach, and appointed to meet the witneſs at the Bull-and-Mouth, after he had been to purchaſe ſome ſtationery and other articles in Bond-ſtreet. In the evening the witneſs called on Mr. G. adviſed him not to go to Scotland, and told him that he might remain concealed from the bailiffs in London. The witneſs then left him, as he appeared more calm and compoſed than he had been during the day.

day. The witneſs had known Mr. Glaſſe ſixteen years, during which he had ruined a fine fortune. The witneſs had no doubt of his inſanity. He had frequently exclaimed, "Take me to priſon! I have ruined my family! Oh my wife and children!" with many other expreſſions, which left no doubt of the deranged ſtate of his intellects. Mr. Glaſſe had been appointed chaplain to the lord mayor elect, and witneſs underſtood he had written a ſtrange letter to a city officer, in which he ſaid he was compelled to become an exile. The witneſs ſaid he could relate a long hiſtory of Mr. Glaſſe, but the jury ſaid they were ſatisfied with the evidence, and the coroner did not wiſh to interrogate him further.

Another reſpectable ſolicitor, who had known the deceaſed, corroborated the evidence of Mr. Loden.

Clement, a clerk in the coach-office, alſo confirmed the teſtimony of Dowker, with reſpect to the irregular behaviour of the deceaſed when he made inquiry about the coach.

John Knapp, waiter at the Bull and Mouth, depoſed, that the deceaſed appeared much agitated when he came into the coffee-room. His hands ſhook, and he ruſhed out, whilſt he was taking refreſhment, to ſpeak to the clerk in the coach-office. The witneſs thought he was mad, and made an obſervation to that effect to one of his fellow-ſervants.

Under the above circumſtances, the coroner left it to the jury to ſay whether the deceaſed was of ſane mind when he deſtroyed himſelf. The foreman of the jury, without heſitation, expreſſed his belief that the deceaſed had ſtrangled himſelf in a ſtate of inſanity, and the other jurors immediately returned their verdict, Inſanity.

Mr. Glaſſe was in poſſeſſion (including the rectory of Hanwell) of upwards of 4000*l.* per annum. He was a gentleman of conſiderable natural and acquired talents. When introduced at the French court during the late ſhort peace, Buonaparte pronounced him the moſt accompliſhed Engliſhman he had ſeen at Paris.

DIED. — James Elphinſtone, Eſq. the friend of Dr. Johnſon, and a man of virtue and talent.

NOVEMBER.

6th. *Court of Chancery.—Ward of Court* v. *Giles.*—Mr. Richards moved for an attachment againſt Mr. John Giles, for carrying off Miſs Auguſta Nicholſon, a ward of that court, and alſo for having a fit and proper perſon appointed by the court, to whom the care and cuſtody of the infant ſhould be entruſted. The circumſtances of the elopement it may be proper to detail.

Miſs Auguſta Nicholſon, the daughter of Colonel Nicholſon, a ward of chancery, with a fortune of 14,000*l.* eloped with Mr. Giles, the comedian, from Tunbridge Wells. The family reſide at Worceſter; the colonel is, we underſtand, at the Iſle of Wight; the young lady's mother is dead; the colonel is married to a ſecond wife. Miſs Nicholſon has become entitled to a fortune of 14,000*l.* when of age, in conſequence of the death of eight relatives ſince 1803. During

ring the colonel's abſence from home, Miſs Nicholſon and her mother-in-law viſited Tunbridge Wells, at which faſhionable place the parties firſt became acquainted. Mr. Giles's firſt introduction to the lady was by an offer to carry ſome books for her from the library. On the following evening ſhe went to the theatre, accompanied by her mother-in-law, and ſat on the front ſeat of the ſtage-box; and while Mr. Giles was performing cloſe to the box, Miſs Nicholſon contrived to drop a letter to him unobſerved, which he picked up unperceived by her mother-in-law. In that letter ſhe acknowledged her attachment to him, and gave him encouragement to pay his addreſſes to her, and ſaid that ſhe would marry him. From that time a mutual intercourſe and correſpondence took place, in which the warmeſt affection was expreſſed. This proceeding was communicated to Miſs Nicholſon's mother-in-law, who, to prevent the intercourſe proceeding further, confined her to the houſe. This regulation, however, had not the deſired effect: for Mr. Giles contrived a plan of exchanging letters through the key-hole of the ſtreet-door; Miſs Nicholſon had a bed-room to herſelf, and got up every morning before five o'clock, and converſed with her lover out of the window. The correſpondence continued about five weeks previous to the elopement. The elopement was effected by the following circumſtances:—

Mr. Giles, deſtitute of the moſt needful article, money, for carrying on ſuch an exploit, made Mr. Smith, a brother performer, his confidant; told him what he had been doing, and what he was about to do, and aſked him to lend him a ſum of money to enable him to run away with Miſs Nicholſon. Mr. Smith entered into his views, and lent him 30*l.* being the whole of his ſtock. The two ſons of the buſkin having agreed upon their object, and having the conſent and approbation of the lady, ſet off to walk from Tunbridge Wells to Seven Oaks, on the evening of the 24th; and, to avoid ſuſpicion, they hired a chaiſe-and-four at a by-inn, a few miles from Seven Oaks, and ſet off in it about three o'clock in the morning, and proceeded towards Tunbridge Wells. They ſtopped a ſhort diſtance before they came to the town; Smith ſtopped in the chaiſe, and Giles went for the lady: and ſhe, on the ſignal of love, flew to his embraces with only one change of clothes, in hopes never more to part; but diſappointment overtook them.

Miſs Nicholſon's flight was ſoon diſcovered after the family got up, and it was at length aſcertained that ſhe had eloped with Mr. Giles. On Thurſday, the following day, her mother-in-law wrote to Meſſrs. Cardale and ſon, ſolicitors, of Bedford-row, who are truſtees to Miſs Nicholſon. They employed Adkins and his brother to trace the fugitives out. The officers purſued their inquiries with all poſſible expedition and exertion. They traced the parties to have changed their horſes at the White Hart Inn, at Bromley, and from thence gradually to Weſtmorland-place, City-road, which is extremely well calculated for perſons to conceal themſelves. Adkins went with Mr. Cardale to the houſe of Mr. Steele; Adkins knocked at the door; a female anſwered it, and Adkins aſked

aſked if Mr. Giles was within; ſhe anſwered in the affirmative, and that he was at dinner. Adkins followed her in, and ſaw Mr. Giles: Adkins addreſſed him by his name, and he anſwered to it; but when Adkins told him his buſineſs, he told him he muſt be miſtaken, and that he never was at Tunbridge Wells in his life; Adkins, however, perſiſted that he was the man, from the deſcription of him that he had received, and that the young lady who was dining with him was Miſs Nicholſon; the diſpute about the identity of their perſons was ſoon ſettled by Mr. Cardale, the ſolicitor, and Miſs Nicholſon's truſtee, entering the room, and a frantic tragic ſcene took place. Miſs Nicholſon, finding any attempt to conceal herſelf longer a folly, both lovers ruſhed into each other's arms, and ſwore attachment, beating their heads, and running about the room diſtracted; Miſs Nicholſon agreed to go with them quietly, after much perſuaſion; but, ſaid ſhe, I muſt go up ſtairs firſt. Adkins told her he muſt accompany her, to which ſhe agreed; and one of the principal objects to take care of was her purſe, which was not for the amount of the caſh it contained, as we underſtand it only contained a dollar and a few ſhillings at the one end, but the other contained the jewel of all jewels to her, the wedding ring, which was to tie her to her dearly beloved Giles that morning at Mary-le-bone church, they having been aſked in the church two Sundays, and the third time was to have taken place on that day. But, alas! Miſs Hoyden is diſappointed of being a married woman this time, eſpecially as ſhe has been ſo extremely anxious to get married to her deareſt deareſt Giles, that ſhe has made him, ſince her elopement, ſwear ſeveral times upon the Bible, that he will never marry any woman but her.

The learned counſel read the affidavits of Mrs. Sarah Frances Steel, of Weſtmorland-place, ſtating that Miſs Nicholſon and Mr. Giles came to her houſe on the 21ſt of laſt month, and had been ſeldom out from that time to the period of their being taken into cuſtody. That ſhe underſtood that they had come to her houſe for the purpoſe of being married, and that the banns had been proclaimed in Mary-le-bone church, and alſo in another church, the name or ſituation of which ſhe did not know. Mrs. Nicholſon, the ſtep-mother, had alſo made an affidavit, ſtating that it would be inconvenient for her any longer to take charge of the infant. There was a relation of the infant's, however, (an aunt,) who, he believed, would be ready to undertake the charge of her. The friends of the young lady had reaſon to ſuppoſe that her indiſcretion had gone no farther than the act of eloping. The learned counſel, therefore, left it with his lordſhip to determine how the other parties ſhould be diſpoſed of.

Mr. Bligh appeared for a Mr. Smith, an acceſſary, againſt whom an attachment had already iſſued, and expreſſed his deep contrition for the part he had taken in the buſineſs.

The lord chancellor ſaid, if Mr. Smith wiſhed to throw himſelf on the court with this expreſſion of ſorrow, it would certainly avail

him in ſome degree, and if he had any thing further to ſtate, he ſhould have an opportunity of doing ſo on Thurſday, when his lordſhip would diſpoſe of the caſe ſo far as he was concerned. As the proclamation of banns, where any of the parties might happen to be a ward of that court, was held by the law to be a matter of very ſerious importance, his lordſhip ordered that the perſons who had been concerned in proclaiming the banns in the church of Mary-le-bone, and in the other church, if it could be found out, ſhould attend the court on Thurſday. This order he made, not for the purpoſe of having it held out that their conduct had been improper, but becauſe the law was particularly ſtrict in ſuch matters, requiring that every diligence ſhould be uſed for the purpoſe of aſcertaining that the parties, as to whom the banns were to be proclaimed, reſided within the pariſh, and laboured under no diſability which ſhould prevent the marriage from taking place. Seven days were even allowed by act of parliament for the purpoſe of making this inquiry. The care of the infant, in the mean time, his lordſhip ordered to be entruſted to the relation whom the learned counſel ſuggeſted. Againſt Mr. Giles, he ordered, that the attachment ſhould iſſue, leaving it to the diſcretion of the plaintiffs to judge how far it would be proper that it ſhould be carried into execution. If not abſolutely neceſſary, he was ſatisfied they would not feel themſelves called on to reſort to ſuch an extremity. Mr. Giles, in all probability, was not aware of the ſituation in which he ſtood, and, if he choſe to appear by his counſel, and ſtate any thing which he might think would be for his advantage, his lordſhip would hear him on Thurſday.

On Thurſday, Mr. Richards called the attention of his lordſhip to the above caſe. He recapitulated the circumſtances which have been already laid before the public, and recommended that the young lady ſhould be placed under proper protection; as ſhe had repeatedly declared her intention of running off, if ſhe could get an opportunity.

Mr. Blythe, as counſel for Mr. Giles, ſtated that he had much to offer in extenuation of his conduct; but that he refrained, from conſiderations of delicacy to the family of the lady. He ſtated the contrition of Mr. Giles for what had paſſed, and his readineſs to ſubmit to any terms which it might be his lordſhip's pleaſure to impoſe. As to the conduct of Mr. Smith, the brother comedian, who had aſſiſted in the elopement, and had lent money towards carrying it into execution, he had an affidavit from him, ſtating his utter ignorance at the time of the lady's being a ward in chancery. He read this affidavit, and alſo another from Mr. Fry, Mr. Giles's ſolicitor, in extenuation. The learned gentleman then ſtated, that Mr. Giles was without friends, and without any means of ſubſiſtence; ſo that his utter ruin was certain in caſe of confinement.

The lord chancellor ſaid, that he would defer his deciſion until Friday; but could not avoid now remarking upon the impropriety of the clergyman's conduct, who had publiſhed the banns. He did not wiſh to impute any wilful impropriety

propriety to the gentleman who had acted upon this occasion; but an error he was certainly guilty of. His lordship now deemed it necessary to lay down the law precisely for the guidance of those who might be hereafter concerned in such circumstances. He understood that clergymen frequently published banns, upon their being handed up to them, after the first and second lesson. The law, however, allowed no such power. By the act of parliament for the regulation of marriages, the banns should be made known to the clergyman at least seven days before their publication, together with the christian and surname of the parties, the parish in which they resided, together with their respective residences, and how long they had occupied them. It was the duty of the clergyman, after the first notice, to go to the house to which he was directed, and make inquiries there as to the correctness of the facts. If on such inquiry he was deceived, then he certainly was not to blame; but if he neglected to make such inquiry, he was subject not only to heavy ecclesiastical censures, but to punishments of another description. Ignorance, on the part of the clergyman, would not avail him as an excuse. He cited the strictness of Lord Thurlow, in the case of Dr. Markham, and recollected himself a cause, in which the absurd excuse of the officiating clergyman was very near subjecting him to a most severe prosecution. The clergyman said he had given the strictest orders to his curate; the curate had given the same orders to his clerk; the clerk to his wife; and so they accounted and thought to apologize for the dereliction of their duty. His lordship advised a petition to be sent up in the course of the day, from Mr. Giles, which he would take into consideration, and decide upon on Friday.

A petition was afterwards presented to his lordship.

An inquest was held this afternoon, on the body of Thomas Soaper, who died on Saturday last, of the bite of a rattle snake. It appeared that the deceased, who was a carpenter by trade, had wantonly, while intoxicated, teazed the snake with a rule, part of which it broke, and, in opening the cage to take it out, the snake darted at him, and wounded him in the hand. From that day, the 17th of October, he suffered great agony, not without hopes of recovery, but a mortification coming on, he died last Thursday. 7th.

Court of Chancery.—*Nicholson* v. *Giles.* — Mr. Blythe informed his lordship, that Messrs Giles and Smith were in attendance, in conformity with the directions which his lordship had given on the preceding day. 10th.

The lord chancellor asked Mr. Richards if he had any thing to offer from the guardian of Miss Nicholson.

Mr. Richards replied in the negative, but observed, that Mr. Giles had, in his affidavit, stated something respecting a letter to Mrs. Wells, which required some further explanation.

The lord chancellor intimated his intention of looking into that part of the affidavit. With respect to Mr. Smith, he should allow him to be discharged, upon his undertaking

undertaking to come forward, if neceſſary, upon any future occaſion. Mr. Smith was then diſcharged. Mr. Giles was committed to the Fleet.

11th. This day Mary Connor, an old offender, was charged, at the police-office, Queen-ſquare, with defrauding Mary Anderſon of wearing apparel, by pretended magical illuſions. The proſecutrix ſtated, that the priſoner applied to her for lodgings four months ago, and having learned that a young man was paying his addreſſes to her, ſhe contrived to ſeduce his affections from her, and was actually married to him. She next contrived, by her incantations, to make the unſuſpecting girl (Anderſon) open her box, containing clothes, with about 30*l.* which next morning were gone. The enchantreſs pretended that an apparition had conveyed them to Devonſhire, and that if ſhe attempted to reveal it, ſhe would be turned into a fiſh. Terrified by this idea, the girl actually concealed her loſs for eleven weeks, till her eyes were opened by diſcovering that the priſoner had been ſecretly married to her own lover, already mentioned. The priſoner acknowledged the fraud, and was committed for trial. Her huſband was held to bail.

13th. The new cut on the Union Canal from Leiceſter to Harborough (through Foxton) was opened this day. Upwards of 10,000 perſons were preſent; and a ſumptuous entertainment was given at the Angel Inn, in Harborough, to about 180 gentlemen intereſted in the concern. Thus have the Union Canal Company, after a period of fifteen years from its commencement, finiſhed a work of great public utility. Very few canals, in the ſame diſtance, have had to encounter ſuch difficulties in the courſe of the undertaking. Nearly 200 feet of lockage, a tunnel more than half a mile in length, two conſiderable aqueducts, other large embankments, a large reſervoir, and ſeveral hundred yards of very deep cutting, have been completed.

17th. *The King* v. *Harper and others*.—The nine defendants in theſe indictments, for rioutouſly wounding and aſſaulting Ann Izzard, a reputed witch, at Great Paxton, Huntingdonſhire, were brought up to receive judgment, and ſentenced, the defendant Staughton, to two months, and the other defendants to one month impriſonment in Huntingdon gaol, and to find ſecurity for their good behaviour for two years, themſelves in 40*l.* and two ſecurities in 20*l.* each. See vol. for 1808.

Died.—Mr. Tagg, an artiſt of much merit in the etching line.

8th. Paul Sandby, Eſq. a celebrated artiſt.

DECEMBER.

4th. This day, at the ſeſſions, Hicks's Hall, a caſe of uncommon profligacy and brutality was determined. The proſecutor was Lieutenant-Colonel Vigoreux, of the king's ſervice; the defendant, a fellow of the name of Herbert, a cotton merchant, reſiding at Dowgate Hill. The proſecutor reſides at Chiſwick, was, on the 25th of May laſt, on horſeback, on his way towards London, about the duſk of the evening, and on the

the proper ſide of the road. He was overtaken by the defendant, accompanied by two other perſons, in a gig, and ſuddenly found both himſelf and his horſe laſhed by the thong of the defendant's whip, accompanied with the compliment of "Damn you and your horſe, why don't you get out of the way?" The colonel himſelf has been for ſome time crippled in one of his lower limbs, by a muſket ball in his knee, received in battle, and not yet extracted; and his horſe, ſtarting at the blow, plunged exceſſively, and nearly unhorſed his rider; an event which, had it occurred, might have ſeriouſly endangered his life. The defendant drove furiouſly on, and Colonel Vigoreux purſued. He gave the defendant his addreſs, and inſiſted on knowing the defendant's, but he repeated his inſolence, and ſtruck at him with his whip, and refuſed to tell his name. At length he ſaid his name was Captain Herbert. On reaching Kenſington-gate, he again ſtruck Colonel Vigoreux with his whip; and at the gate at Hyde Park Corner he challenged him to fight with fiſts, and attempted to drag him from his horſe. Colonel Vigoreux declined the challenge, telling him he was diſabled by a muſket ſhot. Encouraged by this information, Herbert ſaid, "Then I'll give you a damned good licking," and ſtruck the colonel on the head and ſhoulders, remounted his gig, and drove furiouſly off. Colonel Vigoreux at length purſued him into cover under a gateway at Dowgate Hill. Tired with uſing the thong of his whip, Herbert turned the handle, and began to beat him, when the croud interfered, and reſcued him from further violence. Verdict, *Guilty:* Herbert then received a ſuitable reproof, and was ſentenced to pay a fine of 50*l.* and to ſuffer three months' impriſonment in Newgate.

Mr. Kempe v. *the Rev. Mr. Wicks, in the Court of Arches.*—This cauſe was inſtituted by Mr. Kempe, a gentleman of Calviniſtical independence, againſt the Rev. Mr. Wicks, rector of a pariſh in Somerſetſhire, for refuſing to bury a child belonging to two pariſhioners, on the ground of the child having been baptized by a diſſenting miniſter. It was contended, on the part of the Rev. Mr. Wicks, that the adminiſtering of this ſacrament muſt be performed by a lawful miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church of England, otherwiſe ſuch baptiſm was to be conſidered as null and void, both by the ancient and modern rubrics, canon law, and various other authorities, quoted by the learned civilians on the ſubject. Sir John Nicholl, after hearing the counſel on behalf of the promoter of the ſuit, was of opinion, (after entering at conſiderable length into the various authorities upon the point in queſtion) that the Rev. Mr. Wicks had miſtaken the law, and that it was his duty to have performed the ceremony; at the ſame time recommending, as this ſuit was not brought by Mr. Kempe through any vindictive ſpirit, but only for the purpoſe of determining the right, and ſetting the queſtion at reſt, that he would be ſatisfied with correcting the error, and eſtabliſhing the right, without proceeding any farther in the cauſe. 11th.

Oxford Election.—The election of

of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford concluded at ten o'clock on Thurſday night, after the moſt ſevere conteſt ever experienced there. The number were as follow:—

For	Lord Grenville	- 406
	Lord Eldon	- - 390
	Duke of Beaufort	- 288

Lord Grenville was therefore declared duly elected, by a majority of 16 over Lord Eldon, and of 118 over the Duke of Beaufort.

This election was more warmly conteſted than any former one recollected in Oxford. So great a number of votes were never before offered. The number that voted amounted to 1084, and the whole that have a right to vote amount only to 1274. There remained therefore only 190 perſons who did not vote on this occaſion. All the biſhops who have a vote for the election of chancellor in this univerſity, it is underſtood, voted for Lord Grenville, except two, who, it is reported, voted for Lord Eldon.

16th. *Account of the Riots at Covent Garden Theatre.*—In conſequence of the great expence attending the building of the new theatre, the proprietors found it neceſſary to make an advance in the prices of admiſſion. The whole riſe, however, was only one ſhilling on the boxes, and ſixpence on the pit; the half price for the latter remaining the ſame as before, as well as the prices to the galleries.

The intended riſe had no ſooner got abroad, than the people inſtantly manifeſted a ſpirit of reſiſtance; and, previous to the opening of the theatre, there appeared in different newſpapers various advertiſements, paragraphs, letters, &c. inciting the public to reſiſt this advance of prices, and tending to produce the riotous combination of individuals, for the purpoſe of carrying that object into effect. Accordingly, on the opening of the theatre, there was a great number of people collected in all parts of the houſe, who, by their noiſe and riotous behaviour, by barking, ſhouting, groaning, catcalls, cries of off! off! old prices, &c. interrupted the performances, or at any rate, rendered them totally inaudible. A croud of people alſo aſſembled on the outſide, actuated with like feelings and deſigns. This noiſe and riot having continued with ſimilar or increaſed violence for five ſucceſſive nights, Mr. Kemble came forward and informed the houſe that the proprietors had reſolved to ſhut up the theatre, and ſubmit their accounts and the concerns of the houſe to the inſpection of a committee of gentlemen of the firſt reſpectability, who ſhould report their true ſtate to the public. This committee conſiſted of the following gentlemen: Alderman Sir Charles Price, Bart. M. P. Sir Thomas Plomer, Knt. the Solicitor General, John Sylveſter, Eſq. the Recorder of the city of London, John Whitmore, Eſq. Governor of the Bank of England, and John Julius Angerſtein, Eſq. The report of this committee was, that the rate of profit actually received upon an average of the laſt ſix years, commencing in 1803 (the period of the preſent copartnerſhip in the theatre) upon the capital embarked therein, amounted to ſix and three-eighths per cent. per annum, charging the concern with only

only the ſum actually paid for inſurance on ſuch part of the capital as was inſured; that if the whole capital had been inſured, the profit would have been reduced to little more than five per cent. though for want of this full inſurance, the proprietors, being in part their own inſurers, ſuſtained a loſs by the late fire, for which no compenſation has been made, to the amount of more than the whole of their profits for the above period of ſix years." The report farther ſtated, that the committee was fully ſatisfied, that the future profits of the new theatre at the propoſed advance in the prices of admiſſion, would amount to no more than three and a half per cent. per annum, upon the capital expended in the theatre, if the ſame were inſured; and that upon the ſame ſuppoſition of inſurance, at the former prices of admiſſion, the proprietors would, in the judgment of the committee, annually ſuſtain a loſs of nearly three-fourths per cent. per annum on their capital."

Upon this report being made public, the queſtion aroſe whether the common intereſt of five per cent. was or was not, included in the eſtimate of profits; which called forth the further declaration, that after deducting the legal intereſt of five per cent. on their capital, no more than one and three-eighths per cent. remained to the proprietors for their whole profits."

Notwithſtanding, however, the commiſſioners were men of buſineſs, uſed to accounts, and hence not likely to be deceived themſelves, and of a reſpectability which ſeemed to preclude the preſumption of their deceiving others, their report was very far from proving ſatisfactory to the public. On re-opening the theatre, therefore, the ſame diſcordant and hideous noiſes were reſumed, with cries of "Old prices:" "No garbled extracts to humbug John Bull," &c. Placards alſo of like tendency were exhibited in various parts of the houſe, as,

"Mr. Kemble lower your prices; for no evaſion
Will ſuit John Bull on this occaſion."

And:

"John Kemble, let your monopoly ceaſe,
And then raiſe your prices as high as you pleaſe."

"No private boxes for intriguing."

"A long pull, a ſtrong pull, and a pull altogether for old prices."

"John Bull, be very bold and reſolute! Never depart from your reſolution, but firmly keep your noiſy ſtation."

For the firſt two or three nights after the re-opening, theſe diſturbances began at the commencement of the play; but afterwards, the rioters becoming tired of paying the full price, did not begin till the half price, and there ſeemed to be, if not an expreſſed, at leaſt an underſtood conſpiracy, for the obtaining of the propoſed object. The inſtruments of noiſe and uproar were now varied and multiplied, and in addition to laughing, ſinging, groaning, &c. we had an accompaniment of coachmen's horns and trumpets, duſtman's bells, and watchmen's rattles. Many came with the ſymbolical characters of O. P. in their hats, and upon their clothes, forming rings and making mock-fights in the pit, and ſometimes puſhing in a maſs; or the whole joined in the notable O. P. *Dance*, as it was called, which conſiſted in an alternate ſtamping of the feet, accompanied with the regular

gular cry of O. P. in noiſy and monotonous cadence. The performances, the while, conſiſted merely in dumb ſhow and pantomimical repreſentation.

The proprietors and performers ſeem, at length, to have been wearied out by this vulgar and unceaſing clamour; they loſt their temper, the moſt ominous of all loſſes in a conteſt with a mob. A pugiliſtic corps was imprudently introduced into the pit, compoſed principally of the children of Iſrael, with Dutch Sam at their head, and a body of conſtables armed with ſtaves of authority. For awhile there was in the gallery a deluſive calm; but as the curtain drew up, the actors were ſaluted with the cuſtomary hiſſes and groans. The conſtables and fighting men, however, were not wanting in activity, and though ſtoutly oppoſed, they had before half-play clearly the advantage. But when the pit began to fill, the yell of horror was renewed, and in five minutes, a hundred fiſts were clenched in ſavage hoſtility. The people were exaſperated almoſt to frenzy, at the idea that brutal force was thus employed to compel them to ſubmiſſion; and the evening cloſed in unwonted confuſion.

Theſe diſgraceful tumults at length began to ſubſide, and the peaceful admirers of the drama were congratulated on a proſpect of returning tranquillity, when an incident occurred which rekindled thoſe flames which were about to be extinguiſhed. Mr. Clifford, a barriſter of diſtinction, appeared in the pit, with the letters O. P. in his hat, and was ſaluted by the familiar and commendatory addreſs, —"Here comes the honeſt counſellor!" and way was made for him to the centre of the pit. Thus encouraged, and, as it was thought, authorized, the people again gave free ſcope to their clamour: and "Old Prices," and "Clifford for ever," became the rallying words of the night. Brandon, the box-keeper, got Mr. Clifford apprehended as a rioter, and carried before a magiſtrate at Bow-ſtreet; by whom, however, he was immediately diſcharged. Mr. Clifford now indicted Brandon for an aſſault and falſe impriſonment, in which indictment Brandon was caſt. When the jury came in with their verdict for the plaintiff, a burſt of applauſe and uproar broke forth in ſuch a manner, as entirely to diſregard the decorum of a court of juſtice. Cries of huzza by hundreds at once, were communicated like electricity to the multitude in the open hall, and echoed, in the inſtant, in Palace-yard.

In conſequence of the iſſue of this trial, a dinner took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Mr. Clifford in the chair, and a committee was appointed to defend the perſons under proſecution for the like conduct. Theſe ſymptoms of a regular organized oppoſition, added to the late deciſion of the jury, ſhowed the proprietors the neceſſity of an immediate compromiſe; and Mr. Kemble requeſted admiſſion to the meeting, when the following reſolutions were agreed upon: That the boxes ſhould continue at 7*s.* that the pit ſhould be lowered to the old price, 3*s.* 6*d.* and that the tier of private boxes (the tier of boxes in the front of the houſe) ſhould be thrown open and reſtored to the public at the end of the preſent ſeaſon; and that all

all profecutions on both ſides ſhould be ſtopped." The people, however, would not be ſatisfied, without the diſmiſſal of Brandon, who had diſplayed a zeal and activity (and it muſt be owned, not without malignity) in the cauſe of his employers, which was not to be forgiven. This demand was alſo complied with. But a ſupplicatory letter from Brandon procured his reinſtatement in office, and the cuſtomary routine is reſtored.

23rd. *Curious cauſe.—The King* v. *the Lord of the Manor of Holderneſſe.*—The curious ſuit between the crown and ——— Conſtable, Eſq. lord of the manor of Holderneſſe, in Yorkſhire, is at length determined; it is of much importance to lords of manors on the ſea-coaſt.

A caſk of wine was floated on ſhore on the coaſt of the manor of Holderneſſe. The coaſt-bailiff, and ſome cuſtom-houſe officers, on hearing of the ſtranger's arrival, went immediately to pay a complimentary viſit; the officers laid hold of one end of the caſk, and ſaid, "this belongs to the king;" the bailiff laid hold of the other end, and ſaid that it belonged to the lord of the manor. Say the officers, "it is ſmuggled, it has not paid the *port* duty;" ſaid the bailiff, "I think it is *Madeira.*" The officers ſmiled at the honeſt man's blunder, and explained, they meant the duty on wine *imported;* ſays the bailiff, "it has been in no port, it has come by itſelf on the beach." Both parties remained inflexible: and the officers having, after grave conſultation, determined, that the bailiff could not drink the caſk of wine whilſt they went to their cuſtom-houſe at a ſhort diſtance for advice, propoſed the wine ſhould be put into a ſmall hut; but the bailiff thinking it ſafer within the lord's immediate juriſdiction, in the mean time removed it to the cellar of the baronial chateau. The officers returned on this: "Oh, ho!" ſaid they, "now we have you; the wine is ours to all intents and purpoſes, as it *has been removed without a permit.*"—Says the bailiff, "if I had not removed the wine without a permit, the ſea would the next tide." "Then," quoth the officers, "the ſea would have been put into the court of exchequer." The bailiff ſhut the great hall-door in their faces.

The lord was exchequered; that is, the attorney-general filed his information againſt him; lawyers learned were engaged on both ſides; the crown lawyers ſaid the officers were certainly right; the lord's lawyers ſaid *he* certainly was.

The cauſe came on at York aſſizes, and the noiſe it made was as great as the conteſted election there. All the wine-bibbing lords of manors in that and the adjoining counties were preſent, and the court was conſequently very much crowded. A ſpecial verdict was found, which left the queſtion for the determination of the court of exchequer.

It came on to be argued. Sir Roger de Coverley's dictum, that "a great deal may be ſaid on both ſides," was demonſtrated to the fulleſt extent, by the long-robed band of wordy combatants engaged by the crown and the lord of the manor.

The court took time to deliberate;

rate; and on the laſt day of laſt term, pronounced judgment that it was a caſe which the act requiring permits for the removal of wine did not embrace, the act only alluding to wine which had paid duty; that from the caſe in Vaughan, it was clear, that wine to be liable to duty muſt be imported; that wine, as Vaughan ſaid, could not be imported by itſelf, and muſt be by the agency of ſome one elſe; and that it was in that caſe determined, that wine wrecked could not be ſubject to duty. The lord keeps the wine, and will have to pay an enormous bill of coſts for the defence of his rights, as in informations by the attorney-general, though the verdict is with the defendant, he does not get his coſts. *John Bull* will, (but hold, we have juſt mentioned the name of Mr. Attorney)—and the counſel who were in the cauſe ſay, in their opinion, it was one of the beſt caſks of wine which ever reached the Engliſh coaſt.

27th. The Harlequin ſloop of war, having under convoy twenty-three ſail of ſhips, ſailed on the 5th inſtant, from Plymouth. Laſt night the wind blew ſtrong from the ſouth-weſt, with a heavy ſwell; and it being very dark, the Harlequin, with the ſix headmoſt ſhips, ran aſhore in Seaford-bay at five minutes before four. Signals of diſtreſs were fired, and a number of ſky-rockets, &c. exploded by the convoy. The remainder of the fleet now hauled their wind, and with difficulty cleared Beachy-head. The inhabitants of Seaford and Newhaven were prevented from rendering much aſſiſtance by the extreme hazineſs of the morning. At day-break the ſcene was ſuch as can hardly be deſcribed; ſix of the veſſels were lying cloſe together, and the other was under the high cliff, about half a mile to the eaſt. Between ſix and ſeven part of the crews were got on ſhore, others were floating on rafts, &c. until ſo completely exhauſted that the waves waſhed them off, and they periſhed. Several of the veſſels were completely daſhed to pieces. Thirty-two perſons loſt their lives. The following are the names of the ſhips which were loſt: the Weymouth, four of her crew loſt; February, fourteen loſt; Metbedacht, all loſt; Traveller brig, Albion ſchooner, and Unice, crews all ſaved.

The following was the amount of the Britiſh naval force, at the cloſe of the year. At ſea, ninety-one ſhips of the line; ten from fifty to forty-four guns; one hundred and eighteen frigates; one hundred and thirty-one ſloops and yachts; ſix bombs and fireſhips; one hundred and forty-nine brigs; twenty-nine cutters; eighty-five ſchooners, gun-veſſels, luggers, &c. Total 620. In port and fitting, twenty-nine of the line; nine from fifty to forty-four guns; fifty-one frigates; thirty-one ſloops and yachts; four bombs, &c.; thirty-two brigs; ſeven cutters; ſeventeen ſchooners, &c. Total 180. Guard-ſhips, hoſpital-ſhips, priſon-ſhips, &c. thirty-five of the line; eleven from fifty to forty-four guns; thirteen frigates; five ſloops, &c.; one bomb; three brigs; one cutter; two ſchooners. Total 71. In ordinary and repairing, ſixty of the line; ſixteen from

from fifty to forty-four guns; fifty-three frigates; twenty-eight sloops, &c.; seven bombs, &c.; sixteen brigs; one cutter; seven schooners, &c. Total 188. Building, forty-five of the line; twenty-three frigates; four sloops, &c. Total 72. Grand total 1131.

The following is a statement of the strong Beer brewed by the twelve first Houses, from July 5, 1809, to January 5, 1810.

	Barrels.
* Meux and Co. -	100,222
Barclay and Co. -	86,547
Truman and Co.	56,033
Whitbread and Co.	47,669
H. Meux and Co.	42,395
Brown and Parry	39,573
F. Calvert and Co.	36,745
Combe and Co. -	34,173
Goodwyn and Co.	28,330
Elliott and Co. -	21,555
Taylor - -	20,923
Charrington and Co.	16,295

18th. DIED.—At Glasonby, aged 110, Mary Dowdeswell, a mendicant.

20th. Alexander Adam, LL.D. rector of the High School, Edinburgh, and author of several valuable publications.

26th. Tiberius Cavallo, Esq. F.R.S.

BIRTHS for the Year 1809.

Jan. 2. The Lady of the Hon. Herbert Gardiner, of a son.

10. Countess Oxford, of a daughter.

The Hon. Mrs. Courtney Boyle, of a daughter.

16. The Lady of William Astell, Esq. M. P. of a daughter.

26. The Hon. Mrs. Winn, of a son.

29. The Countess of Errol, of a daughter.

30. Lady Caroline Lambe, of a daughter.

Feb. 1. The Countess of Loudon and Moira, of a daughter.

The Lady of the Hon. J. Vaughan, M. P. of a daughter.

5. Lady Grantham, of a daughter.

6. Lady Monson, of a son and heir.

10. Lady Louvaine, of a daughter.

14. Countess of Enniskillen, of a son.

20. Viscountess Grimston, of a son and heir.

The Lady of Lord Chief Baron O'Grady, of a daughter.

Mar. 3. Viscountess Glentworth, of a son and heir,

Countess of Cork, of a son.

The Lady of Sir H. C. Montgomery, Bart. of a son.

5. Lady Augusta Leith, of a son.

9. The Hon. Mrs. W. Wharton, of a son.

Lady of the Hon. H. Lascelles, of a daughter.

The Lady of W. Cavendish, Esq. M. P. of a daughter.

The Lady of T. B. Lethbridge, Esq. M. P. of a daughter.

* This is the greatest quantity ever brewed within the above period in any one brewery.

The Lady of Lord Arthur Somerſet, of a ſon.
The Lady of W. S. Bourne, Eſq. M. P. of a daughter.
The Lady of C. Taylor, Eſq. M. P. of a daughter.
The Hon. Mrs. Kennedy, of two daughters.

17. Lady Waterpark, of a daughter.

25. The Lady of the Hon. E. J. Turnour, of a daughter.
Counteſs of Pembroke, of a daughter.
The Lady of Colonel Clephane, M. P. of a daughter.
The Hon. Mrs. Wodehouſe, of a ſon.
Lady Kenſington, of a ſon.

April 2. Lady Elizabeth Brickendon, of a ſon.

4. The Lady of Sir F. Stanley, Bart. of a ſon.

6. The Lady of Sir J. Johnſtone, Bart. of a ſon.

7. Lady Amelia Laye, of a daughter.

8. The Lady of Philip Francis, Eſq. M. P. of a daughter.

13. The Hon. Mrs. Pelham, of a ſon.

16. The Lady of General F. Dundas, of a ſon.

22. Counteſs Selkirk, of a ſon and heir.

30. Hon. Mrs. Hugh Percy, of a daughter.
The Lady of Sir C. E. Nightingale, of a daughter.
The Lady of H. R. Colborne, Eſq. M. P. of a daughter.
Lady Haywood, of a daughter.
The Hon. Mrs. Cockerell, of a ſon.

May 3. Viſcounteſs Hereford, of a ſon.

4. The Lady of the Rev. Sir C. Anderſon, Bart. of a daughter.

9. The Lady of George Smith, Eſq. M. P. of a ſon.

17. Counteſs Grey, of a ſon.

19. The Lady of the Right Hon. R. P. Carew, of a daughter.

20. Counteſs de Meſnard, of a ſon.

25. The Lady of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, of a ſon
Lady Charlotte Goold, of a ſon.

31. The Hon. Mrs. Stephenſon, of a daughter.
Lady Lucy Caſſan, of a ſon.

June 6. Lady Moſley, of a daughter.

9. Hon. Mrs. J. Palmer, of a ſon.

13. Lady Caroline Stewart Wortley, of a daughter.

14. Counteſs of Albemarle, of a ſon.

16. Lady Ellenborough, of her 7th ſon and 13th child.

21. Lady Andover, of a ſon.

22. Lady Harriet Bagot, of a ſon.

23. The Lady of the Hon. John Browne, of a ſon.

26. The Lady of Sir Robert Williams, Bart. M. P. of a ſon.

30. The

30. The Marchioneſs of Taviſtock, of a ſon.
The Lady of I. F. Turner, Eſq. M. P. of a daughter.

July 1. The Lady of Sir C. M. Burrell, of a ſon.
8. Lady Jane Taylor, of a ſon.
9. The Hon. Mrs. Bagot, of a daughter.
12. Counteſs Craven, of a ſon.
The Counteſs of Aberdeen, of a daughter.
13. The Counteſs of Dalkeith, of a ſon.
18. Lady Louiſa Atherley, of a daughter.
19. Viſcounteſs St. Aſaph, of a daughter.
20. Viſcounteſs Monck, of a daughter.
21. The ducheſs of Richmond, of a daughter, being the 14th child.
23. The Counteſs of Abingdon, of a daughter.

Aug. 10. Lady Bagot, of a daughter.
12. Lady Cranſtoun, of a ſon and heir.
18. The Lady of Sir John W. Smith, Bart. of a ſon.
19. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, of a ſon.
Counteſs of Maſſarene, of a ſon.
Viſcounteſs Duncannon, of a ſon and heir.
The Lady of S. R. Luſhington, Eſq. M. P. of a daughter.
Lady W. Beauclerc, of a daughter.

Sept. 2. The Lady of the Hon. P. R. D. Burrell, of a daughter.
4. Lady Elizabeth Norman, of a daughter.
10. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. T. De Grey, of a daughter.

Oct. 2. Viſcounteſs Primroſe, of a ſon.
4. Her Pruſſian Majeſty, of a ſon.
Lady Jane Houſton, of a ſon.
5. Lady Gertrude Sloane, of a ſon and daughter.
11. Lady Sinclair, of a ſon.
17. Lady Grace Gore, of a daughter.
18. Lady Mulgrave, of a ſon.
27. The Lady of Sir R. Phillips, of a daughter.
Counteſs of Harrowby, of a ſon.
28. Lady Arundell, of a daughter.
31. The Lady of Sir George Bowyer, Bart of a daughter.
Lady of Lieut.-General the Hon. F. St. John, of a ſon.
Lady Robert Kerr, of a ſon.

Nov. 6. The Hon. Mrs. Simpſon, of a ſon.
7. Lady Holland, of a ſon.
16. Lady Maſham, of a daughter.
17. Lady Ducie, of a daughter.
Hon. Mrs. Codrington, of a daughter.
24. The Lady of H. Bonham, Eſq. M. P. of a ſon.
Lady Sondes, of a ſon.

Dec. 10. Lady Catherine Forreſter, of a daughter.
12. Lady Keith, of a daughter.

15. Viſcounteſs Aſhbrooke of a daughter.
17. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. W. Herbert, of a daughter.
Lady Elizabeth Littlehales, of a daughter.
Lady of the Hon. Mr. Moncketon, of a ſon.
22. Lady Morpeth, of a ſon.
24. Lady Robert Fitzgerald, of a ſon.
Viſcounteſs Anſon, of a daughter.
The Counteſs of Manſfield, of a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. Holland, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1809.

Jan. 3. Hon. D. P. Bouverie, to Miſs L. May.
9. Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. to Lady M. A. Browne.
18. James Drummond, Eſq. to Lady A. S. Murray.
Feb. 13. Rev. Dr. Werninck, to the Hon. Mrs. Wynn.
The Hon. W. Elliot, to Miſs A'Court.
16. Sir A. Paget, to Lady Auguſta Fane, late wife of Lord Boringdon, from whom ſhe was divorced on the 14th.
Sir Edward Synge, to Miſs Welch.
Captain Harvey, to Lady Honoria Woodgate.
Mar. 2. Hon. and Rev. J. St. Leger, to Miſs Williams.
6. Mr. Fitzgerald, ſon of Lord H. Fitzgerald, to Miſs Ford.
9. Lieut.-Colonel Townſend, to Miſs Scott, only daughter of Sir William Scott.
13. Lord Viſcount Bernard, to Mary, daughter of the Archbiſhop of Caſhel.
21. Hon. and Rev. Edward Grey, to Miſs C. Crofts.
April 10. Lord Gardner, to the Hon. Charlotte Smith.
21. Foſter Cunliffe, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs Crewe.
May 2. Marſham Elwine, Eſq. to Lady Brograve.
4. Hon. Captain Gardner, to Miſs Straubenzee.
6. Captain James, to Lady F. Hay.
8. Viſcount Hinton, to the ſiſter of Mrs. Farquharſon.
W. Milner, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir W. Milner, Bart. to Miſs H. Bentinck.
17. The Hon. George Lamb, to Mademoiſelle Caroline St. Jules.
June 1. Sir H. V. Darell, to Miſs Becher.
Viſcount Chabot, to Lady Iſabella Fitzgerald.
14. H. Gwynne, Eſq. to the Hon. G. M. Devereux.
29. Sir Thomas Ramſay, Bart. to Miſs Steele.
Hon. Rear-Admiral Stopford, to Miſs Mary Fanſhawe.
July 3. J. P. Baſtard, Eſq. M. P. to Miſs J. A. Martin.
C. N. Noel, Eſq. M. P. to Miſs Welman.
7. Sir A. O. Molesworth, Bart. to Miſs Brown.
11. T. H. Farquhar, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir W. Farquhar,

Farquhar, Bart. to Miſs Sybilla Rockliffe.

13. Sir G. Rumbold, to Miſs E. Parkyns.

31. Lambert Blair, Eſq. to the eldeſt daughter of the late General Stopford.

Aug. 7. Sir H. Mildmay, to Miſs Bouverie.

23. Lord Boringdon, to Miſs Talbot.

P. E. Earle, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir James Earle, to Miſs Kempe.

Sept. 19. The Hon. E. Harbord, to the Hon. Miſs Vernon.

29. The Hon. Charles French, to Miſs M. Browne.

Oct. 4. Hon. S. H. Ongley, to Miſs Monox.

11. Sir W. Sidney Smith, to Lady Rumbold.

The Duke of Devonſhire, to Lady Elizabeth Forſter.

21. Booth Grey, Eſq. to Lady Sophia Grey.

23. John Henry Ley, Eſq. to Lady Frances Dorothy Hay, ſecond daughter of the late Marquis of Tweddale.

E. J. Smythe, Eſq. only ſon of Sir E. S. Bart. to Miſs Bellew.

30. Edward Ellice, Eſq. to Lady Anne Betteſworth.

16. Viſcount Bernard, to Lady Sophia Poulett.

The Earl of Lindſay, to Miſs Layard.

25. Lord Hamilton, to Miſs Douglas.

The Duke of Orleans, to the Princeſs Amelia of Sicily.

29. Lieut.-Colonel Egerton, to Miſs Trowbridge.

Dec. 16. Sir Brooke W. Bridges, Bart. to the eldeſt daughter of Sir Henry Hawley, Bart.

24. Lord Granville Leveſon Gower, to Lady Harriet Cavendiſh.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1809.

Queen's Palace, January 4. Henry Bentinck, Eſq. ſworn governor and commander-in-chief of the ſettlements of Demerara and Eſſequibo. Charles Bentinck, Eſq. ſworn governor and commander-in-chief of Surinam,

Admiralty Office, January 7. Cuthbert Lord Collingwood, vice-admiral of the red, appointed major-general of his Majeſty's royal marine forces, *vice* Lord Gardner, deceaſed.

Whitehall, January 7. Henry Clements Thompſon, Eſq. a commander in the royal navy, permitted to wear the inſignia of the royal Swediſh military order of the ſword, conferred upon him by the King of Sweden, for his ſervices in the engagement with the Ruſſian fleet in the gulf of Finland, on the 26th of Auguſt laſt. Hon. and Rev. Auchitel Grey, M. A. appointed to the twelfth prebend of Durham, void by the tranſlation of the biſhop of Rocheſter to the ſee of Ely.

Foreign Office, January, 20. Joſeph Charles Melliſh, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's conſul in the territory of Louiſiana. Andrew Snape Douglas, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's ſecretary of lega-

tion to the court of his Sicilian majeſty.

Carlton Houſe, January 21. Rev. Henry Whitfield, D. D. appointed (by the Prince of Wales) one of his Royal Highneſs's chaplains in ordinary.

Whitehall, January 28. James, Earl of Hopetoun, created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of Baron Hopetoun, of Hopetoun, county of Linlithgow.

Downing Street, January 30. Brigadier-general the Hon. Charles William Stewart, appointed governor of Fort Charles, in the iſland of Jamaica, *vice* Smith, deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, February 6. Dr. Chriſtopher Robinſon, his Majeſty's advocate-general (*vice* Nichol, reſigned), knighted.

Foreign Office, February 6. Charles Oakeley, Eſq, appointed his Majeſty's ſecretary of legation to the United States of America.

Foreign Office, February 7. Mr. John Hawker, approved (by his Majeſty) as Sicilian vice-conſul at Plymouth.

Whitehall, February 18. Rev. Charles Talbot, B. D. preſented to the deanery of Sarum, *vice* Ekins, deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, March 1. John Lord Brownlow, ſworn lord-lieut. of the county of Lincoln, *vice* the Duke of Ancaſter, deceaſed. Owen Ellis, Eſq. of Eyton, to be ſheriff of the county of Flint, *vice* Peat.

Queen's Palace, March 18. John Mytten, Eſq. of Penylan, to be ſheriff of the county of Montgomery, *vice* Edwards. William Griffith, Eſq. of Bodegroes, to be ſheriff of the county of Caernarvon, *vice* Parry.

Whitehall, March 18. Rev. William Carey, D. D. appointed a prebendary of Weſtminſter, void by the promotion of Dr. Walker King to the ſee of Rocheſter.

Whitehall, March 21. Rev. George Gretton, D. D. recommended (by his Majeſty's letter) to be elected dean of Hereford, *vice* Leigh, deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, March 22. Right Hon. General Sir David Dundas, K. B. ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Whitehall, March 25. Right Hon. General Sir David Dundas, K. B. appointed commander-in-chief of all his Majeſty's land forces in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *vice* the Duke of York, reſigned. Robert Moorſom, Eſq. appointed one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, *vice* Captain Hope, reſigned. Rev. George Gordon, B.D. appointed dean of Exeter, *vice* Talbot, reſigned. Rev. Joſeph Mends, B.A. preſented to the rectory of Aller, county of Somerſet, void by the promotion of Dr. King to the ſee of Rocheſter. Rev. Robert Holdsworth, M.A. preſented to the vicarage of Brixham, county of Devonſhire, *vice* Fownes, deceaſed.

Whitehall, March 28. Sir David Baird, Knt. lieutenant-general of his Majeſty's land forces, created a baronet of the united kingdom; with remainder to Robert Baird, Eſq. of Newbyth, Eaſt Lothian, his brother.

Whitehall, April 1. Sir Samuel Hood,

Hood, K. B. rear-admiral of the white, created a baronet of the united kingdom; with remainder to his nephew, Alexander Hood, Esq. Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, M. A. presented to the vicarage of West Ham, Essex, *vice* Dr. Gregory, deceased.

Whitehall, April 4. Francis Lord Napier, appointed high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Whitehall, April 8. Archibald Campbell, Esq. appointed a lord of session in Scotland, *vice* Sir William Nairn, Bart. resigned.

Queen's Palace, April 12. Sir Hugh Elliot, sworn captain-general and governor-in-chief of his Majesty's Leeward Caribbee islands, in America.

Whitehall, April 21. J. Sedgwick, J. Jackson, and S. Rose, Esqrs. appointed commissioners of excise in Scotland, *vice* J. Stoddart, R. Graham, Esqrs. and Sir J. Stuart, Bart. resigned.

Downing Street, April 27. Lieutenant-Colonel Lachlan Macquarrie, of the 73rd foot, appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the settlement of New South Wales and its dependencies.

Foreign Office, April 29. The Marquis Wellesley, K. P. appointed ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh; and to reside in that character at the seat of the central or supreme junta in Spain. Frederic Lindeman, Esq. to be consul to the province of Batavia, in the Portuguese dominions in South America. John Lempriere, Esq. appointed consul to the province of Pernambuco, in the said dominions. Henry Veitch, Esq. to be agent and consul-general in the islands of Madeiras.

Whitehall, May 6. Michael Seymour, Esq. of High Mount, county of Cork, and of Friery Park, county of Devonshire, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

Foreign Office, May 8. Robert Adair, Esq. appointed ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Sublime Ottoman Porte; and Stratford Canning, Esq. to be secretary to that embassy.

Downing Street, May 15. Lieutenant-General Edward Morrison, appointed commander of his Majesty's forces in the island of Jamaica and its dependencies.

Foreign Office, May 26. Francis James Jackson, Esq. appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

Whitehall, May 27. Right Rev. John Randolph, bishop of Bangor, recommended by *congé d'élire* to the see of London, *vice* Porteus, deceased. James Clerk, Esq. advocate, appointed one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Scotland, *vice* Cockburn, resigned; and William Rae, Esq. to be sheriff-depute of the shire of Edinburgh, *vice* Clerk, resigned.

War Office, May 30. Lieut.-General David Douglas, lieut.-colonel of the 18th foot, appointed governor of Tynemouth, *vice* Rainsford, deceased.

Whitehall, June 6. William Erskine, Esq. advocate, to be sheriff-depute of the shire of Orkney and Zetland, *vice* Rae, resigned. Sir George Rupert, Knt. Ambrose Serle, James Bowen, Esqrs. the Hon. John Douglas,

John Harneſs, M. D. and the Hon. Courtenay Boyle, appointed commiſſioners for conducting the tranſport ſervice, for the care of ſick and wounded ſeamen, and for the care and cuſtody of priſoners of war.

Foreign Office, June 7. Robert Fagan, Eſq. appointed conſul at Sicily and Malta.

Downing Street, June 10. Major-General the Hon. John Brodrick, appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the iſland of Martinique. Lieutenant-General Edward Morriſon, to be lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Jamaica, and commander of the forces on the Jamaica ſtation.

Foreign Office, June 10. Bartholomew Frere, Eſq. appointed ſecretary to his Majeſty's embaſſy in Spain.

Foreign Office, June 17. Mr. Emanuel Viale, approved (by his Majeſty) as his Sicilian majeſty's conſul at Gibraltar.

Whitehall, June 20. Hon. Henry Sedley, appointed gentleman and maſter of his Majeſty's robes, *vice* the Earl of Harcourt, reſigned.

St. James's, June 24. Edmund Phelps, Eſq. appointed lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, *vice* Garrick, reſigned.

Whitehall, July 1. Right Hon. Granville Leveſon Gower (commonly called Lord Granville Leveſon Gower) appointed his Majeſty's ſecretary at war, *vice* Pulteney, reſigned.

Whitehall, July 11. Right Hon. Dudley Baron Harrowby, and Right Hon. John Baron Teignmouth, appointed commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of India; the former *vice* Dundas Saunders (preſident), the latter *vice* Johnſtone.

Whitehall, July 15. Right Hon. Robert Dundas, added to the commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of India. Benjamin Sydenham, Eſq. appointed a commiſſioner for managing his Majeſty's revenue of exciſe, *vice* Jackſon.

Whitehall, July 18. Right Hon. Dudley Baron Harrowby, created Viſcount Sandon, of Sandon, county of Stafford, and Earl of Harrowby, county of Lincoln.

Whitehall, July 21. George Kekewich, Eſq. appointed advocate-general, and William David Jennings, Eſq. procurator-general, at his Majeſty's ſettlement of the Cape of Good Hope.

Carlton Houſe, Auguſt 8. Rev. Houlton Hartwell, of New College, Oxford, M. A. appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

Whitehall, Auguſt 12. Right Rev. Henry William Majendie, biſhop of Cheſter, recommended, by *congé d'élire*, to be elected biſhop of Bangor, *vice* biſhop Randolph, tranſlated to the ſee of London.

Whitehall, Auguſt 26. Right Hon. Sir Arthur Welleſley, K. B. and lieutenant-general of his Majeſty's forces, created Baron Douro of Welleſley, county of Somerſet, and Viſcount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, in the ſaid county.

Dublin Caſtle, Auguſt 26. Right Rev. Euſeby Cleaver, D.D. biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of Dublin and biſhopric of Glandelagh, *vice* Charles Earl of Normanton, deceaſed.

ceaſed. Hon. and Rev Dr. Percy Jocelyn, promoted to the united biſhoprics of Leighlin and Ferns, *vice* Cleaver.

Foreign Office, Auguſt 26. Appointment of Don Joſef Alonſo Orfiz, to be his Catholic majeſty's conſul-general in Great Britain and Ireland, approved by his Majeſty.

Whitehall, Auguſt 29. Sir Rupert George, of Park-place, county of Middleſex, and of St. Stephen's-green, county of Dublin, knt. firſt commiſſioner for conducting the tranſport ſervice, created a baronet.

Whitehall, September 2. The King has been pleaſed to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen: Paulus Amelius Irving, of Woodhouſe and Robgill Tower, county of Dumfries, Eſq. lieutenant-general of his Majeſty's forces; Thomas Roberts, of Robert's Cove, county of Cork, Eſq.; James Shaw, of the city of London, and of Kilmarnock, county of Ayr, Eſq.; Rowland Blennerhaſſet, of Blennerville, county of Kerry, Eſq.; William Smith, of Eardiſton, county of Worceſter, Eſq.; Charles Cockerell, of Sezincot, county of Glouceſter, and of Piccadilly, county of Middleſex, Eſq.; Edward Bayntum Sandys, of Miſerden-caſtle, county of Glouceſter, and of Chadlington-hall, county of Oxford, Eſq.; Henry Halford, of St. George's, Hanover-ſquare, county of Middleſex, doctor of phyſic, and one of his Majeſty's phyſicians in extraordinary; and John Tyrrell, of Boreham-houſe, county of Eſſex, Eſq.

Whitehall, September 16. Major-Gen. John Cope Sherbrooke, appointed one of the knights companions of the moſt honourable order of the bath. F. W. Grant, Eſq. to be lieutenant and ſheriff principal of the ſhire of Inverneſs, *vice* Sir J. Grant, Bart. reſigned.

War Office, September 16. Lieutenant-General Sir James Henry Craig, K. B. from the 22nd foot, to be colonel of the 78th regiment of foot, *vice* Frazer deceaſed.

Whitehall, Sept. 19. Thomas Sheppard, of Thornton-hall, county of Buckingham, Eſq. created a baronet.

Queen's Palace, September 27. Right Rev. John Randolph, biſhop of London, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Whitehall, September 30. Louis Caſamajor, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's ſecretary of legation at Liſbon.

Downing Street, October 6. Alexander Johnſton, Eſq. appointed chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of judicature in the iſland of Ceylon, *vice* Luſhington, reſigned; and William Coke, Eſq. to be puiſne judge of the ſaid court, *vice* Johnſton.

War Office, October 7. His Serene Highneſs William Duke of Brunſwick Oels, appointed a lieutenant-general, with temporary rank in the army; commiſſion dated July 1, 1809.

Whitehall, October 7. Rev. Bowyer Edward Sparke, D.D. recommended, by *congé d'élire*, to be elected biſhop of Cheſter, *vice* biſhop Majendie, tranſlated to the ſee of Bangor. Hon. and Rev. Gerald Valerian Welleſley, M.A. recommended to be elected a canon reſidentiary

reſidentiary of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, *vice* Majendie, reſigned. Rev. William Harry Edward Bentinck, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, *vice* Welleſley, reſigned.

Queen's Palace, October 11. Right Hon. Henry Earl Bathurſt, ſworn one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Whitehall, October 17. Rev. Samuel Gerrard Andrews, D.D. appointed dean of his Majeſty's metropolitical church of Canterbury, *vice* Powys, deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, October 18. Right Hon. William Welleſley Pole, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Whitehall, October 21. Rev. Charles Henry Hall, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Chriſt, in the univerſity of Oxford, *vice* Jackſon reſigned.

Carlton Houſe, October 23. Andrew Bain, M.D. of Curzon-ſtreet, May-fair, appointed one of the phyſicians extraordinary to His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, *vice* Hayes, deceaſed.

War Office, October 24. His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint Lieutenant-Generals Robert Donkin, James Balfour, Sir James Duff, Knt. Henry Lord Mulgrave, and Grice Blakenay, to be generals in the army. Major-Generals George Elliot, Baldwin Leighton, Richard Chapman, John Coffin, Richard Armſtrong, John Murray, Sir Charles Green, Bart. William St. Leger, Richard Northey Hopkins, and Thomas Hartcup, to be lieutenant-generals in the army. Colonels, from John Hamilton to John Michel, to be major-generals in the army. Lieutenant-Colonels, from Harry Cheſter to Philip K. Skinner, to be colonels in the army. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Roſs, to be aid-de-camp to the King. Majors, from John Potter Hamilton to Charles Darrah, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army. Captains, from I. S. Ridge to Charles O'Gorman, to be majors in the army.

Admiralty Office, October 25. This day, in purſuance of the King's pleaſure, the following flag-officers of his Majeſty's fleet were promoted, *viz.* Admirals of the white, to be admirals of the red: William Peere Williams, Eſq. and Sir John Colpoys, K. B. Admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white; Iſaac Preſcot, Eſq. Thomas Spry, Eſq. and Sir John Orde, Bart. Vice-Admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue: John Thomas, Eſq. James Brine, Eſq. Sir Eraſmus Gower, Knt. John Holloway, Eſq. and George Wilſon, Eſq. Vice-Admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red: Henry Savage, Eſq. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, Eſq. Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. and George Bowen, Eſq. Vice-Admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white: Samſon Edwards, Eſq. George Campbell, Eſq. Henry Frankland, Eſq. Arthur Philip, Eſq. Sir William George Fairfax, Knt. Rear-Admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue: John Child Purvis, Eſq. Theophilus Jones, Eſq. William Domett, Eſq. William Wolſeley, Eſq. John Manley, Eſq. George Murray, Eſq. John Sutton, Eſq. Robert Murray,

Murray, Esq. Hon. Sir Alexander Forrester Cochrane, K. B. and John Markham, Esq. Rear-Admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red: John Wells, Esq. Richard Grindall, Esq. George Martin, Esq. Sir Alexander John Ball, Bart. Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart. K. B. Sir William Sidney Smith, Knt. Thomas Sotheby, Esq. Nathan Brunton, Esq. William Hancock Kelly, Esq. John Schank, Esq. and the Hon. Michael De Courcy. Rear-Admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white: Davidge Gould, Esq. Sir Richard Godwin Keats, K. B. Robert Devereux Fancourt, Esq. Sir Edward Buller, Bart. Hon. Robert Stopford, Mark Robinson, Esq. Thomas Revell Shivers, Esq. Charles Cobb, Esq. Francis Pickmore, Esq. John Stephens Hall, Esq. John Dilkes, Esq. The undermentioned captains were also appointed flag officers of his Majesty's fleet, to be rear-admirals of the blue, *viz.* Rowley Bulteel, Esq. William Luke, Esq. Isaac George Manley, Esq. John Osborn, Esq. Edmund Crawley, Esq. Charles Boyles, Esq. Sir Thomas Williams, Knt. Thomas Hamilton, Esq. Sir T. B. Thompson, Bart. and George Countess, Esq.

Admiralty Office, October 25. Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart. and the Hon. Henry Curzon, appointed colonels of his Majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* Charles Boyles, Esq. and Sir Thomas Williams, Knt. appointed flag-officers of his Majesty's fleet.

Whitehall, October 28. Right Hon. Henry John Viscount Palmerston, appointed his Majesty's secretary at war, *vice* Lord Granville Leveson Gower, resigned.

Whitehall, October 31. Joseph Phillimore, LL.D. appointed professor of civil law in the university of Oxford, *vice* Laurence, deceased.

Foreign Office, October 31. Appointment of Don Antonio Fernandez de Urrutia, to be consul for his Catholic Majesty at Gibraltar, approved by his Majesty.

Queen's Palace, November 1. Right Hon. Henry John Viscount Palmerston, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. Right Hon. Richard Ryder, sworn one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state. William Plomer, Esq. alderman of the city of London; James Athol Wood, Esq. captain in the royal navy; Alexander Johnston, Esq. on being appointed chief justice of the supreme court of judicature on the island of Ceylon; and Francis Macnaughten, Esq. one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Madras, knighted.

Whitehall, November 4. Right Hon. Charles Flower, of Lobb, county of Oxford, and of Woodford, county of Essex, Esq. lord mayor of the city of London, created a baronet.

Whitehall, November 7. Right Hon. Robert Dundas, appointed first commissioner for the management of affairs in India, *vice* Lord Harrowby, resigned.

Queen's Palace, November 8. Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

Whitehall, November 14. William Lowther, Esq. (commonly called

called Viſcount Lowther), appointed one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, *vice* Lord Palmerſton, reſigned. Robert Dundas, Eſq. writer to the ſignet, appointed conjunct clerk to the bills in the office of his Majeſty's regiſters and rolls in Scotland, *vice* Anſtruther, deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, November 22. Jere Homfray, Eſq. of Llandaff-houſe, county of Glamorgan, knighted.

Whitehall, December 2. Snowden Barne, Eſq. appointed one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury. William Alexander, of the city of Dublin, Eſq. and Right Hon. William Stamer, Eſq. lord mayor of the city of Dublin, created baronets.

Queen's Palace, December 6. The Moſt Noble Marquis Welleſley, K. P. ſworn one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate. Thomes Staines, Eſq captain in the royal navy, knighted.

Foreign Office, December 15. The Hon. Henry Welleſley, appointed his Majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his Catholic majeſty, Ferdinand the Seventh; and directed to reſide in that character at the ſeat of the central or ſupreme junta in Spain.

Queen's Palace, December 20. Right Hon. John Lord Sheffield, and Right Hon. Henry Welleſley, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. Henry Pelham, Duke of Newcaſtle, ſworn lord lieutenant of the county of Nottingham, *vice* Duke of Portland, deceaſed.

War Office, December 23. William Merry, Eſq. appointed, by the Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Palmerſton, his Majeſty's ſecretary at war, to be his deputy, *vice* Francis Moore, Eſq.

Downing Street, December 26. Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, K. B. appointed his Majeſty's commiſſioner for the civil affairs of Malta, *vice* Admiral Ball, deceaſed.

DEATHS for the Year 1809.

December 17, 1808. At his houſe in Hertford-ſtreet, May-fair, aged 81, the Earl of Liverpool. The Right Honourable Charles Jenkinſon, Earl of Liverpool, and Baron of Hawkeſbury, was deſcended from a family which had been ſettled more than a century, at Walcot, near Charlbury, in Oxfordſhire. His grandfather, Sir Robert Jenkinſon, married a wealthy heireſs at Bromley, in Kent; and his father, who was a colonel in the army, reſided at South Lawn Lodge, in Whichwood Foreſt. Charles Jenkinſon was born in 1727, and received the firſt rudiments of his education at the grammar ſchool of Burford. He was afterwards placed on the foundation in the Charter-houſe, from which ſeminary he was removed to Oxford, and was entered a member of Univerſity college. There he took two degrees, that of B.A. and A.M. and ſeems to have made himſelf firſt known to the public by ſome verſes on the death of the Prince of Wales, father of his preſent Majeſty. In 1753, he removed from Oxford, and poſſeſſing but a ſmall patrimonial fortune, he commenced his career as a man of letters, and is ſaid to have ſupplied materials for the Monthly Review.

view. He next commenced political writer; and, in 1756, publiſhed "A Diſſertation on the Eſtabliſhment of a national and conſtitutional Force in England, independent of a ſtanding Army." This tract abounds with many manly and patriotic ſentiments, and has been quoted againſt himſelf in the Houſe of Peers, on which occaſion his lordſhip did not deny that he was the author, but contented himſelf with apologiſing for his errors, on account of his extreme youth. Soon after this he wrote "A Diſcourſe on the Conduct of the Government of Great Britain, with reſpect to neutral Nations, during the preſent War." To this production, his riſe in life has been falſely attributed: it was indeed allowed by every one to be an able performance; but, like many others of the ſame kind, it might have lain in the warehouſe of his bookſeller, and he himſelf remained for ever in obſcurity, had it not been for the intervention of a gentleman of the ſame county, with whom he luckily became acquainted. Sir Edward Turner, of Ambroſeden, in Oxfordſhire, being of an ancient family, and poſſeſſing a large fortune, was deſirous to repreſent his native county in parliament. Having attained conſiderable influence by means of a large eſtate, and a hoſpitable and noble manſion, ſince pulled down by his ſucceſſor, he accordingly ſtood candidate as knight of the ſhire. He was, however, ſtrenuouſly but unſucceſsfully oppoſed; for in addition to his own, he poſſeſſed the court intereſt. The ſtruggle, nevertheleſs, was long and violent, and it ſtill forms a memorable epoch in the hiſtory of conteſted elections; but for nothing is it more remarkable, than by being the fortunate occurrence in Mr. Jenkinſon's life, which produced all his ſubſequent greatneſs. The contending parties having, as uſual, called in the aid of ballads, lampoons, verſes, and ſatires, this gentleman diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſong in favour of Sir Edward and his friends, which ſo captivated either the taſte or the gratitude of the baronet, that he introduced him to the Earl of Bute, then flouriſhing in all the plenitude of power. It is known but to few, perhaps, that his lordſhip, who placed Mr. J. at firſt in an inferior office, was not at all captivated with him; for it was entirely owing to the repeated ſolicitations of the member for Oxfordſhire, that he extended his further protection. After a longer trial, he became the premier's private ſecretary, and in ſome reſpect a member of his family, participating in his friendſhip and favour, and living with him in an unreſtrained and confidential intercourſe. Such a connexion as this could not fail to prove advantageous; and, accordingly, in March, 1761, we find him appointed one of the under ſecretaries of ſtate, a ſtation which preſuppoſes an intimate acquaintance with the ſituation of foreign affairs, and a pretty accurate knowledge in reſpect to the *arcana imperii* in general. He now became a declared adherent of what was then called "the Leiceſter-houſe party," by whoſe influence he was returned to parliament at the general election (in 1761) for the borough of Cockermouth, on the recommendation of the late Earl of Lonſdale, his patron's ſon-in-law. He, however, did not remain long in this ſtation; for

for he ſoon received the lucrative appointment of treaſurer of the ordnance. This he relinquiſhed in 1763, for the more confidential office of joint ſecretary of the treaſury; a ſituation for which he was admirably qualified, by his knowledge of the ſtate of parties, and the management of a Houſe of Commons, of which he himſelf had been ſome time a member. To the Rockingham adminiſtration, which ſucceeded in 1765, he was both perſonally and politically odious, and he accordingly loſt all his appointments; but in the courſe of the ſame year, he had one conferred on him by the king's mother, the late Princeſs Dowager of Wales, which no miniſter could bereave him of; this was the auditorſhip of her Royal Highneſs's accounts. That circumſtance, added to his cloſe intimacy with the diſcarded miniſter, awakened the jealouſy of the patriots; and, if we are to credit their ſuſpicions, he became, in the technical language of that day, the "go-between" to the favourite, the princeſs-mother, and the throne. When Lord Bute retired into the country in diſguſt, promiſing to relinquiſh public affairs, a great perſonage is ſaid to have conſtrued it into an abandonment, and to have looked out for advice elſewhere; from that moment Mr. Jenkinſon was ranked as one of the leaders of the party called "the king's friends," and his Majeſty ever after diſtinguiſhed him by a marked partiality. Honours and employments now fell thick upon him. In 1766, he was nominated a lord of the admiralty, and in 1767, a lord of the treaſury, in which place he continued during the Grenville and Grafton adminiſtration. But under that of Lord North, we find him aſpiring to ſome of the higher offices of government; for in 1772, he was appointed one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland, on which occaſion he was introduced into the privy council. In 1775, he purchaſed of Mr. Fox, the patent place of clerk of the pells in Ireland, which had conſtituted part of that gentleman's patrimony, and next year was appointed maſter of the mint, in the room of Lord Cadogan.—In 1778, he was elevated to the more important poſt of ſecretary at war, in which ſituation we find him in 1780 and 1781, defending the eſtimates of the army, in the Houſe of Commons. The conteſts between the friends of Mr. Jenkinſon and oppoſition, now became critical; the majorities which had implicitly voted with the miniſtry, were reduced in every diviſion, and at laſt abandoned a premier, who tottered on the treaſury bench. Mr. Jenkinſon thought he had now ample leiſure to compile his collection of treaties; but he was ſoon, by another change in politics, called back from his literary labours, into active life, and took a decided part in behalf of Mr. Pitt. In conſequence of his exertions on this occaſion, in 1786, he was nominated to the lucrative poſt of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, created baron of Hawkeſbury, in the county of Glouceſter, and appointed preſident of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations. For the laſt ſituation, his lordſhip's regular and progreſſive riſe, added to the various offices in which he had acted, admirably qualified him. Further emoluments were, however, reſerved for him;

him; for in 1790, on the deceaſe of his relation, the late Sir Banks Jenkinſon, who held the lucrative patent place of collector of the cuſtoms inwards, he procured the grant. Nothing can more clearly demonſtrate his great influence than that occurrence; for this was one of the ſinecures which the premier had all along declared his intention to aboliſh. To theſe favours, in 1796, was added that of Earl of Liverpool, on which creation he was authoriſed by his Majeſty to quarter the arms of that commercial city with thoſe of his own family. As an orator, his lordſhip ſpoke but ſeldom, either in the Houſe of Commons or Peers, and of late years he had attended but little to public buſineſs, in conſequence of his advanced age and infirmities. Beſides the works which have already been mentioned, his lordſhip was the author of the following:—"A Collection of all Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, between Great Britain and other Powers, from the Treaty of Munſter in 1648, to the Treaties ſigned at Paris in 1783," 3 vols. 8vo. (1785); and "A Treatiſe on the Coins of England, in a Letter to the King," 4to. (1805). Whatever odium may be attached by his political enemies, to the general line of conduct adopted by this nobleman, they will not deny that he deſerved great praiſe for the attention which he always beſtowed on the trade of this country. Among other things, he drew up the treaty of commercial intercourſe with America, and is alſo ſaid, not only to have pointed out, but to have created the whale fiſhery in the South Seas. His lordſhip was married, for the firſt time, in 1769, to Miſs Amelia Watts, daughter of the governor of Fort William, in Bengal, by whom he had a ſon, the preſent earl; and ſecondly, in 1782, to Catharine, daughter of the late Sir Cecil Biſhop, Bart. and widow of Sir Charles Cope, by whom he has left a ſon and daughter, the Hon. Charles Cecil Cope Jenkinſon, M.P. for Sandwich, and Lady Charlotte, married to the preſent Viſcount Grimſtone. Lord Liverpool partly inherited, and partly accumulated, a large fortune during the courſe of a long and brilliant career. He has left to his eldeſt ſon, the preſent earl, 15,000*l.* per annum, of which only about 3,500*l.* per annum is in land. To his widow, the Counteſs of Liverpool, only 700*l.* per annum for life, in addition to her former jointure, as Lady Cope, of 1000*l.* per annum. But the preſent earl has added 500*l.* more per annum to his father's bequeſt; and it is underſtood that the Dutcheſs of Dorſet, her daughter, adds 300*l.* per annum more. To the Hon. Cecil Jenkinſon, his ſecond ſon, he has left 1000*l.* per annum, in addition to an eſtate of near 3000*l.* per annum, of which Mr. Cecil Jenkinſon is already in poſſeſſion, by the death of a relation. To Lady Charlotte Grimſtone, now Lady Forreſter, he has left only the 700*l.* per annum, bequeathed to the Counteſs of Liverpool, after her deceaſe. The landed property is entailed to all the family of the Jenkinſons, in tail male, to a great extent.

At Teddington, Viſc. Aghrim, Baron of Ballymore, 66. He is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by Frederic, Viſcount Aghrim. His

His lordſhip married Anne Elizabeth Chriſtine, Baroneſs de Tuill de Sceroſberkin, by whom he has left ſeveral children.

18. Rear Admiral Edward O'Brien.

January 2, 1809. At his houſe in Grafton-ſtreet, the Moſt Noble John Denis Browne, Marquis of Sligo, Earl of Altamont, Viſcount Weſtport, and Baron Mounteagle, in the United Kingdom; alſo a governor of the county of Mayo, and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Clare. His lordſhip was born in 1756, ſucceeded to the family honours and eſtates in 1780, and in 1787 married Lady Louiſa Catharine, daughter of the late Earl Howe. On occaſion of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, he was elevated to the dignity of marquis in December, 1800, and in 1806 was created a peer of the United Kingdom. He is ſucceeded by his only ſon, Howe Peter, Earl of Altamont, born in 1788.

3. The Hon. Henry Percy, ſon of Lord Lovaine.

5. The Hon. Caroline Cornwallis.

General Edward Smith, uncle to the gallant Sir Sidney Smith, and one of the few ſurviving officers who were preſent when the immortal Wolfe fell.

7. Rear Admiral Jonathan Faulkner.

13. The Hon. Mrs. Jolliffe, daughter of Earl Ferrers.

16. At Corunna, a very few hours after receiving a mortal wound in the ſhoulder, from a ſpent cannon-ball, in the battle before that town, of which he lived long enough to exult in the glorious reſult, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, K.B. commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Spain.

In the battle of Corunna, the Hon. Major Stanhope.

At Corunna, Gen. Anſtruther.

17. Sir Francis Vincent.

20. At Taunton, aged 70, the Hon. Sir Jacob Wolff, baronet, of Chumleigh, Devon. He was a baron of the Holy Roman empire, and the elder and only brother of Baron Wolff.

21. The eldeſt ſon of Sir Harry Burrard, and aid-de-camp of Sir John Moore. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Corunna.

24. Lady Lumm, relict of Sir Francis Lumm, bart.

At his houſe at Whitehall, James Duff, Earl of Fife, Viſcount Macduff, (Lord Fife in England.) He is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his brother Alexander.

27. Sir John Miers.

February 3. The Hon. Miſs M. B. W. Fitzwilliam, the infant daughter of Viſcount Milton.

8. At Grimſthorpe Caſtle, near Bourn, his Grace Brownlow Bertie, Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven, Marquis and Earl of Lindſey, &c. &c. His Grace having no male iſſue, the dukedom is extinct; but the title of Earl of Lindſey devolves upon General Albemarle Bertie; unaccompanied, however, by any eſtate, unleſs it ſhall be determined that that of Uffington, near Stamford, deſcends with the title.

10. Lady Auguſta Bennet.

12. At Vienna, the Archduke John Nepomuck, youngeſt ſon of the Emperor of Auſtria.

13. The lady of Sir T. M. Heſilrige, bart.

23. Dowager

23. Dowager Lady Aſhburton, widow of the late Lord Aſhburton, better known as John Dunning, eſq.

24. In Bruton-ſtreet, the Earl of Orford, of Woolerton, Norfolk. His lordſhip was the nephew of the famous Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford. He ſat many years in the Houſe of Lords as Baron Walpole, of Woolerton. He married Lady Rachel Cavendiſh, daughter of William, third Duke of Devonſhire, by whom he had ſeveral children. On the death of the late Horace, Earl of Orford, he ſucceeded to the barony of Houghton, the earldom becoming extinct; but during the late adminiſtration he was created Earl of Orford. His lordſhip's eldeſt ſon, Lord Walpole, (now Earl of Orford) ſat many years as member for Lynn, in which repreſentation there is now a vacancy. General Walpole, who concluded the treaty with the Maroons in Jamaica, who was the ſecond to Mr. Tierney in his duel with Mr. Pitt, and who was alſo one of Mr. Fox's ſecretaries, is the younger ſon of the late earl. His lordſhip was in his 86th year. So long as true nobility, nobility of mind and conduct, no leſs than of birth and ſtation, ſhall be conſidered as deſerving the beſt regards and eſteem of men, ſo long will ſuch characters as that of the late venerable Earl of Orford be had in reſpectful remembrance. By no means implicitly aſſenting to the "world's falſe eſtimate of things," he appreciated no higher than they deſerved the gifts of rank and fortune, but uſed them with munificence for honourable and uſeful purpoſes.—Thoſe qualities which are the moſt ſhining ornaments of elevated ſtation, piety without oſtentation, liberality of mind, kind attention to the wants and wiſhes of others, extended bounty, an hoſpitality rarely equalled in theſe times, and an independent public ſpirit, were the diſtinguiſhed features of his lordſhip's character. He lived revered and happy to an advanced age, with honour and integrity inviolate; and died univerſally lamented.

27. At his ſeat, Sandy-place, county of Bedford, Sir Philip Monoux, bart. who ſucceeded to the title in 1757. He was high-ſheriff in 1763.

Lately, at her retreat in Switzerland, her Royal Highneſs Ann, Dutcheſs of Cumberland. She was the ſecond daughter of Simon Luttrell, Earl of Carhampton, and was firſt married to Chriſtopher Horton, eſq. of Catton Hall, county of Derby, by whom ſhe had one ſon, who died an infant. She was married, ſecondly, to his Royal Highneſs Henry Frederick, late Duke of Cumberland, October 2, 1771; who again left her a widow, without iſſue, in 1790.

March 2. Lady Seton, relict of Sir Henry Seton, bart.

7. Of a wound received in a duel with Mr. Powell, of Devonſhire-place, Lord Viſcount Falkland. The quarrel which produced this fatal meeting, originated in Lord Falkland's addreſſing Mr. Powell, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, by a nick-name, and perſiſting ſo to do, after he had taken offence at it, in a large company at Steevens's coffee-houſe in Bond-ſtreet. Hence enſued the challenge, and the ſubſequent duel at Goldar's-green; where, accord-

ing to etiquette, Mr. Powell fired firſt, and inflicted the mortal wound. Lord F. ſtood for above a minute in his poſition, and then threw his piſtol away without diſcharging its contents. On arriving in town, and the chaiſe coming on the ſtones, it was obſerved to his lordſhip, that Powell's houſe was near at hand. Lord F. inſtantly expreſſed a deſire to go thither in preference to any other place, for the world would then be convinced he owed no enmity to his antagoniſt. Here his lordſhip languiſhed two days before he expired. Lord Falkland was a captain in the navy, and ſucceeded to the title of Viſcount Falkland on the ſudden death of his brother Thomas, in May 1796.

16. Lady Dorothy Fitzwilliam, ſiſter of Earl Fitzwilliam.

In Groſvenor-ſquare, aged 75, the Dutcheſs of Bolton. She was the youngeſt ſiſter of the late Earl of Lonſdale, and was married to Lord Harry Powlett, then captain in the Britiſh navy, but whoſe exploits, while in that ſervice, did not entitle him to rank with our naval heroes. Lord Harry was at the ſiege of Carthagena, in South America, in 1743, where Smollett has conſigned his memory to poſterity, though not in the moſt brilliant or flattering colours. He is the Captain Whiffle, of Roderic Random. By the death of his elder brother, he ſucceeded to the dukedom of Bolton, which became extinct ſome years ago in his perſon. He left only two daughters, the eldeſt of whom, Lady Catherine, married the Earl of Darlington.

26. Chriſtina Elizabeth, Counteſs Dowager of Kintore.

29. At Thorndon Hall, near Brentwood, Eſſex, in his 46th year, Edward Lord Petre, Baron Petre, of Writtle. He ſurvived his father but eight years. He has left ten children. Urbanity of diſpoſition, unaffected politeneſs and affability of manners, added dignity to his rank, and conciliated the eſteem of all who knew him.

Sir Michael Smith, bart.

April 2. John Bazely, eſq. admiral of the blue.

At Caſtlemary, county of Cork, Margaret, Viſcounteſs Longueville.

7. At Stitchell, Berwick, in his 84th year, Sir James Pringle, bart. maſter of the king's works.

12. The lady of Sir James Sibbald, bart.

20. At his houſe in Cavendiſh-ſquare, aged 73, George Simon Harcourt, Earl Harcourt and Viſcount Nuneham, of Nuneham Courtney, county of Oxford.

21. Lady Trafford Southwell, aged 77.

The lady of Sir Gilbert Powell.

25. At his lordſhip's houſe, the Oaks, in Surrey, Lady Lucy Elizabeth Smith Stanley, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Derby.

28. Lady M. G. Meredyth, relict of Sir R. G. Meredyth, bart.

May 14. At the epiſcopal palace at Fulham, aged 78, Dr. Beilby Porteus, Biſhop of London. This truly venerable prelate was educated at Chriſt's College, Cambridge, where he regularly became a fellow, B.A. 1752, M.A. 1755, D.D. 1767. In 1754, the office of eſquire beadle of the univerſity of Cambridge was conferred on him. He obtained, with Baron Maſeres, the chancellor's medals at Cambridge on their firſt inſtitu-

tion,

tion, and in 1759 gained the Seatonian prize for his poetical Eſſay on Death. In 1764, being then chaplain to Lord Grantham, he was preſented to the livings of Rucking and Wrickleſham, in Kent; and in October, that year, (being then chaplain to Archbiſhop Secker) obtained a prebend of Peterborough. In 1765, he was married to Miſs Hodgſon, of Parliament-ſtreet, Weſtminſter. He then was preſented to the rectory of Hunton, and in 1767 to that of Lambeth. After the death of Archbiſhop Secker, he was aſſociated with Dr. Stinton in publiſhing ſeven octavo volumes of ſermons, by their learned patron, to which Dr. Porteus prefixed a Review of his Grace's Life and Character. In 1776, Dr. Porteus diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his exertions to eſtabliſh a more ſolemn obſervance of the faſt on Good Friday; and publiſhed in that year a ſerious, affectionate, and ſenſible exhortation to that effect. In the ſame year he was promoted to the biſhoprick of Cheſter; and in 1787 was tranſlated to London. His remains are interred in the chapel at Ide-hill, near Sundridge, in Kent, which he had himſelf built and endowed.

24. At his houſe in Soho-ſquare, aged 82, General Charles Rainsford, F.R. and A.S.S. Governor of Tynemouth and Cliff Fort.

At Chelſea, in his 49th year, Sir William Henry Douglas, bart. vice-admiral of the blue. The title devolves on his brother, Lieut.-Colonel Howard Douglas.

At Ramſgate, in his 78th year, the Right Honourable John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, Viſcount Fincaſtle, &c.; his lordſhip was deſcended in the female line from the royal houſe of Stuart, and his anceſtors were related to moſt of the crowned heads in Europe: he married Lady Charlotte Stewart, ſiſter of the late Earl of Galloway, and by that marriage has left iſſue three ſons and three daughters: his eldeſt ſon George, Lord Fincaſtle, now Earl of Dunmore, is married to Lady Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton: one of his daughters, Lady Auguſta, was married to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Suſſex, at Rome, in November 1793, and had a ſon born January 15, 1794; but a ſuit was inſtituted in Doctors' Commons, by his Majeſty's orders, and the marriage was declared null and void in the following Auguſt, and Lady Auguſta has ſince taken the name of D'Ameland; another daughter, Lady Suſan, has been twice married, and has loſt both huſbands—Mr. Thorpe and Mr. Drew; the other ſurviving daughter, Lady Virginia, was named at the requeſt of the aſſembly of Virginia, of which province the earl her father was governor, and was certainly the moſt zealous and active of his Majeſty's governors during the whole of the revolutionary war.

The Counteſs of Dundonald, ſecond wife of the preſent earl.

At Leominſter, aged 90, the Rev. Sir John Dutton Colt.

June 5. The Hon. Mrs. Butler, mother to the Counteſs of Darnley.

6. At Cheltenham, the lady of Sir F. J. Hartwell, bart.

12. Sir Alexander Hamilton.

15. In Jermyn-ſtreet, aged 68, Sir George Baker, bart. M.D. F.R.S. and phyſician in ordinary

to his Majeſty. He was formerly of King's College, Cambridge, B. A. 1745, M. A. 1749, M. D. 1756.

26. At Eaſt Bank, Lady Semple.

28. At Lochnard Caſtle, Scotland, Sir Stair Agnew, Bart.

30. Lady Louiſa Clayton, fifth daughter of the firſt Earl of Pomfret.

July 3. The lady of Sir James Bond, Bart.

14. In Great Cumberland-place, the Moſt Rev. his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, Earl of Normanton, &c. &c. As a ſcholar, a prelate, and a ſtateſman, his grace ſtood pre-eminently high. He was in his 73d year, and is ſucceeded in his titles by his eldeſt ſon, Viſcount Somerton.

At Shuckburgh hall, Warwickſhire, in his 55th year, Sir Stukely Shuckburgh, Bart. father of the unfortunate young lady who was ſhot by Lieutenant Sharp. *See Chronicle.*

19. Sir. J. Macnamara Hayes, Bart. M.D.

At Little Ealing, Lady Wright.

At Holly Brook, county Wicklow, Sir Robert Hodſon, Bart.

At Powers Court, county Wicklow, Richard Wingfield, Viſcount Powerſcourt.

25. At Madeira, Lady Sophia Bligh, wife of the Hon. W. Bligh, and daughter of the late Earl of Galloway.

Sir C. Corbet, Bart.

Auguſt 2. Rear Admiral James Bradby.

5. At Bath Eaſton, Sir George Colebrooke, Bart.

Lady Clarges.

8. Lady Amelia Hume, daughter to the Hon. and Rev. John Egerton, late Biſhop of Durham, and wife of Sir Abraham Hume.

Sir Hugh Owen, Bart.

11. At Laſock Abbey, the Counteſs Dowager of Shrewſbury, relict of the late Earl of Shrewſbury, and daughter of the late Lord Dormer.

12. Lord Henry Stewart, third ſon of the Marquis of Bute.

14. At his ſeat at Coſteſſy Hall, Norfolk, Sir William Jerningham, Bart.

20. Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Rowe.

24. Sir Robert Saluſbury Cotton, Bart. many years M.P. for the county. He is ſucceeded in his title and eſtates by his ſon, Major-general Stapleton Cotton.

26. At Stewart Hall, county Tyrone, at an advanced age, Andrew Thomas, Earl of Caſtleſtewart, no leſs eminent for the integrity and independence of his mind, than for his illuſtrious deſcent. He was the acknowledged head of the houſe of Stewart, being immediately deſcended, in the male and legitimate line, from Robert the ſecond, King of Scotland. By his widow (daughter of the late Judge Sill), he left two ſons and two daughters. His lordſhip is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Robert.

29. General Robert Melville, the oldeſt general in the Britiſh army.

30. Lady Henry Stuart, relict of the late Lord H. Stuart.

September 3. Sir John Murray, Bart.

At his houſe in Piccadilly, George William Coventry, Earl of Coventry, Viſcount Deerhurſt, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and Recorder of the city of Worceſter. His lordſhip was born in April,

April, 1722; he was educated at Wincheſter, was afterwards of Univerſity College, Oxford; and, with his eldeſt brother, Lord Deerhurſt, (who died in 1744) was created maſter of arts in 1739. He ſucceeded his father, Earl William, in March, 1751. The following year he married Maria, the eldeſt of the three daughters of John Gunning, Eſq. the moſt celebrated beauties of that day. The iſſue of this marriage has been remarkably unfortunate: the firſt-born daughter died young; Mary Alicia, the next child was the firſt wife of the preſent Sir Andrew Bayntun, to whom ſhe was married when twenty-three years old, in June 1777; was divorced in 1783, and died in January, 1784; Ann Margaret, the next child, was married in 1778, when twenty-one years old, to the Hon. Edward Foley, from whom ſhe was divorced in 1787, and the following year ſhe married Samuel Wright, Eſq. a captain in the army; George Viſcount Deerhurſt, who ſucceeds his father, and is now Earl of Coventry, was married, at nineteen years of age, to Lady Catharine Henley, a daughter of the late Earl of Northington; the marriage was without the conſent of his father, and the lady died in leſs than two years (in January, 1779); a few months after which, as Lord Deerhurſt was hunting in Worceſterſhire, attempting a dangerous leap, his horſe fell on him, beat his face nearly flat, and, though he was miraculouſly preſerved, he has ever ſince been totally blind. In 1783, he married Miſs Pitches, ſecond daughter of Sir A. Pitches, by whom he has a numerous family. The firſt wife of the late earl died in 1760, and in 1764, he was united to Barbara, daughter of John, Lord St. John, of Bletſoe, who died in 1804, leaving him ſeveral children. Lord Coventry was a lord of the bed-chamber to his late and preſent Majeſty, which office he reſigned in 1770. He ſupported the prerogative in the American war, though he deprecated the exertion of force. In 1788, he voted with miniſters on the regency queſtion; and in 1795, voted Mr. Haſtings "not guilty" on all the charges againſt him. On the 27th March, 1796, he oppoſed the negociation with the French Directory; and, in 1803, ſpoke againſt the motion for cenſuring Lord Sidmouth's adminiſtration.

4. The lady of Sir William Scott.

13. Sir William Douglas, Bart. of Caſtle Douglas.

15. Lady Leſlie, of Findroſſie and Wardes.

24. Vice Admiral Moriarty.

26. Hon. Miſs Wyndham Arundel, daughter of Lord Arundel, of Irnham.

October 1. Arthur Saunders Gore, Earl of Arran, Viſcount Sudley of Caſtle Gore, Lord Saunders of Deeps, and Knight of St. Patrick.

Sir Elijah Impey.

3. Lady Dorothy Nowell.

6. The Counteſs of Crawford.

8. The Hon. William Cockayne, only ſon of Lord Viſcount Cullen.

9. Eleanor, Counteſs of Harborough.

13. Caroline, Dowager Lady Selſey.

19. The Hon. Francis William Arbuthnot.

20. At Malta, Sir Alexander Ball, governor of that place.

30. William Henry Cavendiſh, Duke of Portland, Marquis of Tichfield, &c. &c. &c.

November 1. Lady Bell.

2. Sir J. G. Dineley, Bart.

Lady Cooper, relict of the late Sir Grey Cooper.

6. Lady Roſe.

8. Sir William Darley.

12. The Hon. Mrs. Fraſer.

14. Sir Frederick Morton Eden. Bart. author of ſeveral works on political and commercial ſubjects.

Sir Henry Thomas Gott, Bart.

At his houſe, in Seymour-place, Lord Monſon, aged twenty-three. He ſucceeded his father in 1805; the following year married Lady Sarah Saville, and has left one ſon, to whom the title devolves.

15. At Lanſdown-houſe, Berkeley-ſquare, the Right Hon. John Henry Petty, Marquis of Lanſdown, Earl of Wycomb, in England, Earl of Shelburne, Viſcount Fitz Maurice, and Baron Dunkerron, in Ireland. His lordſhip was in his forty-fourth year. He ſucceeded his father, the late marquis, in 1805; and the ſame year, married Lady Gifford, relict of Sir Duke Gifford, Bart. by whom he has left no iſſue, but is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his brother, Lord Henry Petty.

20. Aged 87, Sir Philip Stephens, Bart. one of the oldeſt ſervants of the crown.

24. Sir John Burton.

Lady Mary Frances Heſketh, firſt couſin to the Duke of Norfolk.

26. The lady of Sir J. Stuart, Bart.

December 7. Sir James Branſcomb.

10. Lady Rendleſham.

17. Sir William Benſley, Bart.

19. Sir Richard Welch.

20. The Rev. Sir Richard Kaye, Bart. LL.D. F.R. and A.S.S.

29. The Right Hon. Sir William Auguſtus Pitt, Bart.

The Hon. Helen Murray, widow of Sir John Stewart, Bart.

30. The Hon. Mrs. Roſs.

Lately, in the Weſt Indies, Sir John Bernard, Bart.

Supplement to the Deaths of 1808.

In the Iſland of Jamaica, on the 13th of July, 1808, Lieutenant-General Villettes. This officer was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient families in France. His anceſtors were Lords of Montdidier in Languedoc, in the thirteenth century, and many of them held conſiderable offices under different monarchs. During the civil wars, they were much diſtinguiſhed for their exertions in favour of the Hugonots; and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes they withdrew from France and ſettled in this kingdom. The father of the late lieutenant-general was educated in the diplomatic line, and was many years miniſter plenipotentiary to the late and the preſent king; firſt at the court of Turin, and afterwards with the Helvetic Cantons. He withdrew from public life in the year 1762, and reſided at Bath till 1776; when he died, in the 75th year of his age. His ſecond ſon, William-Anne Villettes, was born at Bern, on the 14th of June, 1754. He received the early part of his education at a private ſchool near Bath,

Bath, and the latter part of it at the univerſity of St. Andrew's. A mildneſs of diſpoſition, and a regular performance of whatever it was his duty to do; qualities, which through life were diſtinguiſhed features of his character, were remarkable even at this early period. It was obſerved at the ſchool, that he never received a blow, either from his maſter, or any of his ſchool-fellows; nor was he ever known at the univerſity to have experienced a reprimand from any of the profeſſors, or to have been engaged in a quarrel with any of his fellow-ſtudents. His father originally intended him for the bar, and he was accordingly entered at Lincoln's Inn, and kept two or three terms; but his ardour for a military life was ſo great, that Mr. Villettes at laſt gave way to his ſon's inclinations, and obtained for him, in the year 1775, a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of dragoons. In this reſpectable corps Villettes continued, till he roſe to the rank of major. In this, as in every other part of his life, a punctual diſcharge of the duties of his ſtation was conſtantly obſerved. By this he obtained the approbation of his ſuperiors, and by his amiable manners he ſecured the eſteem and good will of his equals and his inferiors. During a great part of this period, Captain Villettes attended Sir W. Pitt (then commander of the forces in Ireland) as his aid-de-camp and ſecretary. The character of that venerable officer requires no panegyric; and it certainly was an honour to Villettes, that he lived ſeveral years in his family, not only as his ſecretary, but as his confidential friend. His attachment to Sir William Pitt was, indeed, that of a ſon to a parent; and, like all other attachments that he formed, continued invariable to the end of his life. In the year 1792, Major Villettes quitted the dragoons, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 69th regiment of foot; which, in conſequence of the breaking out of the war in 1793, was ſent to the Mediterranean, ſerving as marines on board a diviſion of the fleet under the command of Lord Hood. From this ſervice Colonel Villettes was exempt, as a field-officer; but when Toulon was given up to the allies, he left England to take the command of his regiment, then forming a part of the garriſon. His ſervices there were much diſtinguiſhed by General O'Hara, and his ſucceſſor, General Dundas. The heights of Faron were entruſted to him; and, during the time that he commanded in that important ſtation, his vigilance was ſuch, that he never retired to reſt till day-light appeared. All attempts at ſurpriſe were accordingly fruſtrated, and every thing remained ſecure; the ſtrength of the poſition ſcarcely expoſing it to any other danger. At length the French army being increaſed, after the reduction of Lyons, the danger to which Toulon became expoſed was proportionably greater, and Colonel Villettes was called to a ſtation of ſtill more importance, and requiring the exertion of greater military talents. This was the defence of Les Sablettes, a narrow iſthmus, by which the peninſula that forms the ſouth ſide of the road of Toulon is connected with the main land. As long as

this poſt was in our poſſeſſion, the whole peninſula was ſecure, and the ſhips could remain in ſafety in the road; but if this had been loſt, the various batteries on the peninſula might have been turned upon them, the ſhipping muſt have removed into the bay, and the ſubſequent embarkation of the troops and the inhabitants would have been rendered impracticable. At this poſt Colonel Villettes commanded; having under him 700 Britiſh, and 800 Neapolitan troops. On the 16th of December, Faron was taken by ſurpriſe (but not by the fault of any Britiſh officer); and Fort Mulgrave, the neareſt port to Les Sablettes, was carried by ſtorm. Theſe diſaſters rendered the evacuation of Toulon unavoidable. The Neapolitan troops, under the command of Colonel Villettes, behaved very well as long as they were expoſed to no danger; but when they ſaw that Fort Mulgrave was loſt, and the French appeared ready to attack them, they retired in a body, got into their boats, and embarked on board their ſhips. Notwithſtanding the deſertion of ſo great a part of his force, Colonel Villettes kept up ſo good an appearance with the remainder, that Les Sablettes, and, of courſe the whole of the peninſula, continued in our poſſeſſion till the evening of the 18th; when the evacuation of Toulon being complete, he received orders to withdraw his troops. This ſervice, though rendered very difficult by the proximity of the enemy, was nevertheleſs effected during the night; and the troops were marched to the other end of the peninſula, where they were embarked in boats, which conveyed them, without loſs, on board the fleet. The next ſervice in which Colonel Villettes was engaged, was the conqueſt of Corſica. He acted here in his proper ſtation at the ſiege of St. Fiorenzo; and afterwards in a more diſtinguiſhed manner, at that of Baſtia. Lord Hood having propoſed to the commander of the land forces the attack of this latter place, and the meaſure being deemed inexpedient by that officer, his lordſhip reſolved to undertake the ſiege, without the aſſiſtance of any troops but thoſe which were originally given him as marines. After a cloſe blockade of forty days, Baſtia was taken, and Lord Hood gratefully acknowledged the eſſential aſſiſtance which he received on that occaſion from Colonel Villettes. The merit of this ſervice will perhaps be more fully appreciated, when it is known, that the force which Colonel Villettes commanded, was compoſed of no more than 1000 Britiſh ſoldiers, 250 landed ſeamen, and 1200 Corſicans; which laſt were fit only to ſcour the country. The garriſon, on the other hand, conſiſted of 4000 French regulars, and about as many of the armed inhabitants. Even after the ſurrender of the place, the difficulties of Colonel Villette's ſituation did not ceaſe. With his ſmall force, he was to guard 8000 priſoners; and this arduous taſk was continued ſeveral days, the ſtate of the weather rendering it impoſſible to ſend them away in a ſhorter time. For this important ſervice Colonel Villettes was rewarded, by being appointed Governor of Baſtia, and a vote of thanks to him being propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, it ſeemed to be a ſubject of regret with

every

every perſon, that ſome circumſtances of parliamentary etiquette rendered it impoſſible to accede to the motion. In the year 1796, an intermittent fever, of a very bad kind, which is common in Corſica, obliged Colonel Villettes to reſign the government of Baſtia, and return to England; and the following year, Portugal being threatened by the French, he was ſent to that country, and ſerved in the army commanded by his friend Sir Charles Stuart, about a year and a half; when, the danger being for the preſent removed, the Britiſh troops were withdrawn, and Colonel Villettes came back to England, where he was promoted to the rank of a major-general, on the 18th of June, 1798. About this time, General Villettes was appointed comptroller of the houſehold of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Kent; and his royal highneſs continued to honour the general with his confidence as long as he lived. In 1799, General Villettes was ſent to Corfu; it being then in contemplation to raiſe a corps of Albanians for his Majeſty's ſervice. Of the inexpediency of this meaſure the general was ſoon convinced; and however advantageous the adopting it might have proved to himſelf, he ſtrongly adviſed the contrary, and the plan was accordingly relinquiſhed. The mutiny which ſome years afterwards took place at Malta among troops of a ſimilar deſcription, fully proved the juſtneſs of his opinion. When his preſence was no longer neceſſary in Corfu, General Villettes was ſent to Malta; where he acted for ſome time as ſecond in command to General Pigot; and, after his departure in 1801, as commander in chief of the forces, in which important ſituation he remained till the year 1807. Thoſe perſons who recollect the ſtipulations concerning Malta in the treaty of Amiens, the diſcuſſions which aroſe during the peace in conſequence of thoſe ſtipulations, and the value attached to this iſland by all parties ſince the renewal of hoſtilities; and who, at the ſame time, conſider the ſituation of Malta, with reſpect to Naples, Sicily, Egypt, and indeed the whole of the Mediterranean and the Levant, will readily conceive that there were few ſituations, in which a firm, temperate, and judicious conduct could be more requiſite than in the commander of the forces in that iſland. It may ſafely be aſſerted, that few men were ſuperior to General Villettes in the qualities from which ſuch a conduct originates. His judgment was ſo good, that, though he ſeldom ſtood in need of advice, yet, on every proper occaſion, he was ready to liſten to it; to adopt it with candour, if he judged it to be right; or to adhere to his own opinion, if he ſaw no juſt grounds for abandoning it. His firmneſs in purſuing the line of conduct, which he thought it his duty to adopt, was equally remarkable; and to theſe qualities were united a temper the leaſt irritable, and manners the moſt conciliatory, that can be well imagined. The favourite maxim of "*Suaviter in modo, Fortiter in re*," has perhaps ſeldom been more perfectly exemplified. Many inſtances occurred during his command in Malta, in which theſe qualities were exerted, and executed with the very beſt effects. When Tomaſi, the French-elected Grand

Grand Maſter, laid claim to the iſland; when a French agent ſought an occaſion of quarrel, and endeavoured to raiſe a diſturbance in the theatre, as had been done ſucceſsfully at Rome, Naples, and elſewhere; when a moſt alarming mutiny took place among the foreign troops in Fort Ricaſoli; on all theſe, and on many other occaſions, the firm, temperate, and judicious conduct of General Villettes was ſucceſsfully employed. In the year 1807, the perſonal and profeſſional merit of this officer, his perfect knowledge of moſt of the European languages, and his long acquaintance with the military ſyſtems of the continental powers, pointed him out to his Majeſty's government as a proper perſon to command the foreign troops who were to form a part of the army intended to be ſent to the Baltic, under Lord Cathcart. General Villettes was accordingly recalled from Malta; but, though he obeyed the ſummons with the utmoſt promptitude, it was found impoſſible for him to arrive in England in time to take any ſhare in the northern expedition. That expedition was accordingly diſpatched under other commanders, and General Villettes was, ſoon after his arrival, appointed to a ſituation ſtill more honourable, but eventually fatal to him. It was in the month of September, 1807, that this officer, now a lieutenant-general, returned to England, a country in which he had paſſed ſo ſmall a portion of his life, as to be much leſs known in it than his worth deſerved. He was ſoon after appointed colonel of the 64th regiment of infantry; and his talents were not ſuffered to remain long unemployed. A proper perſon was wanted to be commander of the forces, and lieutenant-governor of Jamaica. Many circumſtances in the ſituation of that iſland rendered it neceſſary to be particularly careful in the appointment of a general officer ſuited to that important truſt. General Villettes was ſelected for this purpoſe; and it would, perhaps, have been difficult to have found a man more capable of fulfilling the duties of the ſtation to the ſatisfaction of government, and for the benefit of the colony. He was accordingly appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces in Jamaica, with the rank of a general in that iſland, in the latter end of the year 1807. Highly honourable as this appointment was, General Villettes would willingly have declined it. His conſtitution, which was never very ſtrong, had been much impaired by bilious complaints; and having been abſent from England during almoſt the whole of the laſt fourteen years, he would gladly have remained ſome time in this country. The laſt day before he embarked at Spithead, was ſpent at the houſe of the earlieſt friend of his youth, to whom, in confidential converſation, he expreſſed his belief that the climate of Jamaica would not agree with him; "but," he added, "I would not object to going there on that account; for if I were ordered to march up to a battery, I ſhould do it, though I might be of opinion that I ſhould be killed before my troops could carry it; and, in like manner, I think I ought not to heſitate as to going to Jamaica, if his Majeſty's ſervice requires it, though I may be of opinion that I ſhall

ſhall fall a victim to the climate." But little is known in England what happened in Jamaica during the ſhort period that General Villettes lived after his arrival in that iſland. It is, however, well known, that his amiable diſpoſition, and that firm, but conciliatory conduct, which always formed ſo remarkable a part of his character, ſoon engaged the confidence and eſteem of the whole community. In the month of July, 1808, he undertook a military tour of inſpection through the iſland. Neither the bad ſtate of his health, nor the unfavourable weather, could induce him to poſtpone doing what he conſidered to be his duty. General Villettes left Kingſton on the 3d of July, and proceeded as far as Port Antonio, where he inſpected ſome of the troops. He ſet out from thence on the 11th, to go to Buff Bay, in the pariſh of St. George, to inſpect a battalion of the 60th, which was ſtationed there; but in this journey he was ſeized with a fever, which, on the third day, put a period to his life. He died on the 13th of July, at Mrs. Brown's eſtate, named Union; retaining in his laſt moments the ſame ſerenity of mind for which his whole life had been ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed. The regret expreſſed on this occaſion, by all deſcriptions of perſons in Jamaica, far exceeded what could have been ſuppoſed poſſible, when the ſhort period that General Villettes had reſided among them is taken into conſideration. His body was interred near Kingſton, in the pariſh of Half-Way-Tree, in which he reſided. The funeral was attended by the Duke of Mancheſter (the governor of the iſland), as chief mourner, and was conducted with all the military honours ſo juſtly due to the rank and merit of the deceaſed. Few men have poſſeſſed, in a degree ſuperior to General Villettes, the talent of acquiring the good will of almoſt all, the ill will of ſcarcely any, who knew him. The chief reaſon was, that he felt good will towards all, and his conduct was ſuitable to his feelings. His friendſhip, though by no means reſtricted to a few, was far from being indiſcriminate; but any perſon who once really enjoyed it, was ſure that it would never be withdrawn. On the application of three friends of the late Lieutenant-General Villettes, the dean and chapter of Weſtminſter have conſented that a monument ſhould be placed to the memory of that much lamented officer, near the monument of his late friend, the Hon. Sir C. Stuart. Mr. Weſtmacott is employed as the ſculptor; and the following inſcription is to be engraved on the marble:

"Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant-General William-Anne Villettes, (ſecond ſon of Arthur Villettes, Eſq. his Majeſty's Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin, and to the Helvetic Cantons,) who, during a period of thirty-three years, rendered eſſential ſervice to his country, at Toulon, in Corſica, at Malta, and in many other places. In conſideration of theſe ſervices, he was appointed Colonel of the 64th regiment of Infantry, and Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces in Jamaica; but, while engaged in a tour of military inſpection in that iſland, he was ſeized with a fever, and died near Port Antonio, on the 13th of July, 1808, aged 54 years—A worthy member of ſociety

ciety was thus taken from the public; a valuable officer was loſt to the King's ſervice; and the Iſland of Jamaica was deprived of a man well calculated to promote its happineſs and proſperity. His reſidence there was indeed ſhort; yet his manly but mild virtues, his dignified but affable deportment, and his firm but conciliating conduct, had ſecured him the confidence and eſteem of the whole community.

"The ſculptur'd marble ſhall diſſolve in duſt,
And fame and wealth, and honours, paſs away;
Not ſuch the triumphs of the good and juſt,
Not ſuch the glories of eternal day."

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1809.

Bedfordſhire. Robert Garſtin, of Harrold, Eſq.

Berkſhire. Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, of Fernhill, Bart.

Buckinghamſhire. Thomas Stanhope Badcock, of Buckingham, Eſq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. John Heathcote, of Conington Caſtle, Eſq.

Cheſhire. Thomas William Tatton, of Wittinſhall, Eſq.

Cumberland. Miles Ponſonby, of Hail Hall, Eſq.

Derbyſhire. Charles Upton, of Derby, Eſq.

Devonſhire. Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, of Kellerton, Bart.

Dorſetſhire. James John Farquharſon, of Langton, Eſq.

Eſſex. J. Rutherford Abdy, of Albyns, Eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. John Hodder Moggridge, of Dymock, Eſq.

Herefordſhire. W. Wall, of Leominſter, Eſq.

Hertfordſhire. Edmund Darby, of Aſhton Houſe, Eſq.

Kent. Sir Wm. Brooke Bridges, of Goodneſton, Bart.

Lancaſhire. Samuel Clowes, of Boughton Hall, Eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. Sir William Manners, of Buckminſter, Bart.

Lincolnſhire. Sir R. Heron, of Stubton, Bart.

Monmouthſhire. John Kemys Gardner Kemys, of Pertholey, Eſq.

Norfolk. James Coldham, of Anmer, Eſq.

Northamptonſhire. R. Andrew, of Harleſton, Eſq.

Northumberland. Wm. Sadlier Brewere, of Bewicke, Eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. Thomas Walker, of Bury Hill, Eſq.

Oxfordſhire. J. Harriſon, of Shelſwell, Eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Abel Walford Bellaers, of Bulmerthorpe, Eſq.

Shropſhire. Wm. Sparling, of Petton, Eſq.

Somerſetſhire. J. Nurton, of Milverton, Eſq.

Staffordſhire. Theophilus Levett, of Whichner, Eſq.

County of Southampton. John Blackburne, of Preſton Candover, Eſq.

Suffolk. John Dreſſer, of Blyford, Eſq.

Surry. Edward Bilke, of Southwark, Eſq.

Suſſex. Thomas Tourle, of Landport, Eſq.

Warwickſhire. Abraham Bracebridge, of Atherſtone, Eſq.

Wiltſhire. Sir Charles Warre Mallett, of Wilbury Houſe, Bart.

Worceſterſhire. Henry Bromley, of Abberley, Eſq.

Yorkſhire.

Yorkſhire. Sir G. Wombwell, of Wombwell, Bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Thomas Wood, of Gwernivett, Eſq.

Carmarthenſhire. Richard Iſaac Starke, of Langharne Caſtle, Eſq.

Cardigan. William Skyrme, of Altgcock, Eſq.

Glamorgan. Sir Jer. Homfray, of Landaff.

Pembroke. C. Allen Phillips, of the Hill, Eſq.

Radnor. John Whittaker, of Caſcob, Eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſey. Sir John Thomas Stanley, of Bodewyrd, Bart.

Caernarvonſhire. Thomas Parry John Parry, of Madryn, Eſq.

Denbighſhire. J. Ablet, of Llanbedd, Eſq.

Flintſhire. Thomas Peate, of Biſtree, Eſq.

Merioneth. William Davies, of Ty Ucha, Eſq.

Montgomeryſhire. Thomas Edwards, of Trefuant, Eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1808.

Cornwall. The Hon. Charles Bagnal Agar.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 7.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Mediterranean, to the Hon. W. W. Pole; dated on board the Ocean, off Toulon, the 19th of October, 1808.

"Sir,

"I INCLOSE a letter which I have juſt received from the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, Captain of the Imperieuſe, ſtating the ſervices which he has been employed in on the coaſt of Languedoc. Nothing can exceed the activity and zeal with which his lordſhip purſues the enemy. The ſucceſs which attends his enterpriſes clearly indicates with what ſkill and ability they are conducted; beſides keeping the coaſt in conſtant alarm, cauſing a total ſuſpenſion of the trade, and haraſſing a body of troops employed in oppoſing him, he has, probably, prevented thoſe troops which were intended for Figueras from advancing into Spain, by giving them employment in the defence of their own coaſts. On the coaſt towards Genoa, the enemy has been equally annoyed by the Kent and Wizard. Thoſe ſhips have had that ſtation ſome time, to prevent the French ſhips ſailing from Genoa, and have almoſt entirely ſtopped the only trade the enemy had, which is in very ſmall veſſels: during their cruize there they have taken and deſtroyed twenty-three of thoſe coaſters. I incloſe the letter of Captain Rogers, giving an account of the attack made at Noli, and the capture of the veſſels in the road.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

Imperieuſe, Gulf of Lyons, Sept. 28.

"My Lord,

"With varying oppoſition, but with unvaried ſucceſs, the newly-erected ſemaphoric telegraphs, which are of the utmoſt conſequence to the ſafety of the numerous convoys that paſs along the coaſt of France, at Bourdique, La Pinede, St. Maguire, Frontignan, Canet, and Foy, have been blown up and completely demoliſhed, together with their telegraphic houſes, fourteen barracks of the gens d'armes, or Douanes, one battery, and the ſtrong tower upon the lake of Frontignan. Mr. Mapleton, firſt lieutenant, had command of theſe expeditions; Lieutenant Johnſon had charge of the field pieces, and

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Hore, of the royal marines. To them, and to Mr. Gilbert, aſſiſtant-ſurgeon; Mr. Burney, gunner; Meſſrs. Stewart and Stovin, midſhipmen, is due whatever credit may ariſe from ſuch miſchief, and for having with ſo ſmall a force drawn about two thouſand troops from the important fortreſs of Figueras in Spain, to the defence of their own coaſt. The conduct of Lieutenants Mapleton, Johnſon, and Hore, deſerves my beſt praiſe, as well as that of the other officers, royal marines, and ſeamen.

"I have, &c.

"COCHRANE."

Imperieuſe, none killed; none wounded; one ſinged blowing up a battery.—French, one commanding officer of troops killed; how many others unknown.

His Majeſty's ſhip Kent, off Genoa, Auguſt 2.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to acquaint you, that yeſterday, running along the coaſt from Genoa towards Cape del Melle, we diſcovered a convoy of ten ſail of coaſters deeply laden, under the protection of a gun-boat, at anchor cloſe to the beach abreaſt of the town of Noli; and as there appeared a fair proſpect of bringing them out by a prompt attack, before the enemy had time to collect his force, I inſtantly determined to ſend in the boats of the Kent and Wizard; and as there was but little wind, I directed Captain Ferris of the Wizard, to tow in and cover the boats, which immediately put off, and, by great exertion, ſoon towed her cloſe to the veſſels, when it was found impoſſible to bring them out without landing, moſt of them being faſtened to the ſhore by ropes from their keels and maſt-heads. The boats therefore pulled to the beach with great reſolution, expoſed to the fire of two guns in the bow of the gun-boat, two field pieces placed in a grove which flanked the beach, a heavy gun in front of the town, and a continued fire of muſketry from the houſes; but theſe were no check to the ardour and intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen and marines, who leaped from the boats, and ruſhed upon the enemy with a fearleſs zeal that was not to be reſiſted. The gun in front of the town was ſoon taken and ſpiked by Lieutenant Chaſman, ſecond of the Kent, who commanded the ſeamen, and Lieutenant Hanlon, the royal marines; and the enemy, who had drawn up a conſiderable force of regular troops in the grove, to defend the two field-pieces, was diſlodged by Captain Rea, who commanded the royal marines, and Lieutenant Grant of that corps who took poſſeſſion of the field-pieces, and brought them off. In the mean time, Lieutenants Lindſay and Moreſby, of the Kent, and Lieutenant Biſſet, of the Wizard, who had equally diſtinguiſhed themſelves in driving the enemy from the beach, were actively employed in taking poſſeſſion of the gun-boat, and freeing the veſſels from their faſts to the ſhore; and I had ſoon the ſatisfaction to ſee our people embark, and the whole of the veſſels coming out under the protecting fire of the Wizard, which, by the judicious conduct of Captain Ferris, contributed very eſſentially to keep the enemy in check, both in the advance and re-

treat

treat of the boats. I ſhould have pleaſure in noticing the midſhipmen and others who were conſpicuous in this little enterpriſe; but I fear that I have already given a longer detail than it may be thought worthy of, and ſhall therefore only beg leave to add, that one ſeaman killed, and one badly wounded (ſince dead), both of the Kent, is all the loſs we ſuſtained. The enemy left many dead on the ground. The gun-boat was a national veſſel, called La Vigilante, commanded by an Enſeigne de Vaiſſeau, with a complement of forty-five men. THOMAS ROGERS.

P. S. Since writing the above, the boats of the Kent and Wizard have brought out, without miſchief, from under the guns of a fort near Leghorn, where they had taken ſhelter, three laden veſſels, and burnt a fourth, which was aground, and could not be got off.

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 10.

Diſpatches, from which the following are extracts, were on the 8th inſt. received from Lieutenant-General Sir J. Moore, K. B. commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces employed in Spain.

"*Benevente, Dec.* 28, 1808.

"Sir,

Since I had the honour to addreſs you upon the 16th, from Toro, the army has been almoſt conſtantly marching through ſnow, and with cold that has been very intenſe. The weather, within theſe few days, has turned to rain, which is much more uncomfortable than the cold, and has rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable. On the 21ſt the army reached Sahagun; it was neceſſary to halt there in order to refreſh the men, and on account of proviſions. The information I received was, that Marſhal Soult was at Saldana with about 16,000 men, with poſts along the river from Guarda to Carrion. The army was ordered to march in two columns at eight o'clock on the night of the 23d, to force the bridge at Carrion, and from thence proceed to Saldana. At ſix that evening I received information that conſiderable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia, and a letter from the Marquis de la Romana informed me that the French were advancing from Madrid, either to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was evident that it was too late to proſecute the attempt upon Soult; that I muſt be ſatisfied with the diverſion I had occaſioned; and that I had no time to loſe to ſecure my retreat. The next morning, Lieutenant-General Hope, with his own diviſion and that of Lieutenant-General Fraſer, marched to Majorga. I ſent Sir D. Baird, with his diviſion, to paſs the river at Valmira; and followed Lieutenant-General Hope on the 25th, with the reſerve and the light brigades, by Majorga, and Valderas, to Benevente. The cavalry under Lord Paget followed the reſerve on the 26th: both the latter corps entered this place yeſterday. We continue our march on Aſtorga. Generals Hope and Fraſer are already gone on; Sir D. Baird proceeds to-morrow from Valencia; and I ſhall leave this with the reſerve at the ſame time. Lord Paget will remain with the cavalry, to give us notice of the approach of the enemy. Hitherto their infantry have not come

up, but they are near, and the cavalry is round us in great numbers. They are checked by our cavalry, which have obtained, by their ſpirit and enterpriſe, an aſcendancy over that of the French, which nothing but great ſuperiority of numbers on their part will get the better of. The diverſion made by our march on Sahagun, though at great riſk to ourſelves, has been complete. It remains to be ſeen what advantage the Spaniards in the ſouth will be able to take of it; but the march of the French on Badajos was ſtopped, when its advanced guard had reached Talaveira de la Reina; and every thing diſpoſeable is now turned in this direction. The only part of the army which has been hitherto engaged with the enemy has been the cavalry; and it is impoſſible for me to ſay too much in their praiſe. I mentioned to your lordſhip, in my letter of the 16th, the ſucceſs Brigadier-General Stewart had met with in defeating a detachment of cavalry at Rueda. Since that, few days have paſſed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally ſuperior in force to thoſe who attacked them. On their march to Sahagun, Lord Paget had information of 6 or 700 cavalry being in that town. He marched, on the night of the 20th, from ſome villages, where he was poſted in front of the enemy of Majorga, with the 10th and 15th huſſars. The 10th marched ſtraight to the town, whilſt Lord Paget, with the 15th, endeavoured to turn it: unfortunately he fell in with a patrol, one of whom eſcaped, and gave the alarm. By this means the French had time to form on the outſide of the town, before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them; beat them, and took from 140 to 150 priſoners, amongſt whom were two lieutenant-colonels and eleven officers, with the loſs on our part of ſix or eight men, and perhaps twenty wounded. There have been taken by the cavalry from 4 to 500 French, beſides a conſiderable number killed; this ſince we began our march from Salamanca. On his march from Sahagun, on the 20th, Lord Paget, with two ſquadrons of the 10th, attacked a detachment of cavalry at Majorga, killed twenty, and took above 100 priſoners. Our cavalry is very ſuperior in quality to any the French have; and the right ſpirit has been infuſed into them by the example and inſtruction of their two leaders, Lord Paget and Brigadier-General Stewart."

"*Aſtorga, Dec.* 31, 1808.

"Sir,

"I arrived here yeſterday. Major-General Fraſer, with his diviſion, will be at Villa Franca this day, and will proceed on to Lugo. Lieutenant-General Hope, with his diviſion, ſtopped yeſterday two leagues from this, and proceeds this morning, followed by Sir D. Baird. The two flank brigades go by the road of Penferada. I ſhall follow, with the reſerve and cavalry, to Villa Franca, either this night or to-morrow morning, according as I hear the approach of the French. The morning I marched from Benevente, ſeven ſquadrons of Bonaparte's guards paſſed the river, at a ford above the bridge. They were attacked by Brigadier-

Brigadier-General Stewart, at the head of the piquets of the 18th and 3d German light dragoons, and driven acroſs the ford. Their colonel, a general of diviſion, Lefebre, was taken, together with about ſeventy officers and men. The affair was well conteſted. The numbers with which Brigadier-General Stewart attacked were inferior to the French: it is the corps of the greateſt character in their army; but the ſuperiority of the Britiſh was, I am told, very conſpicuous. I incloſe, for your lordſhip's ſatisfaction, Lord Paget's report of it."

"*Benevente, Dec.* 29, 1808.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you, that about nine this morning I received a report that the enemy's cavalry was in the act of croſſing the river at the ford near the bridge. I immediately ſent down the piquets of the night, under Lieutenant-Colonel Otway, of the 18th. Having left orders that the cavalry ſhould repair to their alarm-poſts, I went forward to reconnoitre, and found four ſquadrons of imperial guards formed, and ſkirmiſhing with the piquets and other cavalry in the act of paſſing. I ſent for the 10th huſſars; who having arrived, Brigadier-General Stewart immediately placed himſelf at the head of the piquets, and with the utmoſt gallantry attacked. The 10th huſſars ſupported in the moſt perfect order. The reſult of the affair, as far as I have yet been able to collect, is about thirty killed, twenty-five wounded, ſeventy priſoners, and about the ſame number of horſes. It is impoſſible for me to avoid ſpeaking in the higheſt terms of all thoſe engaged. Lieutenant-Colonel Otway and Major Bagwell headed the reſpective night piquets: the latter is ſlightly wounded. The utmoſt zeal was conſpicuous in the whole of my ſtaff; and I had many volunteers from head-quarters and other officers of your army. Amongſt the priſoners is the general of diviſion Lefebre (who commanded the cavalry of the imperial guard), and two captains. Our loſs is, I fear, nearly fifty men killed and wounded. I will ſend a return the moment I can collect the reports.

"PAGET, Lieut.-Gen."

The following extract from the laſt letter of General Sir John Moore has been printed, in purſuance of the order of the Houſe of Commons:

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, to Viſcount Caſtlereagh, dated Corunna, Jan. 13, 1809.

"Situated as the army is at preſent, it is impoſſible for me to detail to your lordſhip the events which have taken place ſince I had the honour to addreſs you from Aſtorga, on the 31ſt of December: I have therefore determined to ſend to England Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, as the officer beſt qualified to give you every information you can want, both with reſpect to our actual ſituation and the events which have led to it. Your lordſhip knows, that had I followed my own opinion, as a military man, I ſhould have retired with the army from Salamanca. The Spaniſh armies were then beaten; there was no Spaniſh

force to which we could unite, and I was ſatisfied that no efforts would be made to aid us, or to favour the cauſe in which they were engaged. I was ſenſible, however, that the apathy and indifference of the Spaniards would never have been believed; that had the Britiſh been withdrawn, the loſs of the cauſe would have been imputed to their retreat, and it was neceſſary to riſk this army to convince the people of England, as well as the reſt of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themſelves. It was for this reaſon that I made the march to Sahagun. As a diverſion it ſucceeded; I brought the whole diſpoſeable force of the French againſt this army, and it has been allowed to follow me, without a ſingle movement being made to favour my retreat. The people of the Gallicias, though armed, made no attempt to ſtop the paſſage of the French through the mountains. They abandoned their dwellings at our approach, drove away their carts, oxen, and every thing that could be of the ſmalleſt aid to the army. The conſequence has been, that our ſick have been left behind; and when our horſes or mules failed, which on ſuch marches, and through ſuch a country, was the caſe to a great extent, baggage, ammunition, ſtores, &c. and even money, were neceſſarily deſtroyed or abandoned. I am ſorry to ſay, that the army, whoſe conduct I had ſuch reaſon to extol on its march through Portugal, and on its arrival in Spain, has totally changed its character ſince it began to retreat. I can ſay nothing in its favour, but that when there was a proſpect of fighting the enemy, the men were then orderly, and ſeemed pleaſed and determined to do their duty. In front of Villa Franca the French came up with the reſerve, with which I was covering the retreat of the army; they attacked it at Cacabellos. I retired, covered by the 95th regiment, and marched that night to Herreſias, and from thence to Nogales and Lugo, where I had ordered the different diviſions which preceded to halt and collect. At Lugo, the French again came up with us. They attacked our advanced poſts on the 6th and 7th, and were repulſed in both attempts, with little loſs on our ſide. I heard from the priſoners taken, that three diviſions of the French army were come up, commanded by Marſhal Soult; I therefore expected to be attacked on the morning of the 8th. It was my wiſh to come to that iſſue; I had perfect confidence in the valour of the troops, and it was only by crippling the enemy that we could hope either to retreat or to embark unmoleſted. I made every preparation to receive the attack, and drew out the army in the morning to offer battle. This was not Marſhal Soult's object. He either did not think himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, or he wiſhed to play a ſurer game, by attacking us on our march, or during our embarkation. The country was interſected, and his poſition too ſtrong for me to attack with an inferior force. The want of proviſions would not enable me to wait longer; I marched that night; and in two forced marches, by advancing for ſix or eight hours in the rain, I reached Betanzos on the 10th inſtant. At Lugo, I was

ſenſible

ſenſible of the impoſſibility of reaching Vigo, which was at too great a diſtance, and offered no advantages to embark in the face of an enemy. My intention was then to have retreated to the peninſula of Betanzos, where I hoped to find a poſition to cover the embarkation of the army in Ares or Redes Bays; but having ſent an officer to reconnoitre it, by his report I was determined to prefer this place. I gave notice to the admiral of my intention, and begged that the tranſports might be brought to Corunna; had I found them here on my arrival, on the 11th, the embarkation would eaſily have been effected, for I had gained ſeveral marches on the French. They have now come up with us, the tranſports are not arrived; my poſition in front of this place is a very bad one; and this place, if I am forced to retire into it, is commanded within muſquet ſhot, and the harbour will be ſo commanded by cannon on the coaſt, that no ſhip will be able to lay in it. In ſhort, my lord, General Stewart will inform you how critical our ſituation is. It has been recommended to me to make a propoſal to the enemy, to induce him to allow us to embark quietly; in which caſe he gets us out of the country ſoon, and this place, with its ſtores, &c. complete; that otherwiſe we have the power to make a long defence, which muſt cauſe the deſtruction of the town. I am averſe to make any ſuch propoſal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect; but whatever I reſolve on this head, I hope your lordſhip will reſt aſſured, that I ſhall accept no terms that are in the leaſt diſhonourable to the army or the country. I find that I have been led into greater length, and more detail, than I thought I ſhould have had time for; I have written under interruptions, and my mind much occupied with other matters. My letter, written ſo careleſsly, can only be conſidered as private. When I have more leiſure, I ſhall write more correctly; in the mean time, I rely on General Stewart for giving your lordſhip the information and detail which I have omitted. I ſhould regret his abſence, for his ſervices have been very diſtinguiſhed; but the ſtate of his eyes makes it impoſſible for him to ſerve, and this country is not one in which cavalry can be of much uſe. If I ſucceed in embarking the army, I ſhall ſend it to England; it is quite unfit for further ſervice until it has been refitted, which can beſt be done there.

"JOHN MOORE."

London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 24, 1809.

The Honourable Captain Hope arrived late laſt night with a diſpatch from Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird to Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, of which the following is a copy:

His Majeſty's ſhip Ville de Paris, at ſea, Jan. 18, 1809.

"My Lord,

"By the much-lamented death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who fell in action with the enemy on the 16th inſtant, it has become my duty to acquaint your lordſhip, that the French army attacked the Britiſh troops in the

position they occupied in front of Corunna, at about two o'clock in the afternoon of that day. A severe wound, which compelled me to quit the field a short time previous to the fall of Sir John Moore, obliges me to refer your lordship for the particulars of the action, which was long and obstinately contested, to the inclosed report of Lieutenant-General Hope, who succeeded to the command of the army, and to whose ability and exertions in direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his Majesty's troops, is to be attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy at every point of attack. The Honourable Captain Gordon, my aid-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and will be able to give your lordship any further information which may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. Baird, Lieut.-Gen.

His Majesty's ship Audacious, off Corunna, Jan. 18, 1809.

"Sir,

"In compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first moment I have been able to command, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna, on the 16th instant. It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy, who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front. This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the rapid and determined attack which he made upon your division, which occupied the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces, and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieut.-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able dispositions, fell by a cannon shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps)

corps) and first battalion 52d regiments, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our piquets, which, however, in general, maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the second battalion 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls; before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and a fire from his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the piquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations. Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who, from his number and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in departing from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late commander of the forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th, for the purpose of embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The piquets remained at their posts until five in the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar order, and without the enemy having discovered the movement. By the unremitted exertions of Captains the Honourable H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrett, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the royal navy, who, in pursuance of the orders of Rear Admiral de Courcy, were entrusted with the service of embarking the

army; and in conſequence of the arrangements made by Commiſſioner Bowen, Captains Bowen and Shepherd, and the other agents for tranſports, the whole of the army was embarked with an expedition which has ſeldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were deſtined to remain on ſhore, until the movements of the enemy ſhould become manifeſt, the whole was afloat before day light. The brigade of Major-General Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major-General Hill was ſtationed in reſerve on the promontory in rear of the town. The enemy puſhed his light troops towards the town ſoon after eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th, and ſhortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour. But notwithſtanding this circumſtance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehenſion that the rear guard could be forced, and the diſpoſition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by three in the afternoon; Major-General Beresford, with that zeal and ability which is ſo well known to yourſelf and the whole army, having fully explained, to the ſatisfaction of the Spaniſh governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town ſoon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previouſly removed, embarked before one this morning. Circumſtances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleaſed Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any brilliant conſequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loſs of one of our beſt ſoldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and haraſſing ſervice. The ſuperior numbers, and advantageous poſition of the enemy, not leſs than the actual ſituation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from ſucceſs. It muſt be however to you, to the army, and to our country, the ſweeteſt reflection, that the luſtre of the Britiſh arms has been maintained, amidſt many diſadvantageous circumſtances. The army which had entered Spain, amidſt the faireſt proſpects, had no ſooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied diſaſters that diſperſed the native armies around us, it was left to its own reſources. The advance of the Britiſh corps from the Douro, afforded the beſt hope that the ſouth of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to ſave the unfortunate people, alſo afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal reſources, for the deſtruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain. You are well aware with what diligence this ſyſtem has been purſued. Theſe circumſtances produced the neceſſity of rapid and haraſſing marches, which had diminiſhed the numbers, exhauſted the ſtrength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, and thoſe more immediately attached to a defenſive poſition, which

which the imperious neceſſity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered indiſpenſable to aſſume, the native and undaunted valour of Britiſh troops was never more conſpicuous, and muſt have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, ſo inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity ſeemed to vie in improving it, it is difficult for me in making this report, to ſelect particular inſtances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under Major-Generals Lord William Bentinck, and Manningham, and Leith: and the brigade of guards under Major-General Warde. To theſe officers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greateſt praiſe is due. Major-General Hill and Colonel Catlin Crawford, with their brigades on the left of the poſition, ably ſupported their advanced poſts. The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and 81ſt regiments, with parts of the brigade of guards, and the 26th regiment. From Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, quarter-maſter-general, and the officers of the general ſtaff, I received the moſt marked aſſiſtance. I had reaſon to regret, that the illneſs of Brigadier-General Clinton, adjutant-general, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to Brigadier-General Slade during the action, for a zealous offer of his perſonal ſervices, although the cavalry were embarked. The greater part of the fleet having gone to ſea, yeſterday evening, the whole being under weigh, and the corps in the embarkation neceſſarily much mixed on board, it is impoſſible, at preſent, to lay before you a return of our caſualties. I hope the loſs in numbers is not ſo conſiderable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an eſtimate, I ſhould ſay, that I believe it did not exceed in killed and wounded from ſeven to eight hundred; that of the enemy muſt remain unknown, but many circumſtances induce me to rate it at nearly double the above number. We have ſome priſoners, but I have not been able to obtain an account of the number; it is not, however, conſiderable. Several officers of rank have fallen, or been wounded, among whom I am only at preſent enabled to ſtate the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, 92d regiment, Majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Winch, 4th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, 26th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Fane, 59th regiment, Lieutenant-Col. Griffith, guards, Majors Miller and Williams, 81ſt regiment, wounded. To you who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loſs the army and his country have ſuſtained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had ſincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I muſt lament the blow. It will be the conſolation of every one who loved or reſpected his manly character, that, after conducting the army through an arduous retreat with conſummate firmneſs, he has terminated a career of diſtinguiſhed honour by a death that has given

the

the enemy additional reaſon to reſpect the name of a Britiſh ſoldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is ſnatched from his country at an early period of a life ſpent in her ſervice: like Wolfe, his laſt moments were gilded by the proſpect of ſucceſs, and cheered by acclamations of victory; like Wolfe, alſo, his memory will for ever remain ſacred in that country which he ſincerely loved, and which he had ſo faithfully ſerved. It remains for me only to expreſs my hope, that you will ſpeedily be reſtored to the ſervice of your country, and to lament the unfortunate circumſtance that removed you from your ſtation in the field, and threw the momentary command into far leſs able hands.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN HOPE, Lieut.-Gen."

To Lieut.-Gen. Sir D. Baird, &c. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Admiralty Office, April 21.

Sir Harry Neale, Bart. firſt captain to Admiral Lord Gambier, commander-in-chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels employed in the Channel Soundings, &c arrived here this morning with a diſpatch from his lordſhip to the Hon. William Welleſley Pole, of which the following is a copy:

"*Caledonia, at anchor in Baſque Roads.*

"Sir, *April* 14, 1809.

"The Almighty's favour to his Majeſty and the nation has been ſtrongly marked in the ſucceſs he has been pleaſed to give to the operations of his Majeſty's fleet under my command; and I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that the four ſhips of the enemy, named in the margin *, have been deſtroyed at their anchorage; and ſeveral others, from getting on ſhore, if not rendered altogether unſerviceable, are at leaſt diſabled for a conſiderable time.

"The arrangement of the fire-veſſels, placed under the direction of the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, was made as fully as the ſtate of the weather would admit, according to his lordſhip's plan on the evening of the 11th inſtant, and at eight o'clock on the ſame night, they proceeded to the attack, under a favourable ſtrong wind from the northward, and flood-tide, (preceded by ſome veſſels filled with powder and ſhells, as propoſed by his lordſhip, with a view to exploſion,) and led on in the moſt undaunted and determined manner by Captain Wooldridge, in the Mediator fire-ſhip, the others following in ſucceſſion; but owing to the darkneſs of the night, ſeveral miſtook their courſe, and failed.

"On their approach to the enemy's ſhips, it was diſcovered that a boom was placed in front of their line for a defence. This, however, the weight of the Mediator ſoon broke, and the uſual intrepidity and bravery of Britiſh ſeamen overcame all difficulties. Advancing under a heavy fire from the forts in the Iſle of Aix, as well as from the enemy's ſhips,

"* Ville de Varſovie, of 80 guns; Tonnerre, of 74 guns; Aquilon, of 74 guns; and Calcutta, of 56 guns."

moſt

moſt of which cut or ſplit their cables, and from the confined anchorage, got on ſhore, and thus avoided taking fire.

"At day light the following morning, Lord Cochrane communicated to me by telegraph, that ſeven of the enemy's ſhips were on ſhore, and might be deſtroyed. I immediately made the ſignal for the fleet to unmoor and weigh, intending to proceed with it to effect their deſtruction. The wind, however, being freſh from the northward, and the flood-tide running, rendered it too hazardous to run into Aix Road (from its ſhallow waters), I therefore anchored again at the diſtance of about three miles from the forts on the iſland.

"As the tide ſuited, the enemy evinced great activity in endeavouring to warp their ſhips (which had grounded) into deep water, and ſucceeded in getting all but five of the line towards the entrance of the Charente before it became practicable to attack them.

"I gave orders to Captain Bligh, of the Valiant, to proceed with that ſhip, the Revenge, frigates, bombs, and ſmall veſſels, named in the margin *, to anchor near the Boyart Shoal, in readineſs for the attack. At twenty minutes paſt two P. M. Lord Cochrane advanced in the Imperieuſe, with his accuſtomed gallantry and ſpirit, and opened a well directed fire upon the Calcutta, which ſtruck her colours to the Imperieuſe; the ſhips and veſſels above mentioned ſoon after joined in the attack upon the Ville de Varſovie and Aquilon, and obliged them, before five o'clock, after ſuſtaining a heavy cannonade, to ſtrike their colours, when they were taken poſſeſſion of by the boats of the advanced ſquadron. As ſoon as the priſoners were removed, they were ſet on fire, as was alſo the Tonnerre, a ſhort time after by the enemy.

"I afterwards detached Rear-Admiral the Hon. Robert Stopford, in the Cæſar, with the Theſeus, three additional fire-ſhips, (which were haſtily prepared in the courſe of the day) and all the boats of the fleet, with Mr. Congreve's rockets, to conduct the further operations of the night againſt any of the ſhips which lay expoſed to an attack. On the morning of the 13th, the Rear-Admiral reported to me, that as the Cæſar and other line-of-battle ſhips had grounded, and were in a dangerous ſituation, he thought it adviſable to order them all out, particularly as the remaining part of the ſervice could be performed by frigates and ſmall veſſels only: and I was happy to find that they were extricated from their perilous ſituation.

"Captain Bligh has ſince informed me, that it was found impracticable to deſtroy the three-decked ſhip, and the others which were lying near the entrance of the Charente, as the former, being the outer one, was protected by three lines of boats placed in advance from her.

"This ſhip and all the others, except four of the line and a frigate, had now moved up the river

"* Indefatigable, Aigle, Emerald, Pallas, Beagle, Ætna bomb, Inſolent gunbrig, Conflict, Encounter, Fervent, and Growler."

Charente

Charente. If any further attempt to deſtroy them is practicable, I ſhall not fail to uſe every means in my power to accompliſh it.

"I have great ſatisfaction in ſtating to their lordſhips how much I feel obliged to the zealous co-operation of Rear-Admiral Stopford, under whoſe arrangement the boats of the fleet were paſſed; and I muſt alſo expreſs to their lordſhips, the high ſenſe I have of the aſſiſtance I received from the abilities and unremitted attention of Sir Harry Neale, Bart. the captain of the fleet, as well as of the animated exertions of the captains, officers, ſeamen, and marines under my command, and their forwardneſs to volunteer upon any ſervice that might be allotted to them; particularly the zeal and activity ſhewn by captains of line-of-battle ſhips in preparing the fire-veſſels.

[Lord Gambier then ſpeaks in terms of high commendation of the gallantry of Lord Cochrane; of Captain Godfrey of the Ætna, who bombarded the enemy's ſhips on the 12th and 13th; and of the ſervices of Mr. Congreve in the management of his rockets, which were placed in the fire-ſhips with effect. He alſo notices the handſome and earneſt manner in which Rear-Admiral Stopford and Sir H. Neale volunteered their ſervices to lead the fire-ſhips previouſly to the arrival of Lord Cochrane.]

"I ſend herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of the fleet, which I am happy to obſerve, is comparatively ſmall. I have not yet received the returns of the number of priſoners taken, but I conceive they amount to between 4 and 500.

"I have charged Sir Harry Neale with this diſpatch (by the Imperieuſe) and I beg leave to refer their lordſhips to him, as alſo to Lord Cochrane, for any further particulars of which they may wiſh to be informed.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "GAMBIER."

"*15th April.*

"P. S. This morning three of the enemy's line-of-battle ſhips are obſerved to be ſtill on ſhore under Fouras, and one of them is in a dangerous ſituation. One of their frigates (L'Indienne) alſo on ſhore, has fallen over, and they are now diſmantling her. As the tides will take off in a day or two, there is every probability that ſhe will be deſtroyed.

"Since writing the foregoing, I have learned that the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane, (Lord Cochrane's brother) and Lieutenant Biſſett, of the navy, were volunteers in the Imperieuſe, and rendered themſelves extremely uſeful; the former by commanding ſome of her guns on the main deck, and the latter in conducting one of the exploſion veſſels.

"*Names of the ſhips in Aix Roads, previous to the attack on the 11th of April*, 1809.

"L'Ocean, 120 guns, Vice-Admiral Allemande, Captain Roland.—Repaired in 1806; on ſhore under Fouras.

"Foudroyant, 80 guns, Rear-Admiral Gourdon, Captain Henri.—Five years old; on ſhore under Fouras.

"Caſſard,

"Caſſard, 74 guns, Captain Faure, commodore.—Three years old; on ſhore under Fouras.

"Tourville, 74 guns, Captain La Caille.—Old; on ſhore in the river.

"Regulus, 74 guns, Captain Lucas.—Five years old; on ſhore under Madame.

"Patriot, 74 guns, Captain Mahee.—Repaired in 1803.

"Jemappe, 74 guns, Captain Fouvan.—On ſhore unde Madame.

"Tonnerre, 74 guns, Captain Clement de la Roucierre.—Nine months old, never at ſea.

"Aquilon, 74 guns, Captain Maingon.—Old.

"Ville de Varſovie, 80 guns, Captain ——.

"Calcutta, 56 guns, Captain La Tonie.—Loaded with flour and military ſtores.

"*Frigates.*—Indienne, Captain Proteau.—On ſhore near Iſle d'Enet, on her beam ends.

"Elbe, Captain Perengier.

"Pallas, Captain Le Bigot.

"Hortenſe, Captain Allgand.

"N. B. One of the three laſt frigates on ſhore under Iſle Madame.

Return of officers, ſeamen, and marines, killed, wounded, and miſſing.

"Two officers, 8 men killed; 9 officers, 26 men wounded, a man miſſing. Total 46.

"GAMBIER."

A Letter from a Lieutenant of Marines in Baſque Roads.

"Our fire-ſhips arrived the 10th inſtant, and were ſent in the next night, each ſhip conducted by a lieutenant and five men; the ſhips were ſixteen in number, and ſome very heavy ſhips; when they got in, the French ſhips cut and ſlipped, and nine ſail of the line got on ſhore on the Iſle of Aix, and the next morning we diſcovered them; the fire-ſhips having done little good, the ſmall craft and frigates were ordered in to attempt to deſtroy them. The place where they lay was like their being in Portſmouth harbour, under the fire of two batteries, each of which had three tier of guns of twenty-nine each, all heavy metal: the navigation to get at them was very difficult, in ſome places there being only four fathoms water. Juſt as we were ſitting down to dinner, on board the Revenge, our ſignal was made to go in and aſſiſt the gun and mortar veſſels; our ſhip was clear for action in fifteen minutes, and in half an hour we were alongſide of three ſail of the line, when we opened a dreadful cannonade on them, which continued for an hour and a quarter, when the Warſaw, a fine eighty gun-ſhip, and the Aquilon, ſtruck to us; we were now in a very critical ſituation ourſelves, being in only five fathoms water, which was ebbing very faſt; the batteries on ſhore having got our length, ſtruck us almoſt every ſhot for the laſt quarter of an hour; luckily a breeze ſpringing up we got off into deeper water, and out of reach of their guns, when we anchored again, and ſent our boats and took out the priſoners, and ſet them on fire about ſeven P. M. At nine they were all in flames, and at two in the morning they blew up with a tremendous

tremendous explosion; the French set fire to the Tonnerre, and the Imperieuse to the Calcutta; three other ships of the line are on shore very much mauled by the frigates and bomb-ships, some of them are on their beam-ends, and but little chance of their getting off again. The captain of the Warsaw is on board our ship: he says, they were bound out to relieve Martinique with troops and provisions. I went on board his ship after she struck, and the decks were strewed with dead and wounded; a most dreadful slaughter. We also lost several killed and wounded, and our ship is much cut up in sails and rigging, which makes it probable that we shall be sent in to refit."

The singular coincidence of favourable occurrences which led to the destruction of the ships in the Basque-roads, is unknown to the British public, and deserves notice. The trite adage, that "fortune favours the brave," was never more fully verified than in the present instance; and the reasons for the maxim, though obvious, is in fact founded in nature: for the brave, the energetic, the active, (such as are British seamen) are always in a state of readiness and preparation to take advantage of any desirable turn of fortune that may offer, and may so far be said to be "favoured by fortune." We have been given to understand, then, and from as good information as can be had in such a case, that it was at first the intention of the enemy's fleet to attack the little squadron which was stationed off Rochefort harbour, when a signal was made from the French shore, without specifying the number, of another enemy's fleet.

This induced Admiral Willaumez rather to seek for safety than attempt conquest, and to desist from the pursuit of that little squadron, which when, after his entrance into the harbour, he had discovered to be joined by only three ships, he would have undoubtedly attacked with his eleven, had he not been prevented by the dread of being intercepted by Lord Gambier's fleet. After this we became the assailants, and were again favoured by great good luck; for if the Mediator, contrary to the plan prescribed at home, had not been fitted up as a fire-ship, the boom could not have been broken by fire-ships of the usual weight, and two other booms would have been shortly placed. Nor is this all; it appears, that owing to some derangement of the other vessels, the brave Lord Cochrane hailed Captain Woolridge, of the Mediator, to slacken sail, but was luckily unheard; for if the *impetus* of that vessel had been checked, the boom could not have broken.

All these fortunate occurrences were necessary to produce the happy result. Admiral Willaumez is, we understand, ordered to Paris to be tried for his conduct.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
Downing-street, May 24.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was received this Evening from Lieutenant-General the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

"*Oporto,*

"*Oporto, May* 12, 1809.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour to apprize your lordſhip, on the 7th inſt. that I intended that the army ſhould march on the 9th from Coimbra, to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of Oporto.

"The advanced guard and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th, to afford time for Marſhal Beresford with his corps to arrive upon the Upper Douro.

"The infantry of the army was formed into three diviſions for this expedition, of which two, the advanced guard, conſiſting of the Hanoverian legion, and Brigadier-General R. Stewart's brigade, with a brigade of ſix-pounders, and a brigade of three-pounders, under Lieutenant-General Paget, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Payne, and the brigade of guards; Brigadier-General Campbell's and Brigadier-General —— brigades of infantry, with a brigade of ſix-pounders, under Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto, and one compoſed of Major-General Hill's and Brigadier-General Cameron's brigades of infantry, and a brigade of ſix-pounders, under the command of Major-General Hill, by the road from Coimbra to Aveiro.

"On the 10th in the morning, before day-light, the cavalry and advanced guard croſſed the Vouga, with the intention to ſurprize and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in Albergaria Nova and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river, in the laſt of which we failed; but the ſuperiority of the Britiſh cavalry was evident throughout the day; we took ſome priſoners and their cannon from them; and the advanced guard took up the poſition of Oliviera.

"On the ſame day Major-General Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro on the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right; and the head of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's diviſion paſſed the Vouga on the ſame evening.

"On the 11th, the advanced guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with Major-General Hill's diviſion in a parallel road, which leads to Oporto from Ovar.

"On the arrival of the advanced guard at Vendas Novas, between Sonto Redondo and Grijon, they fell in with the outpoſts of the enemy's advanced guard, conſiſting of about four thouſand infantry, and ſome ſquadrons of cavalry, ſtrongly poſted on the heights above Grijon, their front being covered by woods and broken ground. The enemy's left flank was turned by a movement well executed by Major-General Murray, with Brigadier-General Langworth's brigade of the Hanoverian legion; while the 16th Portugueſe regiment of Brigadier-General Richard Stewart's brigade attacked their right, and the riflemen of the 95th, and the flank companies of the 29th, 43d, and 52d of the ſame brigade, under Major Way, attacked the infantry in the woods and villages in their centre.

"Theſe attacks ſoon obliged the enemy to give way; and the Hon. Brigadier-General Charles Stewart led two ſquadrons of the 16th and 20th dragoons, under the command

command of Major Blake, in purſuit of the enemy, and deſtroyed many, and took many priſoners.

" On the night of the 11th, the enemy croſſed the Douro, and deſtroyed the bridge over that river.

" It was important, with a view to the operations of Marſhal Beresford, that I ſhould croſs the Douro immediately; and I had ſent Major-General Murray in the morning with a battalion of the Hanoverian legion, a ſquadron of cavalry, and two ſix-pounders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if poſſible, to croſs the river at Ovintas, about four miles above Oporto; and I had as many boats as could be collected brought to the ferry, immediately above the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova.

" The ground on the right bank of the river at this ferry is protected and commanded by the fire of cannon, placed on the height of the Sierra Convent at Villa Nova, and there appeared to be a good poſition for our troops on the oppoſite ſide of the river, till they ſhould be collected in ſufficient numbers.

" The enemy took no notice of our collection of boats, or of the embarkation of the troops, till after the firſt battalion (the Buffs) were landed, and had taken up their poſition under the command of Lieutenant-General Paget on the oppoſite ſide of the river.

" They then commenced an attack upon them, with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marſhal Soult, which that corps moſt gallantly ſuſtained, till ſupported ſucceſſively by the 48th and 66th regiments, belonging to Major-General Hill's brigade, and a Portugueſe battalion, and afterwards by the firſt battalion of detachments belonging to Brigadier-General Richard Stewart's brigade.

" Lieutenant-General Paget was unfortunately wounded ſoon after the attack commenced, when the command of theſe gallant troops devolved upon Major-General Hill.

" Although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impreſſion, and at laſt Major-General Murray having appeared on the enemy's left flank on his march from Ovintas, where he had croſſed, and Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, who by this time had availed himſelf of the enemy's weakneſs in the town of Oporto, and had croſſed the Douro at the ferry, between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto, having appeared upon the right with the brigade of guards, and the 29th regiment, the whole retired in the utmoſt confuſion towards Amarante, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition tumbrils, and many priſoners.

" The enemy's loſs in killed and wounded in this action has been very large, and they have left behind them in Oporto 700 ſick and wounded.

" Brigadier-General the Honourable Charles Stewart then directed a charge by a ſquadron of the 14th dragoons, under the command of Major Hervey, who made a ſucceſsful attack on the enemy's rear guard.

" In the different actions with the enemy, of which I have above given your lordſhip an account, we have loſt ſome, and the immediate ſervices of other valuable officers and ſoldiers.

" In

"In Lieutenant-General Paget, among the latter, I have loſt the aſſiſtance of a friend, who had been moſt uſeful to me in the few days which had elapſed ſince he had joined the army. He had rendered a moſt important ſervice at the moment he received his wound, in taking up the poſition which the troops afterwards maintained, and in bearing the firſt brunt of the enemy's attack. Major Hervey alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the moment he received his wound, in the charge of the cavalry on this day. I cannot ſay too much in favour of the officers and troops. They have marched, in four days, over eighty miles of the moſt difficult country, have gained many important poſitions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops.

["Sir Arthur then recommends to the particular attention of his lordſhip, the ſervices of Lieutenant-General Paget, Major-Generals Murray and Hill, Brigadier-General C. Stewart, Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, Lieutenant-Colonel Delancy, and Captain Melliſh, of the 10th; and of Colonel Duckworth, Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, Major C. Campbell, Brigade-Major Fordyce, Captains Corry and Hill, on the 11th; as well as Majors Way, Blake, Murray, and Hervey; Quarter-maſter Colonel Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel Bathurſt, and all the officers of his perſonal ſtaff. The exemplary bravery of the Buffs, 48th, 66th, 29th, 43d, and 52d regiments, with the 16th and 20th light dragoons, are alſo mentioned in high terms of commendation.]

"I ſend this diſpatch by Capt. Stanhope, whom I beg to recommend to your lordſhip's protection; his brother, the Hon. Major Stanhope, was unfortunately wounded by a ſabre, whilſt leading a charge of the 16th light dragoons, on the 10th inſtant.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Supplement to the London Gazette of the 11th of July.

Account of the Battle fought near Aſpern, on the March-field, on the 21ſt and 22d Day of May, between the Archduke Charles of Auſtria, Generaliſſimo of the Imperial Auſtrian Armies, and the Emperor Napoleon, Commander in Chief of the French and Allied Armies.

The Emperor Napoleon having, after ſome ſanguinary engagements near Abenſberg, Hauſen, and Dinzligen, in which the fortune of war favoured the Auſtrian arms ſo as to force the French garriſon at Ratiſbon to ſurrender, ſucceeded in cutting off the left wing of the Auſtrian army, and driving it back to Landſhut, and afterwards in advancing by Eckmuhl, with a ſuperior corps of cavalry, taking the road of Egloffſheim, and forcing to retreat thoſe Auſtrian corps that were poſted on the heights of Leikepont and Talmeſſing, the Archduke, on the 23d of April, croſſed the Danube near Ratiſbon, and joined the corps of Bellegarde, who had opened the campaign by ſeveral ſucceſsful affairs in the Upper Palatinate, had reached Amberg, Neumarkt, and Hemau, and had by this time approached Stadt-am-Hof, in order to execute his immediate junction with the Archduke. The Emperor Napo-

leon ordered the bombardment of Ratiſbon, occupied by a few battalions who were to cover the paſſage of the Danube. On the 23d, in the evening, he became maſter of it, and immediately haſtened along the right bank of the Danube to enter the Auſtrian ſtates, in order, as he openly declared, to dictate peace at Vienna. The Auſtrian army had taken a poſition near Cham, behind the river Regen, which was watched by ſome of the enemy's diviſions, while the Emperor Napoleon called all his diſpoſable troops, in forced marches, from the north of Germany to the Danube, and conſiderably reinforced his army with the troops of Wurtemburg, Heſſia, Baden, and ſome time after with thoſe of Saxony. Near Kirn and Nittenau, ſome affairs had happened between the out-poſts, which, however, had no influence upon our armies. However eaſy it would have been for the Archduke to continue his offenſive operations on the left bank of the Danube, without any material reſiſtance, and however gratifying it might have been to relieve provinces which were groaning beneath the preſſure of foreign dominion, the preſervation of his native land did not permit him to ſuffer the enemy to riot with impunity in the entrails of the monarchy, to give up the rich ſources of its independence, and expoſe the welfare of the ſubject to the devaſtations of foreign conquerors. Theſe motives induced the Archduke to conduct his army to Bohemia, by the way of Klentſch and Neumarkt, to occupy the Bohemian foreſt with light troops and part of the militia, and to direct his march towards Budweis, where he arrived on the 3d of May, hoping to join near Lintz, his left wing, which had been ſeparated from him, and was under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron Hiller. But the latter had been ſo cloſely preſſed by the united force of the French armies, that after ſeveral ſpirited engagements, and even after a brilliant affair, in which he had the advantage, near Neumarkt, and in which the troops achieved all that was poſſible againſt the diſproportionate ſuperiority of the enemy, he indeed was able to reach Lintz, but was incapable of croſſing the Danube, and obliged to content himſelf with deſtroying the communication with the left bank, and taking up a poſition behind the Traun, near Eberſberg. This was the occaſion of an extremely murderous engagement, during which the enemy in ſtorming the bridge loſt near four thouſand men; Eberſberg was ſet on fire, and Lieutenant-General Hiller continued his retreat, till he got ſo much the ſtart as to paſs the Danube, near Stain, without being diſturbed by the enemy, and to wait the approach of the Archduke, who after having in vain attempted the junction of the army near Lintz, had marched from Budweis to Zwettel: ſtill hoping, by a quick paſſage of the Danube, to arreſt the enemy's progreſs towards the metropolis. Meanwhile a corps of Wurtembergers had advanced from Paſſau along both the ſhores of the Danube, had occupied Lintz and the bank oppoſite to it; had reſtored the bridge, and ſignalized itſelf by deſtroying the defenceleſs villages and caſtles which could not be protected by the ſmall advanced guard proceeding by the

ſide of the main army. The enemy, by marching through the valley of the Danube in the ſtraighteſt line, had got ſo much a-head, that all hopes of coming up with him in front of Vienna vaniſhed: ſtill, however, if that city had been able to hold out for five days, it might have been relieved; and the Archduke reſolved on venturing the utmoſt to reſcue that good city, which, by the excellent diſpoſition of its citizens, its faithful attachment to its ſovereign, and its noble devotion, has raiſed to itſelf an eternal monument in the annals of Auſtria. All his plans were now directed towards gaining the bridges acroſs the Danube near Vienna, and endeavouring to ſave the imperial reſidence by a combat under its very walls.

Vienna, formerly an important fortreſs, was in vain beſieged by the Turks, and would even now, from the ſolidity of its ramparts, the ſtrong profiles of its works, and the extenſive ſyſtem of its mines, be capable of making a protracted reſiſtance, had not, for upwards of a century back, the luxury of a large metropolis, the wants of eaſe, the conflux of all the magnates in the empire, and the pomp of a ſplendid court, totally effaced every conſideration of military defence. Palaces adorn the rampart; the caſements and ditches were converted into workſhops of tradeſmen, plantations mark the counterſcarps of the fortreſs, and avenues of trees traverſe the glacis, uniting the moſt beautiful ſuburbs in the world to the body of the place.

Although under ſuch circumſtances no obſtinate reſiſtance of the capital was to be expected, yet from the unexampled loyalty of the inhabitants, it was confidently hoped that Vienna might for a few days ſerve as a tête-de-pont to cover the paſſage of the river: whence all preparations amounted to no more than to ſecure the place againſt a coup-de-main; and for this reaſon the Archduke had ſome time before directed Field-marſhal Hiller to ſend part of his corps along the right bank towards the capital, in the event of his (the Archduke's) paſſage to the left ſhore.

Field-marſhal Hiller now received orders to burn the bridge near Stain in his rear, to leave a ſmall corps of obſervation near Krems, to haſten by forced marches with the bulk of his army to the environs of Vienna, and, as circumſtances would permit, by occupying the ſmall iſlands, to keep up the communication with the city and the debouchee acroſs the bridges.

The army of the Archduke now advanced without interruption, by Neupolla, Horn, and Weikendorf upon Stockerau; and, in order to overawe ſuch enterprizes as the enemy might project from the environs of Lintz, part of the corps of the general of artillery Count Kollowrath, which till then had remained near Pilſen, with a view to ſecure the north and weſt frontier of Bohemia, was ordered to march to Budweis. Napoleon had uſed ſo much expedition on his march to Vienna, that on the 9th of May his advanced troops appeared on the glacis of the fortreſs, whence they were driven by ſome cannon-ſhot. From three to four thouſand regular troops, as many armed citizens, and ſome battalions of country militia, defended the

city; ordnance of various calibre was placed on the ramparts; the ſuburbs were abandoned on account of their great extent; and the numerous iſlands and low buſhy ground behind the town were occupied by ſome light troops of the corps of Hiller, as well as by militia. The corps itſelf was poſted on what is termed "the Point," on the left ſhore of the river, waiting the arrival of the army, which was advancing in haſte.—The occupation of Vienna formed too eſſential a part in the extenſive plans of the French Emperor; its conqueſt had been announced by him with too much confidence, and was of too great importance towards confirming the prejudice of his irreſiſtible power, for him not to employ every method of taking it, before the aſſiſtance which was ſo near could arrive. For the ſpace of twenty-four hours, the howitzers played upon the town; and though ſeveral houſes were ſet on fire, the courage of the inhabitants remained unſhaken. But a general devaſtation threatened their valuable property; and when at length the enemy, availing himſelf of the numerous craft which he found there, croſſed the ſmaller branches of the Danube, diſlodged the troops from the neareſt iſlands, and menaced their communication with the left bank, the city was juſtified in capitulating, while the troops retreated by the great bridge of Tabor, which they afterwards ſet on fire.

The Archduke received this intelligence in head-quarters, between Horn and Meiſſau, and though it was ſcarcely to be expected that this city, ſurrounded as it was, ſhould continue its reſiſtance, the Archduke proceeded on his march without interruption, flattering himſelf that he might be able to execute his favourite project by a bold attempt to paſs the Danube near Vienna. This city capitulated on the 13th of May, ſo that there was no farther occaſion to expoſe the army to hazard by croſſing the Danube, for which no ſufficient preparation had been made, and which muſt have been effected in the face of the enemy, and under local circumſtances of the greateſt diſadvantage. By the ſurrender of Vienna, the army had alſo loſt a point of ſupport on which to reſt its military operations.

In this ſituation of affairs, the Archduke reſolved to collect his army at the foot of the hill Biſamberg, and allow it a few days of reſt, which, after ſo many forced marches, it urgently wanted. The cavalry, for the convenience of water, was poſted along the Ruſs, a ſmall rivulet, which is concealed by ground covered with buſhes; and the advanced guards puſhed forward to the Danube, in order to obſerve the movements of the enemy, and prevent his paſſing the river, which he had already attempted to do from Nuſsdorf, to what is called the Black Lake, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that a battalion of his advanced guard was taken. The chain of the outpoſts extended on the left ſide as far as the March, and on the right to Krems: this place and Preſburg were occupied by ſome battalions.

The head-quarters of the Archduke were, on the 16th of May, at Eberſdorf, near the high road leading to Brunn. On the 19th, the outpoſts reported that the enemy had

had taken poſſeſſion of the great iſland of Lobau, within about ſix Engliſh miles of Vienna; that his numbers increaſed there every hour, and that he ſeemed to be employed in throwing a bridge acroſs the great arm of the Danube behind the iſland. From the top of the Biſamberg, the whole of the oppoſite country appeared to be enveloped in a cloud of duſt, and the glitter of arms evinced a general movement of troops beyond Summering, towards Kaiſer-Eberſdorf, whither, according to later accounts, the Emperor Napoleon had removed his head-quarters, and was by his preſence haſtening and promoting the preparations for paſſing the river. On the following morning, at day-break, the Archduke reſolved to reconnoitre the iſland, and employed, for this purpoſe, part of the advanced guard, under the commmand of Field-marſhal Lieutenant Count Klenau, ſupported by ſome regiments of cavalry. The iſle of Lobau forms a convenient place of arms, which is about ſix Engliſh miles long, and four and a half broad, and being ſeparated by the large arm of the Danube from the right bank, nothing prevents the building of a bridge, which is concealed by ground covered with buſhes; and the great extent of the iſland affords the advantage of ſending troops and ordnance from ſo many points of it, that the paſſage acroſs the ſmaller arm to the large plain of Marchfield, may be made good by force of arms. It was ſoon perceived by the ſtrength of the enemy's columns which advanced upon the iſland, and placed their cannon ſo as to ſupport the ſecond paſſage, that he meditated a ſerious attack. The advanced guard ſuſtained a tolerably warm engagement, and the cavalry routed the firſt diviſion of the enemy, which debouched from the low grounds on the edge of the river, late in the evening: upon which the Archduke, whoſe intention was not to prevent the paſſage of the enemy, but to attack him the following day, retreated with his cavalry to Anderklaa, and ordered the advanced troops to fall back to Maaſs, according as the enemy ſhould extend himſelf.

On the 21ſt, at day-break, the Archduke ordered his army under arms, and formed it in two lines on the riſing ground behind Geraſdorf, and between the Biſam-hill and the rivulet Ruſs. The corps of Lieut.-General Hiller formed the right wing near Stammerſdorf; on its left was the corps of the general of cavalry Count Bellegarde, and next to that the corps of Lieutenant-General Prince Hohenzollern, in the alignement of Deutſch-Wagram. The corps of Prince Roſenberg was poſted by battalions in column on the Ruſſbach, on the rivulet Ruſs, kept Deutſch-Wagram ſtrongly occupied, having, for the ſecurity of the left wing, placed on the heights beyond that place a diviſion in reſerve. The whole cavalry, which the day before had advanced under the command of Prince Lichtenſtein by Anderklaa, was called back into the line, filling, in two lines, the ſpace intervening between the left wing of Prince Hohenzollern and the right of Prince Roſenberg.

The vaſt plain of the Marchfield ſpread like a carpet before the front of the line, and appeared, by the abſence of every obſtruction,

to be deſtined to form the theatre of ſome great event. The grenadiers remained in reſerve near Seiering, and the corps of the general of artillery, Prince of Reuſs, kept the Biſam-hill, and the low buſhy ground along the Danube, ſtrongly occupied. Part of it was ſtill left near Krems, the corps being almoſt broke up by having ſo many of its diviſions detached to ſo conſiderable a diſtance.

At nine o'clock, the Archduke ordered the arms to be piled, and the troops to dine. The piquet of obſervation on the Biſam-hill reported that the bridge acroſs the Danube behind the iſle of Lobau, being now quite finiſhed, was plainly perceivable, and that troops were, without intermiſſion, ſeen filing off over it, as well as paſſing in boats to the iſle. The outpoſts, likewiſe, gave information of the gradual augmentation of the enemy in the town of Enzerſdorf, and in the villages of Eſsling and Aſpern, and of his advancing towards Hirſchſtetten.

The Archduke Charles now thought that the moment for giving battle had arrived, and haſtened to Geraſdorf, where the chief of his quarter-maſter-general's ſtaff, General Baron Wimpfen, ſketched out the following plan.

Plan of Attack upon the hoſtile Army on its March between Eſsling and Aſpern, and towards Hirſchſtetten.

The attack to be made in five columns. The firſt column, or the column of the right wing, is formed by the corps of Lieutenant-General Hiller. It will advance from its preſent poſition in the direction between the "Point" and Leopoldau, along the neareſt arms of the Danube, paſs along the left bank towards Stadelau and Aſpern, keep conſtantly near the Danube and the meadows bordering upon it, and is vigorouſly to repulſe the enemy, who moſt likely will meet it on the ſame road, and to drive him from the left bank. This column muſt not ſuffer its progreſs to be impeded by the batteries which the enemy perhaps may have erected on the iſlands, but muſt endeavour to ſilence them by its cannon, and ſpiritedly continue to advance.

The ſecond column conſiſts of the corps of the general of cavalry, Count Bellegarde. Leaving Geraſdorf to the left, it will march towards Leopoldau, endeavour to join the firſt column on the right, advance upon Kagran, and then, conjointly with the third column, upon the left, puſh forwards towards Hirſchſtetten.

The third column is compoſed of the corps of Lieutenant-General Prince Hohenzollern. It will march by Suſſenbrunn to Breitenlee, and from thence towards Aſpern, and will endeavour to join on its right the ſecond column, and on its left the fourth.

The fourth column, under the command of Lieutenant-General Prince Roſenberg, is made up of that part of his corps which is poſted on the right bank of the rivulet Ruſs: it is to advance, by Anderklaa and Raſchdorf, towards Eſsling.

The fifth column is formed by that part of Prince Roſenberg's corps which ſtands between Deutſch-Wagram and Beaumerſdorf: it will croſs the Ruſs near Beau-

Beaumerſdorf, leave Raſchdorf and Biſchdorf to the right, endeavour to paſs to the left round the town of Enzerſdorf, and ſecure its left flank by the Archduke Ferdinand's regiment of huſſars.

The cavalry-reſerve, under the command of General Prince Lichtenſtein, to march by the way of Anderklaa, without coming in contact with the fourth column, between Raſchdorf and Breitenlee, and ſtraight to the New Inn, keeping continually at ſuch a diſtance between the heads of the third and fourth columns, as, in caſe of neceſſity, to be near at hand for the purpoſe of repelling the main body of the enemy's cavalry.

The grenadiers corps of reſerve to march from Seiering into the poſition which the corps of Bellegarde has taken up behind Geraſdorf.

All the columns and corps will march at twelve o'clock at noon. Their ſecond lines to follow them at a ſuitable diſtance. Every column to form its own advanced guard. The order of march, and the diſtribution of the field-pieces, to be left to the judgment of the commanders of the reſpective corps. The whole will march by half diviſions. Lieutenant-General Klenau to form the advanced guard of the fourth and fifth columns, and, before he advances, to ſuffer the heads of theſe columns to come quite up to him, in order that he may have at hand a ſufficient ſupport of infantry.

Of the corps of cavalry, the brigade under the command of Veceſy to be attached to the ſecond column, and the regiment O'Reilly to the third; and both brigades are to repair immediately, the former to Geraſdorf, and the latter to Suſſenbrunn.

The principal object in view is to drive back the enemy entirely over the firſt arms of the Danube, deſtroy the bridges he has thrown over them, and occupy the bank of the Lobau with a numerous artillery, eſpecially howitzers.

The infantry will form on the plain in battalions, with half diviſions from the centre.

His imperial highneſs the general in chief recommends order, cloſeneſs during the advance, and a proper uſe of every ſpecies of arms. His ſtation will be with the ſecond column.

Geraſdorf, May 21, 1809.

	Batt.	Squad.
The 1ſt column conſiſted of	19	22
2nd - - - -	20	16
3d - - - -	22	8
4th - - - -	13	8
5th - - - -	13	16
The corps of cavalry	—	78
The corps of grenadiers	16	—
Total	103	148

All which amounted to 75,000 men, effective troops.

Of artillery there were 18 batteries of brigade, 13 of poſition, and 11 of horſe artillery; in the aggregate 288 pieces of different calibres.

The enemy had availed himſelf extremely well of the advantages of the ground to cover his paſſage. The extenſive villages of Eſsling and Aſpern, moſtly compoſed of brick houſes, and encircled all round by heaps of earth, reſembled two baſtions, between which a double line of natural trenches, intended to draw off the water, ſerved as the curtain, and afforded

every poſſible ſecurity to the columns paſſing from the Iſle of Lobau. Eſsling had a granary furniſhed with loop-holes, and whoſe three ſtories afforded room for ſeveral hundred men, while Aſpern was provided with a ſtrong churchyard. The left ſide of the latter village borders on an arm of the Danube. Both villages had a ſafe communication with the buſhy ground near the Danube, from which the enemy had it conſtantly in his power to diſpatch, unſeen, freſh reinforcements. The iſle of Lobau ſerved at once as a place of arms, and as a tête-de-pont, a bridge-head for the bridge, in the rear acroſs the main arm of the river.

The enemy, with the diviſions of Generals Molitor, Boudet, Nanſouty, Legrand, Eſpagne, Laſalle and Ferrand, under the Marſhals Maſſena and Laſnes, as well as Marſhal Beſſieres, together with the guards of the Wurtemberg, Heſſe-Darmſtadt, and Baden auxiliaries, had already left this poſition, and was directing his march towards Hirſchſtetten, when the firſt Auſtrian advanced guards met him.

If it be at all permitted in war, to indulge favourable preſentiments, it was certainly excuſable ſo to do at that great moment, when, on the 21ſt of May, exactly at twelve o'clock, the columns began to put themſelves in motion for the attack. A general enthuſiaſm had taken poſſeſſion of the troops: joyful war-ſongs, accompanied by Turkiſh muſic, reſounded through the air, and were interrupted by ſhouts of "Long live our Emperor, long live Archduke Charles!" whenever the imperial general appeared, who had placed himſelf at the head of the ſecond column. Every breaſt panted with anxious deſire and high confidence after the deciſive moment; and the fineſt weather favoured the awful ſcene.

Battle of the 21ſt of May.—Firſt Column.

The advanced guard under General Nordman, conſiſting of two battalions of Gyulay and Lichtenſtein huſſars, had formed near the deſtroyed bridge of Tabor, and leaving the villages of Kagran and Hirſchſtetten to the left, and Stadlau to the right, marched in the plain towards Aſpern. It was followed by the column, which, having left the high road before the poſt-office at Stammerſdorf, had marched from the right by half diviſions. Its right flank along the Danube was covered by a battalion of St. Georgians, by the 1ſt battalion of Vienna volunteers, and by a battalion of militia, under the command of Major Count Colloredo. Within a cannon-ſhot of Stadlau the out-poſts met the enemy's picquets, which gradually retreated to their original diviſions. At this time General Nordman ordered two battalions of Gyulay to draw up en echellon, in order to favour the advance of the column. The enemy drawn up in large diviſions, ſtood immediately before Aſpern, having, to cover his front, occupied all the ditches of the fields, which afforded excellent breaſtworks. His right was covered by a battery, and his left by a broad and deep ditch (one of thoſe that carry off the waters of the Danube when it overflows), as well as by a buſhy ground, which was likewiſe occupied

occupied by ſeveral bodies in cloſe order. Though the enemy had the advantage of poſition all to himſelf, inaſmuch as the freſhes of the Danube were only paſſable by means of a ſmall bridge, at which he kept up a vigorous fire from behind the ditches both with cannon and ſmall arms, it did not prevent the 2nd battalion of Gyulay, immediately after the firſt had penetrated as far as the buſhy meadows, to paſs the bridge in a column, to form without delay, and with charged bayonets to attack the enemy, who precipitately retreated to Aſpern, on which occaſion that village, after a vigorous but not very obſtinate reſiſtance, was taken for the firſt time. It was, however, not long before the enemy had it in his power, by the arrival of a freſh reinforcement, to expel again the battalions of Gyulay. By this time ſome battalions of the column had arrived, the chaſſeurs of Major Schneider, of the 2d column, joined the advanced guard of the 1ſt; Gyulay formed again, and the enemy was a ſecond time puſhed to the lower end of the village, though he ſucceeded again in regaining what he had loſt. Both parties were aware of the neceſſity of maintaining themſelves in Aſpern at any rate, which produced ſucceſſively the moſt obſtinate efforts both of attack and defence; the parties engaged each other in every ſtreet, in every houſe, and in every barn; carts, ploughs, and harrows, were obliged to be removed during an uninterrupted fire, in order to get at the enemy; every individual wall was an impediment of the aſſailants, and a rampart of the attacked; the ſteeple, lofty trees, the garrets, and the cellars were to be conquered before either of the parties could ſtyle itſelf maſter of the place, and yet the poſſeſſion was ever of ſhort duration; for no ſooner had we taken a ſtreet or a houſe than the enemy gained another, forcing us to abandon the former. So this murderous conflict laſted for ſeveral hours: the German battalions were ſupported by Hungarians, who were again aſſiſted by the Vienna volunteers, each rivalling the other in courage and perſeverance. At the ſame time the 2nd column combined its attacks with thoſe of the 1st, having to overcome the ſame reſiſtance, by reaſon of the enemy's conſtantly leading freſh reinforcements into fire. At length General Vacquant of the 2d column ſucceeded in becoming maſter of the upper part of the village, and maintaining himſelf there during the whole of the night. By the ſhells of both parties many houſes had been ſet on fire, and illuminated the whole country around. At the extremity of the right wing on the buſhy meadow the combats were not leſs ſevere. The left flank of the enemy was ſecured by an arm of the Danube; impenetrable underwood, interſected only by foot-paths, covered his front; and a broad ditch and palliſadoes afforded him the advantage of a natural rampart. Here fought at the beginning of the battle the 1ſt battalion of Gyulay, under Colonel Mariaſſy; then the battalion of chaſſeurs, under Major Schneider; next the St. Georgians, under Major Mihailovich; and finally, the two battalions of Vienna volunteers, under Lieute-

nant-Colonel Steigenteſch and St. Quenten. Here alſo the enemy was defeated; and the firſt day of this ſanguinary engagement terminated by the occupation of Aſpern by General Vacquant, at the head of eight battalions of the ſecond column, while Lieutenant Field-Marſhal Hiller drew the troops of his corps from the village, placed them again in order of battle, and paſſed the night under arms.

Second Column.

The advanced guard, commanded by Lieutenant-General Freſnel, advanced by Leopoldau and Kagran towards Hirſchſtetten, and conſiſted of one battalion of chaſſeurs and two battalions of Anton Mitrovſky's, under Gen. Winzingerode, as well as the brigades of cavalry, Klenau and Vincent, under General Vecſey. It was followed in the ſame direction by the column from its poſition near Geraſdorf. The enemy having been diſcovered from the eminences near Hirſchſtetten to be near Aſpern and Eſslingen, the brigade Vecſey was detached againſt the latter place, and the brigade Winzingerode to diſlodge the enemy from Aſpern. The column deployed before Hirſchſtetten, in two lines, in order to ſupport the advanced guard, and leaving Aſpern to the right, followed upon the plain, at a proper diſtance. The brigade of Winzingerode, however, met with ſo ſpirited a reſiſtance in its attempt upon Aſpern, that an attack upon the front alone was not likely to be attended with ſucceſs; the cavalry, therefore, of the advanced guard was puſhed forward from Aſpern on the left, in order to ſupport the attack on the flank with the two batteries of cavalry, as well as to facilitate the junction with the third column, which was advancing by Breitenlee. At the ſame time the regiment of Reuſs Plauen was ordered to the right of Aſpern, with a view to an attack on that place, the reſt of the corps was formed into cloſe columns of battalions. Meanwhile the enemy formed his left wing, which we refuſed, towards Aſpern, and his right upon Eſslingen. Thus he advanced with columns of infantry and cavalry upon the main army, while an extremely briſk cannonade ſupported him. A line of 12 regiments of cuiraſſiers formed the centre of the ſecond line of the enemy, giving to the whole an impoſing aſpect. Meanwhile the attack of a battalion of Reuſs Plauen on Aſpern was repulſed, and it gave way, being thrown into conſternation by the loſs of its commander, but it rallied immediately after. Count Bellegarde ordered General Vacquant to renew the attack with the regiment of Vogelſang, and to carry the village at all hazards. The latter obeyed the order with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs, and Aſpern, though defended by 12,000 of the beſt of the enemy's troops, was carried by ſtorm; Vacquant being aſſiſted by the regiment of Reuſs Plauen, by a battalion of Archduke Rainer, and by the brigade of Maier of the third column. To fruſtrate this attack, the enemy advanced with two columns of infantry, ſupported by his heavy cavalry, upon the main army, repulſed the two regiments of Klenau and Vincent's light

light horſe, and fell upon the infantry. The latter expecting him, with their firelocks ready, and with cool intrepidity, fired at ten paces diſtance ſo effectually, as totally to rout the enemy, upon which General Vecſey, at the head of a diviſion of Klenau, attacked the enemy's cuiraſſiers with ſuch energy, that their retreat was followed by that of the infantry. Hereby the army along the whole of its line was diſengaged from the enemy, obtained a communication on the left with the corps of Prince Hohenzollern, and became poſſeſſed of the important poſt of Aſpern. The enemy being in full retreat attempted no further attack, and confined himſelf merely to a cannonade. The corps remained during the night under arms. The enemy repeated, indeed, his attacks on Aſpern, but they all proved unſucceſsful.

Third Column.

This column, according to its deſtination, had begun its march from its poſition at Seiering, by the road of Suſſenbrun and Breitenlee. Some diviſions of O'Reilly's light horſe and chaſſeurs formed the advanced guard of the column, and at three o'clock in the afternoon met near Hirſchſtetten, the left wing of the enemy, which conſiſted moſtly of cavalry. As about this time the firſt and ſecond columns advanced intrepidly upon Aſpern, and the enemy began to fall back to his poſition between Eſslingen and Aſpern, Liuetenant-General Hohenzollern ordered up his batteries, and a very briſk cannonade commenced on both ſides. The firſt line formed in cloſe columns of battalions, and advanced with the greateſt reſolution upon the enemy, when his cavalry ſuddenly ruſhed forward in ſuch diſproportionate numbers, and with ſuch rapidity, that there was ſcarcely time to ſave the artillery which had been brought up, and the battalions were left to defend themſelves by their own unſupported exertions. This was the remarkable moment in which the regiments of Zach, Joſeph Colleredo, Zettwitz, Froon, a battalion of Stein's, and the ſecond battalion of the Archduke Charles's legion, under the conduct of Lieutenant-General Brady, and Generals Bureſch, Maier, and Koller, demonſtrated with unparalleled fortitude what the fixed determination to conquer or die is capable of effecting againſt the moſt impetuous attacks. The enemy's cavalry turned theſe battalions on both wings, penetrated between them, repulſed the ſquadrons of O'Reilly's light horſe, who were unable to withſtand ſuch a ſuperior force, and in the confidence of victory, ſummoned theſe corps of heroes to lay down their arms. A well directed and deſtructive fire was the anſwer to this degrading propoſition, and the enemy's cavalry abandoned the field, leaving behind them a conſiderable number of dead. This corps, as well as the others, paſſed the night on the field of battle.

Fourth and Fifth Columns.

Theſe were both compoſed of the corps of Lieutenant-General Prince Roſenberg, on either bank of the Ruſsbach, and directed their march from their poſition to the right and left of Deutſch-Wagram. The fourth proceeded through Raſchdorf

Raſchdorf ſtraight to Eſslingen. Colonel Hardegg of Schwarzenberg's hulans conducted the advanced guard. The fifth directed its march towards the left, in order to go a circuit round the little town of Enzerſdorf, and drive the enemy out of the place. It was reinforced by Stipſic's huſſars, under the command of Colonel Frölich. Lieutenant-General Klenau led the advanced guard of both columns. As this circuit round Enzerſdorf obliged the fifth to deſcribe a longer line, it was neceſſary for the fourth to advance rather more ſlowly. Enzerſdorf, however, was quickly taken poſſeſſion of by a detachment of Stipſic's huſſars, and of the Wallacho-Illyrian frontier regiment, as it was already for the greateſt part evacuated by the enemy, from whom no more than thirty priſoners could be taken. Both columns now received orders to advance upon Eſslingen. The fourth, in cloſe columns of battalions of Czartoriſky's, Archduke Louis's, and Cobourg's, who were twice ſucceſſively attacked by upwards of two thouſand of the enemy's heavy cavalry; but theſe were each time put to flight by our brave infantry with conſiderable loſs. Of the fifth column, two battalions of Chaſteler's advanced directly upon Eſslingen, while two battalions of Bellegarde's were ordered to penetrate the left flank of the village, and the ſmall contiguous wood. Two battalions of Hiller's and Cztarray's, beſides the Archduke Ferdinand's and Stipſic's regiments of huſſars, and two diviſions of Roſenberg's light horſe, were on the plain in readineſs to ſupport them. Theſe combined attacks were made twice ſucceſſively with uncommon intrepidity, the enemy's troops were repulſed at all points, and driven into the village of Eſslingen which had been ſet on fire. But as the enemy's army was drawn up in ſeveral lines between Eſslingen and Aſpern, and met each new attack with freſh reinforcements, becauſe the ſafety of his retreat depended on the poſſeſſion of this village, our troops were obliged to abandon it at the approach of night, and to await, under arms, the arrival of morning.

The reſerve corps of cavalry had marched in two columns, under the command of General Prince of Lichtenſtein, and advanced upon the New Inn between Raſchdorf and Breitenlee. General Count Wartenſleben with Blankenſtein's huſſars conducted the advanced guard. No ſooner did the enemy perceive the general advance of the army, than he placed the bulk of his cavalry, ſupported by ſome battalions of infantry, in order of battle between Eſslingen and Aſpern, and commenced a briſk cannonade upon the columns of Auſtrian cavalry as they approached. Prince Lichtenſtein directed his columns to march forward in two lines, on which the enemy detached 4 or 5000 cavalry from his poſition to the right, by way of Eſslingen, and excited ſome apprehenſion that he would impede the progreſs of the fourth column, or even break through it. The prince, therefore, ordered four regiments to the left, and kept the ſecond column formed in two lines, till he was convinced that the fourth would not meet

meet with any impediment to its march. During this movement the remainder of the enemy's cavalry alſo advanced with the greateſt confidence towards the right wing of the Auſtrian. They were received with a firmneſs which they probably did not expect. The intrepidity of the cavalry which had marched up, particularly Maurice Lichtenſtein's regiment, and the Archduke Francis's cuiraſſiers; the former, headed by its gallant Colonel Rouſſel, fruſtrated the repeated aſſaults of the enemy by counter-attacks, by which, at length, he put a ſtop to his impetuous advance, and completely repulſed him with conſiderable loſs. In theſe conflicts the French General of diviſion, Duroſnel, equerry to the emperor, was taken priſoner a few paces from him, as was alſo General Fouler, equerry to the empreſs, after having been ſlightly wounded. Notwithſtanding the fire of muſquetry which now enſued, the prince ordered a general advance, by which the enemy was ſtraitened in the alignement between Eſslingen and Aſpern, but on account of the flanking fire from Eſslingen, could not be purſued any further. The fire of his guns was anſwered with ſpirit by the horſe artillery. About ſeven in the evening 3,000 horſe were again detached towards the point of union between the cavalry of the corps of reſerve and the left wing of Prince Hohenzollern, and fell en maſſe upon the brigade of cuiraſſiers of Generals Kroyher, Klary, and Siegenthal; but by the ſteady intrepidity of the Blankenſtein's and Rieſch's regiments, who with the utmoſt gallantry made a ſudden attack on the enemy's flanks, his cavalry was again repulſed, and part of it, which had fallen upon ſome of the regiments of the new levies, placed in the third line, was cut off and there taken. Meanwhile night came on, and it was paſſed by the prince in the beſt ſtate of preparation on the ground which he had gained from the enemy.

For the firſt time Napoleon had ſuſtained a defeat in Germany. From this moment he was reduced to the rank of bold and ſucceſsful generals, who, like himſelf, after a long ſeries of deſtructive achievements, experienced the viciſſitudes of fortune. The charm of his invincibility was diſſolved. No longer the ſpoiled child of Fortune, by poſterity he will be characterized as the ſport of the fickle goddeſs. New hopes begin to animate the oppreſſed nations. To the Auſtrian army the 21ſt of May was a grand and glorious epoch, that muſt inſpire it with a conſciouſneſs of its ſtrength, and a confidence in its energies. Overwhelmed by our irreſiſtible infantry, its proud opponents were extended in the duſt, and the preſence of their hitherto unconquered emperor was no longer capable of ſnatching from the heroes of Auſtria the laurels which they had acquired. Napoleon's glory was obviouſly at ſtake. New efforts were to be expected the following day; but he was alſo obliged to fight for his exiſtence. By means of fire-ſhips ſent down the Danube, the archduke had cauſed the enemy's bridge on the Lobau to be broken down, and its repairs would take up ſeveral hours. Meanwhile Napoleon had already

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in the evening been joined by the corps of General Oudinot; and all the diſpoſable troops followed from Vienna and the Upper Danube, and were tranſported acroſs the river in veſſels as faſt as they arrived. The archduke, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps, which had not any ſhare in the firſt engagement, to advance from its poſition near Geraſdorf to Breitenlee; and the ſhort night was ſcarcely ſufficient to complete the reſpective preparations for the commencement of a ſecond tragedy.

Battle of the 22d of May.—Corps of Lieutenant-General Hiller.

With the morning's dawn the enemy renewed his attacks, which far ſurpaſſed in impetuoſity thoſe of the preceding day. It was a conflict of valour and mutual exaſperation. Scarcely had the French guards compelled General Vacquant to abandon Aſpern, when the regiment of Klebek again penetrated into the burning village, drove back the choiceſt troops of the enemy, and engaged in a new conteſt in the midſt of the conflagration, till, at the expiration of an hour, it was alſo obliged to give way. The regiment of Benjovſky now ruſhed in, and at the firſt onſet gained poſſeſſion of the church-yard, the walls of which Field-Marſhal-Lieutenant Hiller immediately ordered the firſt diviſion of pioneers to pull down, and the church, together with the parſonage, to be ſet on fire. Thus was this regiment, ſupported by ſome battalions, commanded by General Bianchi, at length enabled to maintain itſelf at the entrance of the village, after overcoming the reſiſtance, bordering on deſpair, oppoſed by the flower of the French army. Neither could the enemy produce any farther effect upon the buſhy meadow, after Lieutenant-General Hiller had ordered the force there to be ſupported by two battalions of Anton Mitrowſky's and a battery; on which the Jagers, St. George's, and two battalions of Vienna volunteers, drove him from his advantageous poſition, which he never afterwards attempted to recover. At about this time the left wing of the corps was likewiſe placed in ſecurity by three batteries ſent by the lieutenant-general to ſupport the general of cavalry, Count Bellegarde, and the latter maintained his ground againſt the moſt deſperate attacks of the enemy. The Lieutenant-General Hiller kept his poſition on the left flank of the enemy, and the victory was decided in this quarter. The corps was therefore again formed in two lines, and thus awaited the approaching events.

Corps of the General of Cavalry, Count Bellegarde.

Count Bellegarde having received a meſſage from General Vacquant, that the enemy was aſſembling in force before Aſpern, towards the buſhy meadows, and apparently had in view an aſſault upon that point, was juſt going to throw a few battalions of Argenten's into Aſpern, when the enemy, in heavy columns of infantry and cavalry, ſupported by a numerous artillery, began to advance upon the centre of the corps in the plain. The troops ſtationed at Aſpern, exhauſted as they were with the inceſſant fire kept up during

during the night, were unable to withſtand the impetuoſity of the attack; their ammunition, both for artillery and muſquetry, began to fail, and General Vacquant retreated in good order to the church-yard. This poſt, gained at ſo dear a rate, was again taken from him, after ſeveral attacks ſuſtained in conjunction with Lieutenant-General Hiller; the place was alternately taken and loſt, till at length the ſuperiority of our fire obliged the enemy to abandon the houſes, and a laſt aſſault of Hiller's corps prevented all farther attempts.

From the moment of the retaking of Aſpern it became poſſible to oppoſe an offenſive movement to the enemy advancing upon the centre, and to operate upon his left flank and communication. The defence of Aſpern was therefore left entirely to Hiller's corps, and while Count Bellegarde ſupported his right wing on Aſpern, he formed his left and the centre in the direction of Eſslingen, in ſuch a manner that, by degrees, he gained the right flank of the enemy, compelled him to retreat, and, by the complete effect of the artillery, brought to bear upon the left wing, which commanded the whole ſpace from Aſpern to Eſslingen, gave him a moſt ſevere defeat.

Corps of Lieutenant-General the Prince of Hohenzollern.

The dawn of morning was with this corps alſo the ſignal for the renewal of the gigantic conflict. The enemy's infantry was drawn up in large diviſions, and between it the whole of the heavy cavalry was formed in maſſes. The General of cavalry, Prince Lichtenſtein, on obſerving this order of battle, perceived the neceſſity of keeping up a cloſe communication with the infantry placed near him: he therefore drew up his right wing en echiquier, behind the corps of infantry, but kept his left wing together, with reſerves poſted in the rear.

A prodigious quantity of artillery covered the front of the enemy, who ſeemed deſirous to annihilate our corps by the murderous fire of cannon and howitzers. Upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon were engaged on both ſides, and the oldeſt ſoldiers never recollect to have witneſſed ſo tremendous a fire.

Vain was every effort to ſhake the intrepidity of the Auſtrian troops. Napoleon rode through his ranks, and according to the report of the priſoners, made them acquainted with the deſtruction of his bridge, but added, that he had himſelf ordered it to be broken down, becauſe in this caſe there was no alternative but victory or death. Soon afterwards the whole of the enemy's line put itſelf in motion, and the cavalry made its principal attack on the point where the corps of cavalry of Prince Lichtenſtein communicated with the left wing of Lieutenant-General the Prince of Hohenzollern. The engagement now became general; the regiments of Rohan, D'Aſpre, Joſeph Colloredo, and Stain, repulſed all the attacks of the enemy. The generals were every where at the head of their troops, and inſpired them with courage and perſeverance. The archduke himſelf ſeized the colours of Zach's, and the battalion, which

which had already begun to give way, followed with new enthuſiaſm his heroic example. Moſt of thoſe who ſurrounded him were wounded; his Adjutant-General, Count Colloredo, received a ball in his head, the wound from which was at firſt conſidered dangerous; a ſqueeze of the hand ſignified to him the concern of his ſympathizing commander, who, filled with contempt of death, now fought for glory and for his country.

The attacks of our impenetrable corps, both with the ſabre and the bayonet, ſo rapidly repeated and ſo impetuous, as to be unparalleled in military annals, fruſtrated all the intentions of the enemy. He was beaten at all points, and aſtoniſhed at ſuch undaunted intrepidity, he was obliged to abandon the field of battle.

About this time Lieutenant-General the Prince of Hohenzollern obſerved on his left wing, near Eſslingen, a chaſm, which had been formed during the heat of the engagement, and afforded an advantageous point of attack. Frölich's regiment, commanded by Colonel Mecſerry, was ordered thither in three corps, and repulſed four regiments of cavalry, accompanied with infantry and artillery. The corps remained in the poſition which they had taken, till the grenadiers of the reſerve, which the archduke had ordered forward from Breitenlee, arrived to relieve the battalions exhauſted with the ſanguinary conflict, and continued the attack upon the centre of the enem y's potion. Lieutenant-General D'Aſpre penetrated with the four battalions of grenadiers of Przezinſky, Puteany, Scovaux, and Scharlach, without firing a ſhot, to the enemy's cannon, where he was flanked by ſuch a deſtructive fire from Eſslingen, that nothing but the preſence of the archduke, who haſtened to the ſpot, could have induced his grenadiers to maintain their ground. Captain Count Dombaſſe had already reached the enemy's battery, when he was wounded by two balls, and quitted the field.

About noon the archduke ordered a new aſſault upon Eſslingen, which was immediately undertaken by Field-Marſhal-Lieutenant D'Aſpre with the grenadier battalions of Kirchenbettier and Scovaux on the left, and Scharlach and Georgy in front. Five times did theſe gallant troops ruſh up to the very walls of the houſes, burning internally and placed in a ſtate of defence; ſome of the grenadiers thruſt their bayonets into the enemy's loop-holes; but all their efforts proved fruitleſs, for their antagoniſts fought the fight of deſpair. The archduke ordered the grenadiers to take up their former poſition, and when they afterwards volunteered to renew the aſſault, he would not permit them, as the enemy was then in full retreat.

Corps of Field-Marſhal Lieutenant Prince Roſenberg.

Both diviſions of this corps, which in advancing to the engagements had compoſed the fourth and fifth columns, were formed before break of day for a new attack, for which the enemy likewiſe made preparation on his ſide, but with a manifeſt ſuperiority in numbers. Prince Roſenberg reſolved to attack the village of Eſslingen

Eſslingen with the Archduke Charles's regiment of infantry, to puſh forward his other troops in battalions, and in particular to go and meet the enemy who was advancing in the open country between Eſslingen and the neareſt arm of the Danube. The village was already gained, and battalions advancing on the left, obliged the enemy, drawn up in ſeveral lines, to yield. The moſt violent cannonade was kept up inceſſantly on both ſides, and it was ſuſtained by the troops with the greateſt fortitude. Favoured by a fog which ſuddenly came on, the enemy's heavy cavalry ventured to attack on all ſides the corps formed by Cztarray's and Hiller's regiments of infantry. Theſe brave fellows received him with fixed bayonets, and at the laſt moment poured in their fire with ſuch effect, that the enemy was compelled to betake himſelf to flight with conſiderable loſs. Five times were theſe attacks on Cztarray's and Hiller's regiments repeated, and each time were they repelled with equal courage and reſolution. The cavalry contributed all that lay in their power to the purſuit of the enemy and the ſupport of the infantry. Coburg's, the Archduke Louis's, and Czartoriſky's regiments belonging to the diviſion of Lieutenant-General Dedovich, ſtationed on the right, renewed the exertions of the preceding day with the ſame diſtinction, and the ſame ſucceſs. After this ſevere conflict, the enemy ſeemed to have no inclination to expoſe himſelf to any freſh diſaſter, and confined himſelf to the operation of his ſuperior artillery. About eleven, A.M. Prince Roſenberg received orders from the Archduke, commander in chief, to make a new attack upon Eſslingen, and a meſſage to the ſame effect was ſent to Lieutenant-General Dedovich, who commanded the right diviſion of this corps. Prince Roſenberg immediately formed two columns of attack, under the conduct of Lieutenant-Generals Princes Hohenlohe and Rohan, while Lieutenant-General Dedovich advanced againſt the citadel of the place, and the magazine ſurrounded with walls and ditches. The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and our troops ruſhed with irreſiſtible impetuoſity into the village. Still, however, they found it impoſſible to maintain this poſt, into which the enemy kept continually throwing new reinforcements, which was of the utmoſt importance for covering his retreat, which he had already reſolved upon, and which he defended with an immenſe ſacrifice of lives. Prince Roſenberg therefore reſolved to confine himſelf to the obſtinate maintenance of his own poſition, to ſecure the left flank of the army, and to encreaſe the embarraſſment of the enemy by an inceſſant fire from all the batteries. In the night between the 22d and 23d, the enemy accompliſhed his retreat to the Lobau, and at three in the morning his rear-guard alſo had evacuated Eſslingen and all the points which he had occupied on the left bank of the Danube. Some diviſions purſued him cloſely, and took poſſeſſion as near as poſſible of the neceſſary poſts of obſervation. Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world, and in the hiſtory of

war. It was the moſt obſtinate and bloody that has occurred ſince the commencement of the French revolution. It was deciſive for the glory of the Auſtrian arms, for the preſervation of the monarchy, and for the correction of the public opinion. The infantry has entered upon a new and brilliant career, and by the firm confidence it has manifeſted in its own energies, has paved the way to new victories. The enemy's cavalry has ſeen its acquired but hitherto untried glory diſſipated by the maſſes of our battalions, whoſe cool intrepidity it was unable to endure. Cavalry and artillery have ſurpaſſed themſelves in valour, and in the ſpace of two days have performed achievements ſufficient for a whole campaign. Three pieces of cannon, ſeven ammunition waggons, 17,000 French muſkets, and about 3,000 cuiraſſes fell into the hands of the conqueror. The loſs on both ſides was very great: this, and the circumſtance that very few priſoners were taken by either party, proves the determination of the combatants either to conquer or die. The Auſtrian army laments the death of 87 ſuperior officers, and 4,199 ſubalterns and privates. Lieutenant-Generals Prince Rohan, Dedovich, Weber, and Frenel, Generals Winzingerode, Gril, Neuſtadter, Seigenthal, Colloredo, May Hohenfeld, and Bureſch, 663 officers, and 15,651 ſubalterns and privates were wounded. Of theſe, Field-Marſhal Lieutenant Weber, 8 officers, and 129 men, were taken priſoners by the enemy. The loſs of the enemy was prodigious, and exceeds all expectation. It can only be accounted for by the effect of our concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where all the batteries croſſed one another, and calculated by the following authentic data. Generals Laſnes, D'Eſpagne, St. Hilaire, and Albuquerque, are dead; Maſſena, Beſſieres, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Laſalle, and the two brothers Legrange, wounded; Duroſnel and Fouler taken. Upwards of 7,000 men, and an immenſe number of horſes were buried on the field of battle; 5,000 and ſome hundred wounded lie in our hoſpitals. In Vienna and the ſuburbs there are at preſent 29,773 wounded; many were carried to St. Polten, Enns, and as far as Lintz; 2,300 were taken. Several hundred of corpſes floated down the Danube, and are ſtill thrown upon its ſhores; many met their death in the iſland of Lobau, and ſince the water has fallen in the ſmaller arms of the river, innumerable bodies, thus conſigned by their comrades to everlaſting oblivion, have become viſible. The burying of the ſufferers is not yet over, and a peſtilential air is wafted down the theatre of death. His imperial highneſs, the generaliſſimo, has indeed undertaken the duty ſo dear to his heart, of acquainting the monarch and the country with the names of thoſe who took the moſt active ſhare in the achievements of theſe glorious days; but he acknowledges with profound emotion, that, amidſt the rivalſhip of the higheſt military virtues, it is ſcarcely poſſible to diſtinguiſh the moſt valiant, and declares all the ſoldiers of Aſpern worthy of public gratitude. His imperial highneſs conſiders the intelligent

telligent diſpoſitions of the chief of his ſtaff, General Baron Wimpffen, and his inceſſant exertions, as the foundation of the victory. The officers commanding corps have rendered themſelves deſerving of the higheſt favours by uncommon devotedneſs, perſonal bravery, warm attachment to their ſovereign, and their high ſenſe of honour. Their names will be tranſmitted to poſterity with the achievements of the valiant troops who were under their direction. Colonel Smola, of the artillery, by his indefatigable activity in the proper application of the ordnance, and his well known bravery, rendered the moſt important ſervices. The commanding officers of corps and columns have furniſhed a liſt of the generals, ſtaff and ſuperior officers, who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

Lieutenant-General Count Klenau, who exhibited freſh proofs of his well-known valour, both in the reconnoiſance of the 20th, and in the engagements of both days, beſtows particular commendations on the conduct of Colonel Trapp of the ſtaff, of Colonel Hardegg of Schwarzenberg's hulans, of Major Scheibler of Roſenberg's light horſe, of Lieutenant-Colonel Lutz and Lieutenant Laghetty and Manz of the firſt battalion of jagers. Lieutenant-General Baron D'Aſpre, at the head of his brave grenadiers, whom he led with the moſt determined intrepidity into fire, deems Lieutenant-Colonel Biſſingen and Majors Puteany, Kirchenbetter, and Winiawſky, worthy of particular commendation. Sub-Lieutenant Count Rezewuſky diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a manner that does him the higheſt honour. This young man was captain in the Auſtrian militia, and being afraid, at the commencement of the war, that he ſhould be obliged to remain with his battalion in the interior, he endeavoured to procure his removal to a regiment of light horſe; and as there was no vacancy, he entered as a cadet and volunteer into Kienmayer's huſſars, in which he was ſoon promoted to a ſub-lieutenancy. On the attack of the grenadiers he voluntarily accompanied Lieutenant-General D'Aſpre into the thickeſt of the fire; and when the field-marſhal's horſe was ſhot under him, he ſprang from his, and preſented it to him with theſe words, "You want him more than I." He then joined on foot in the aſſault made by the grenadiers, till a wound he received put an end to his exertions. As a reward for ſuch extrordinary zeal, his imperial highneſs has appointed Sub-Lieutenant Count Rezewuſky captain in the hulans. Many individual traits of heroiſm are not yet known, and conſequently cannot be recorded. Thus Corporal Prager, of Zettivitz's, took priſoner one of the enemy's chefs d'eſcadron before the maſs of his battalion. Corporals Donner and Horner, and the privates Preſſich, Herma, and Schmerha, of the battalion of Prince Kinſky's legion, were cut off by a fire of muſketry from their corps, and ſurrounded by the enemy's cavalry, they fought their way through, and rejoined their battalion. The Oberjager Fickerberger and the Unterjager Schaffer of the ſecond battalion of jagers, penetrated into the French emperor's guard, and ſeized one of the enemy's captains

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in the midſt of his ranks. The private Larda, of Duke Albert's cuiraſſiers, retook a ſix-pounder which had fallen into the enemy's hands, and brought it back with its equipage. Serjeant Pap, of Chaſteler's, ſnatched the colours of his battalion from the hands of the dying firſt Lieutenant Cazan, who had himſelf taken it from the enſign who had been killed, and headed his troop with the moſt exemplary intrepidity. Among the artillery there are few but what highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by deeds the moſt daring and contempt of every danger. But a grateful country will not fail to hold in honourable remembrance the departed heroes who found death in the arms of victory. In this number thoſe particularly worthy of mention are, Colonel de Fiennes, of Bellegarde's; Major Danzer, of O'Reilly's; Major Gerdech, of Froon's; Captain Charles Kaiſer and Konovſky, of Roſenberg's; Captain Surgeant, of Reuſs Greyz's; firſt Lieutenant Cazan, of Chaſteler's; and Lieutenant Zakazill, of the artillery, who diſplayed the moſt extraordinary proofs of valour, and with his dying breath recommended his widow to the paternal care of his majeſty.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 5.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Martin, dated off Percola Point, July 6, to Sir J. Saumarez.

"The Implacable and Melpomene, having ſtood into the gulf of Narva, captured nine ſail of veſſels, laden with timber, ſpars, and cordage, belonging to the Emperor of Ruſſia, and which, I doubt not, will prove a valuable acquiſition to our own dock-yards. The boats of the ſhips under that active and valuable officer, Lieutenant Hawkey (of whoſe enterpriſing ſpirit I had occaſion to ſpeak ſo highly when off Dantzic) have looked into every creek along the ſouth coaſt of the gulf, without finding any veſſels whatever; and he is now on the oppoſite ſide with the ſame view.

"P. S. Since writing the above, Lieutenant Hawkey has returned with three veſſels, captured by the boats of the Implacable, Melpomene, and Prometheus, under his command; and he reports eight ſail of gun-boats protecting ſome ſhips in ſhore, and is very deſirous of attacking them; which ſhall be done if there is a reaſonable hope of ſucceſs."

His Majeſty's Ship Implacable, off Percola Point, July 8.

"Sir,

"The poſition taken by the Ruſſian flotilla, under Percola Point, ſeemed ſo much like a defiance, that I conſidered ſomething was neceſſary to be done, in order to impreſs theſe ſtrangers with that ſenſe of reſpect and fear which his Majeſty's other enemies are accuſtomed to ſhow to the Britiſh flag: I, therefore, determined to gratify the anxious wiſh of Lieutenant Hawkey to lead the boats of the ſhips named in the margin *, which were aſſembled by nine o'clock laſt night, and proceeded with an irreſiſtible

* Implacable, Bellerophon, Melpomene, and Prometheus.

zeal

zeal and intrepidity towards the enemy, who had the advantage of local knowledge to take a poſition of extraordinary ſtrength within two rocks, ſerving as a cover to their wings, and from whence they could pour a deſtructive fire of grape upon our boats, which, notwithſtanding, advanced with perfect coolneſs, and never fired a gun till actually touching the enemy; when they boarded ſword in hand, and carried all before them. I believe a more brilliant achievement does not grace the records of our naval hiſtory; each officer was impatient to be the leader in the attack, and each man zealous to emulate their noble example; and the moſt complete ſucceſs has been the conſequence of ſuch determined bravery: of eight gun-boats, each mounting a thirty-two and twenty-four pounder, and forty-ſix men, ſix have been brought out and one ſunk; and the whole of the ſhips and veſſels (twelve in number) under their protection, laden with powder and proviſions for the Ruſſian army, brought out, and a large armed ſhip taken and burnt. I have deeply to lament the loſs of many men, killed and wounded, and eſpecially that moſt valuable officer, Lieutenant Hawkey, who, after taking one gun-boat, was killed by a grape-ſhot in the act of boarding the ſecond. No praiſe from my pen can do adequate juſtice to this lamented young man:—as an officer, he was active, correct, and zealous, to the higheſt degree; the leader in every kind of enterpriſe, and regardleſs of danger, he delighted in whatever could tend to promote the glory of his country. His laſt words were, "Huzza! puſh on! England for ever!" Mr. Hawkey had been away in the boats on different ſervices ſince laſt Monday, accompanied with Lieutenant Vernon, whoſe conduct in this affair has been highly exemplary, and ſhown him worthy to be the companion of ſo heroic a man: but while I am induced to mention the name of Mr. Vernon, from his conſtant ſervices with Mr. Hawkey, I feel that every officer, ſeaman, and marine, has a claim to my warmeſt praiſes, and will, I truſt, obtain your favourable recommendation to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty. Lieutenant Charles Allen, of the Bellerophon, was the ſenior officer after Mr. Hawkey's death. I have juſt been informed that Lieutenant Stirling of the Prometheus, who was ſeverely wounded, is ſince dead: his conduct in this affair was very conſpicuous; and Captain Forreſt ſpeaks highly in praiſe of the zeal and activity of his ſervices on every occaſion. I am ſure you will readily believe that Captain Forreſt did not witneſs the preparations for the attack, without feeling an ardent deſire to command it; but I was obliged to reſiſt his preſſing importunity, as a matter of juſtice to Mr. Hawkey. The Ruſſians have ſuffered ſeverely in this conflict; the moſt moderate ſtatement makes it appear, that two-thirds of them have been killed and wounded, or jumped overboard. Enclоſed is a liſt of killed and wounded, the names of the officers employed, an account of veſſels captured, and the number of priſoners.

"T. B. MARTIN."

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Downing-ſtreet, Auguſt 7.

The following Diſpatches were received laſt Night from the Earl of Chatham.

" *Head-quarters, Middleburgh, Auguſt 2.*

" My Lord,

" I have the honour of acquainting your lordſhip, that having ſailed from the Downs early in the morning of the 28th ult. with Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, in his Majeſty's ſhip Venerable, we arrived the ſame evening and anchored in the Eaſt Capelle-roads, and were joined on the following morning by the diviſion of the army under Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope. It blew in the courſe of that day a freſh gale from the weſtward, which created a heavy ſwell; and the ſmall craft being much expoſed, it was determined to ſeek ſhelter for them in the anchorage of the Roompot, where Lieutenant-General Sir J. Hope's diviſion was alſo directed to proceed, in order to poſſeſs ſuch points as might be neceſſary to ſecure the anchorage; as well as with a view to future operations up the Eaſt Scheldt. The left wing of the army under Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, particularly deſtined for the operations againſt Walcheren, arrived on the 29th, and morning of the 30th; but the wind continuing to blow freſh from the weſtward, and occaſioning a great ſurf on the beach, both on the ſide of Zoutland, as well as near Domburg, it became expedient, in order to effect a landing, to carry the whole fleet through the narrow and difficult paſſage into the Veer Gat, hitherto conſidered impracticable for large ſhips; which being ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, and the neceſſary preparations for debarkation being completed, I have the ſatisfaction of acquainting your lordſhip that the troops landed on the Bree, and about a mile to the weſtward of Fort der Haak, without oppoſition, when a poſition was taken up for the night on the ſandhill, with Eaſt Capelle in front. Lieutenant-General Fraſer was detached immediately to the left againſt Fort der Haak and Ter Vere, the former of which on his approach was evacuated by the enemy; but the town of Vere, which was ſtrong in its defence, and had a garriſon of about 600 men, held out till yeſterday morning, notwithſtanding the heavy and well-directed fire of the bomb-veſſels and gun-boats during the preceding day, and until the place was cloſely inveſted. Early on the morning of the 31ſt, a deputation from Middleburgh, from whence the garriſon had been withdrawn into Fluſhing, having arrived in camp, terms of capitulation were agreed upon, copies of which I have the honour herewith to encloſe, as well as that of the garriſon of Ter Vere; and the diviſions of the army under the orders of Lieutenant-General Lord Paget, and Major-General Graham moved forward, and took up a poſition with the right to Maliſkirke, the centre at Gryperſkire, and the left to St. Laurens. On the morning of the 1ſt inſtant, the troops advanced to the inveſtment of Fluſhing, which operation was warmly conteſted by the enemy. In this movement he was driven by

by Major-General Graham's diviſion, on the right, from the batteries of the Dykeſhooke, the Vygeter, and the Nole, while Brigadier-General Houſton's brigade forced the enemy, poſted on the road from Middleburgh, to retire, with the loſs of four guns, and many killed and wounded. Lieutenant-General Lord Paget's diviſion alſo drove in the poſts of the enemy, and took up his poſition at Weſt Zouberg."

[His lordſhip here beſtows great praiſe on Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, and the officers commanding columns; likewiſe on the light troops, under Brigad.-Gen. Baron Rottenburg, the third battalion of the royals, flank companies of the fourth regiment, and, generally, on the whole of the troops.]

"Ter Vere being in our poſſeſſion, Lieutenant-General Fraſer's diviſion marched in the evening upon Ruttern, detaching a corps for the reduction of Ramakins, which, when effected, will complete the inveſtment of Fluſhing. I have to regret the temporary abſence of Brigadier-General Browne, who was wounded late in the day, but I truſt not long to be deprived of his ſervices. I have the honour to encloſe a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing. Deeply as the fall of every Britiſh ſoldier is at all times to be lamented, the loſs will not appear to have been great, when the ſerious impediments it was in the power of the enemy to oppoſe to our progreſs are conſidered, as well as the formidable ſtate of the batteries of Fluſhing, to which the troops were neceſſarily expoſed. The preſſure of circumſtances has prevented the commanding officer of artillery from furniſhing a detailed account of the guns and ordnance-ſtores taken in the ſeveral batteries, and fortreſs of Ter Vere, but which will be hereafter tranſmitted, with a return of the priſoners taken ſince our landing, ſuppoſed to amount to 1000. Commodore Owen's ſquadron, with Lieutenant-General Marquis of Huntley's diviſion, remains at anchor in the Wieling Paſſage, and the diviſions of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Roſslyn, and Lieutenant-General Groſvenor, are arrived at the anchorage in the Vere Gat."

[The diſpatch concludes with acknowledging the ability with which the fleet was conducted through the paſſage into the Vere Gat, and likewiſe the zealous exertions of the officers of the navy, as well as the ſeamen in dragging the artillery through a heavy ſand.]

"CHATHAM."

"P. S. Since writing the above letter, I have received intelligence from Lieutenant-General Sir J. Hope, that the reſerve of the army had effected their landing on South Beveland, and that a detachment had occupied the town of Goes."

[Articles of capitulation for the ſurrender of the town of Middleburgh follow. They ſtipulate for the protection of the peaceable citizens, as well as all private property, on condition that all fire-arms are given up, and the public property accounted for to Britiſh commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. Public functionaries and their families are to be

permitted to retire to any other part of Holland. The capitulation of the fortreſs of Vere is likewiſe appended. The garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, public property is to be delivered up, and the inhabitants of the town are to be protected in their privileges.]

"*Middleburgh, Auguſt* 3.

"My Lord,

"Since my letter of yeſterday's date, I have received intelligence from Lieutenant-General Sir J. Hope, of his having occupied Batz, and taken poſſeſſion of the whole iſland of South Beveland. I have alſo the ſatisfaction to acquaint your lordſhip, that, upon the batteries being prepared to open, the fortreſs of Ramakins ſurrendered this evening, and I have the honour to encloſe the articles of capitulation.

"CHATHAM."

[The capitulation of the fortreſs of Ramakins here follows. The garriſon, conſiſting of only 127 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war.]

"*Admiralty Office, Aug.* 7. *Diſpatches brought by Lieutenant J. Duncan, of the Ida Cutter, were received yeſterday Evening from Sir J. Strachan.*

"*Venerable, off the Vere Gat, Auguſt* 4.

"Sir,

"You have been already acquainted that I had hoiſted my flag in the Amethyſt, and that it was my intention to have preceded the expedition, in company with the Venerable, on board which ſhip Lord Chatham had embarked; but finding the public ſervice might ſuffer from the commanders-in-chief being ſeparated, I, therefore, ſhifted to the Venerable, and ſailed from the Downs at daylight on the 28th ult. I have now to acquaint you, for their lordſhips' information, of my arrival on the evening of that day in the Stone Deeps, with the Amethyſt and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, where I was joined by the Fiſgard, Captain Bolton, who had with great judgment placed veſſels on the various ſhoals off this coaſt. After dark, Lieutenant Groves, of this ſhip, with ſome ſkilful pilots in Deal boats, were diſpatched to ſound the Roompot channel, and to ſtation veſſels at its entrance. Early next morning, the 29th, the diviſion of Lieutenant-General Sir J. Hope, conducted by Captain Bathurſt, in the Salſette, joined me, as did alſo Rear-Admiral Sir R. Keats in the Superb. This zealous officer had the command of the blockading ſquadron off the entrance of the Scheldt; but, obſerving the armament paſs, he, with his uſual promptitude, left that ſquadron under the orders of Lord Gardner, and reſumed the charge of Sir J. Hope's diviſion: I, therefore, directed the Rear-Admiral to ſhift his flag to the Salſette, and to proceed to the Roompot. The entrance to that channel is very narrow; and as I was aware of Sir H. Popham's local knowledge of the inſular navigation before me, I intruſted to that officer the ſervice of leading Sir R. Keats's diviſion in, and which he did with great ſkill in the Sabrina, Captain Kittoe: the whole were anchored in ſafety oppoſite

poſite Zeerickzee, ſituated between the iſlands of Schowen and North Beveland. That afternoon Rear-Admiral Otway, with the left wing of the army, under Sir E. Coote, joined me in the Stone Deeps, but it blew too freſh to have any communication. On the morning of the 30th, Sir H. Popham returned with a letter from Sir R. Keats, acquainting me that the diviſion under his charge were all ſafely anchored; and I was likewiſe informed that there was ſufficient ſpace in the Roompot to contain all the ſhips, to which anchorage Sir H. Popham undertook to conduct them; and as it blew freſh, with all the appearance of an approaching gale, the ſquadron was inſtantly got under ſail, and led in by the Venerable, when they all came-to in ſafety off the Vere Gat. As ſoon as the ſhips were ſecured, meaſures were inſtantly taken to prepare to land the army on the iſland of Walcheren. I did not wait for the gun-boats coming up, but ordered thoſe who happened to be near the Venerable, together with the mortar-brigs, to puſh in ſhore, to cover the landing, and to force the Derhaak battery. At half-paſt four the boats put off under the direction of Lord Amelius Beauclerc, of the Royal Oak, and Captain Cockburn of the Belleiſle, and the troops were landed in excellent order, without oppoſition; the firing from the mortar and gun-veſſels having driven the enemy completely from the Derhaak battery. Having thus accompliſhed this firſt object, I loſt no time in directing the bombs and gun-veſſels to proceed up the Vere Gat, off Camvere; and having given Sir H. Popham, who at the requeſt of Lord Chatham had remained on ſhore with his lordſhip, permiſſion to employ them as the ſervice might require, he the next morning began to cannonade Camvere, which had been ſummoned, but held out. The fire of the gun-boats was exceedingly well directed, and did much damage to the town. The officers and crews engaged in that ſervice had a great claim to my admiration for their conduct. Three of our gun-boats were ſunk. In the afternoon it blew freſh; and as the ſtrength of the tide prevented the bombs from acting, I directed the flotilla to fall back, preſerving a menacing poſition. At night, Captain Richardſon of the Cæſar, who was on the Dyke on ſhore, threw ſome rockets at the neareſt battery of Camvere, and ſoon after the commanding officer of the town ſent out an offer to ſurrender. A copy of the terms acceded to by Lieutenant-General Frazer, and Captain Richardſon, the ſenior naval officer on the ſpot, accompanies this letter. The army under Sir J. Hope landed at South Beveland on the 1ſt of this month; and by a letter from Sir R. Keats, of yeſterday's date, I find the whole of the iſland is in our poſſeſſion, the enemy's ſhips are all above Lillo, and thoſe moſt advanced, as high up as Antwerp. We are getting our flotilla through the Slou into the weſtern Scheldt, to prevent ſuccours being thrown into Fluſhing by the canal of Ghent."

[The letter concludes with acknowledging the particular ſervices of Rear-Admiral Otway, Sir R. Keats, Lord Beauclerc, and Captain

Captain Cockburn, and generally all the officers and ſeamen of his Majeſty's ſhips.]

"R. J. STRACHAN."

"*Sabrina, off South Beveland, Auguſt* 1.

"Sir,

"I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, that Sir John Hope and 7000 of his diviſion of the army were landed on South Beveland this afternoon, ſince which I have been informed by meſſage from him, that he was met on his approach towards Goes by the magiſtrates, into which place he is at liberty to enter whenever he pleaſes. Three of the enemy's ſhips of the line, and ſix brigs, are at anchor off the eaſt end of South Beveland; the others, I conclude, have moved higher up the Scheldt. Three of the four ſloops I brought up with me ſtruck in coming up. I have hoiſted my flag in the Sabrina, and am not without hopes of getting the remaining parts of the diviſion on ſhore, and moſt part of the army ſupplied to-morrow.

"R. G. KEATS."

The ſubſtance of this letter was ſent by telegraphic communication from the Sabrina, at five o'clock. The ſix brigs are getting under ſail and moving up the Scheldt apparently, but the ſhips of the line are ſtill faſt.

"*Sabrina, off Wemeldinge, Aug.* 3.

"Soon after I landed, I was informed by letter from Sir John Hope, that Bathz had been evacuated in the night; and as he informed me the communication was open between Walcheren and this iſland, and he had ſent to Lord Chatham an account of the evacuation, I concluded you would hear it from hence, and went on to Bathz, with a view to make obſervations, and from which I am this moment returned.

"R. G. KEATS."

Sir R. J. Strachan, Bart. &c.

Downing-ſtreet, Aug. 11.

Diſpatches from Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

"*Placentia, 15th July.*

"My Lord,

"After I had written to your lordſhip on the 1ſt inſt. Joſeph Bonaparte croſſed the Tagus again, and joined Sebaſtiani with the troops he had brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from Marſhal Victor's corps, making the corps of Sebaſtiani about 28,000 men, with an intention of attacking Venegas's corps. Venegas, however, retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and Colonel Lary with his advanced guard attacked a French advanced corps in the night, and deſtroyed many of them. The French troops then returned again to the Tagus, which river Joſeph had croſſed with the reinforcement which he had taken to Sebaſtiani's corps; and this laſt corps, conſiſting of 10,000 men only, was on the left bank of the Tagus, about Madrilejos, in front of Venegas, who was again advancing. The laſt accounts from this quarter were of the 8th. The French army under Victor, joined by the detachments brought by Joſeph from Sebaſtiani's corps, and amounting in the whole to about 35,000 men, are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and

and on the Alberche; General Cueſta's army has been in the poſition which I informed your lordſhip that it had taken up, ſince I addreſſed you on the 1ſt inſtant. The advanced guard of the Britiſh arrived on the 8th, and the troops which were with me on the Tagus arrived by the 10th; the 23d light dragoons, and the 48th arrived yeſterday; the 61ſt regiment will arrive to-morrow. I went to General Cueſta's quarters at Almaraz, on the 10th, and ſtayed there till the 12th, and I have arranged with that general a plan of operations upon the French army, which we are to begin to carry into execution on the 18th, if the French ſhould remain ſo long in their poſition. The Spaniſh army under General Cueſta conſiſts of about 38,000 men (excluſive of Venega's corps), of which 7000 are cavalry. About 14,000 men are detached to the bridge d'Arzobiſpo, and the remainder are in the camp under the Puerte de Mirabete. I have the pleaſure to inform your lordſhip, that the ſeven battalions of infantry from Ireland and the Iſlands, and the troop of horſe artillery from Great Britain, arrived at Liſbon in the beginning of the month. General Crauford's brigade is on its march to join the army, but will not arrive here till the 24th or 25th.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

The following diſpatches have been received from the Earl of Chatham.

"*Head-quarters, Middleburgh, Aug. 7.*

"My Lord,

"Nothing very material has occurred ſince my laſt diſpatch of the 3d inſtant. We have been unremittingly employed in bringing up the artillery of ſiege, ammunition, and ſtores, to the vicinity of Fluſhing; and the troops have been occupied in the conſtruction of the batteries, and in carrying on the ſeveral works before the place, but which have been neceſſarily interrupted by the very heavy rains which have fallen here. The enemy is active and enterpriſing, and the garriſon has certainly received conſiderable reinforcements from the oppoſite coaſt; nor has it been in the power of the flotilla hitherto to prevent it. Under theſe circumſtances it has been found neceſſary to land Lieutenant-General Groſvenor's diviſion; and the two light battalions of the king's German legion have been alſo for the preſent brought on ſhore. Immediately on the fall of Ramakins, I determined, as ſoon as the neceſſary arrangements were made, to paſs the infantry of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Roſslyn's corps, together with the Marquis of Huntley's diviſion, and the light brigades of artillery, into South Beveland, to form a junction with the reſerve under Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope; and that the cavalry and ordnance ſhips, together with the tranſports for Lieutenant-General Groſvenor's diviſion, the moment their ſervices could be ſpared from before Fluſhing, ſhould be brought through the Slou Paſſage, and proceed up the Weſt Scheldt; but of courſe this latter operation cannot take place until a ſufficient naval force ſhall have been enabled to enter the river, and to proceed in advance; but the very ſevere blowing weather we have conſtantly

ſtantly experienced, added to the difficulty of the navigation, has hitherto baffled all their efforts. By letters from Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, I find that the enemy had, on the 5th inſt. come down with about twenty-eight gun-veſſels before Bathz, on which place they kept up a ſmart cannonade for ſome hours, but were forced to retire by the guns from the fort; and every thing has ſince remained quiet in that quarter.

"CHATHAM."

"*Middleburgh, Aug.* 8.

"My Lord,

"Since cloſing my diſpatch of yeſterday's date, the enemy, towards five o'clock in the evening, in conſiderable force, made a vigorous ſortie upon the right of our line occupied by Major-General Graham's diviſion. The attack was principally directed upon our advanced piquets, which were ſupported by the 3d battalion of the royals, the 5th and 35th regiments under Colonel Hay. Theſe corps, together with detachments of the royal artillery, the 95th, and light battalions of the king's German legion, received the enemy with their accuſtomed intrepidity; and, after a ſharp conteſt of ſome duration, forced him to retire with very conſiderable loſs in killed, wounded, and priſoners. In this affair the enemy has had another opportunity of witneſſing the ſuperior gallantry of Britiſh troops; in no inſtance has he ſucceeded in making the leaſt impreſſion throughout our line; and on this occaſion, ſo far from profiting by his attempt, he has been obliged to relinquiſh ſome very advantageous ground, where our advanced poſts are now eſtabliſhed. I cannot too ſtrongly expreſs my ſenſe of the unremitting vigilance and ability manifeſted by Major-General Graham, in ſecuring and maintaining his poſt againſt the repeated attempts of the enemy to diſlodge him; and I have great ſatisfaction in acquainting your lordſhip, that the major-general mentions, in terms of the warmeſt approbation, the diſtinguiſhed conduct and gallantry of the officers and troops engaged on this occaſion. "CHATHAM."

[Here follows an abſtract return of ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, taken from the enemy.]

Downing-ſtreet, Aug. 15.

The following Diſpatches were this day received from Sir Arthur Welleſley.

"*Talavera de la Reyna, July* 29.

"My Lord,

"General Cueſta followed the enemy's march with his army from the Alberche on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and puſhed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos. For the reaſons ſtated to your lordſhip in my diſpatch of the 24th, I moved only two diviſions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry acroſs the Alberche to Caſſalegos, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between General Cueſta and me, and with Sir R. Wilſon's corps at Eſcalona. It appears that General Venegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was ſtill at Damiel, in La Mancha; and the enemy, in the courſe of

of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces in this part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of 2000 men in that place. His united army thus consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of 7 or 8000 men, the guards of Joseph Bonaparte, and the garrison of Madrid; and it was commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, aided by Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani. On the 26th, General Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back, and the general retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberche, General Sherbrooke continuing at Cassalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla. It was then obvious, that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera; and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General M'Kenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood, on the right of Alberche, which covered our left flank. The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, in echelon and in second line, a division of infantry, under the orders of Major-General Hill. There was a valley between this height, and a range of mountains still further upon the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action. The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, on the roads leading from the town and the right, to the left of our position. In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear. Brigadier-General A. Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons and some Spanish cavalry. At about two, on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberche, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division. The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops, consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne, with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera

lavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with ſome loſs, particularly by the 2d battalion 87th regiment, and 2d battalion 31ſt regiment, in the wood. Upon this occaſion, the ſteadineſs and diſcipline of the 45th regiment, and the 5th battalion, 60th regiment, were conſpicuous; and I had particular reaſon for being ſatisfied with the manner in which Major-General Mackenzie withdrew his advanced guard. As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in large numbers on the right of the Alberche, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack on the combined army. General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the poſition of the combined armies, where he was placed in the ſecond line, in the rear of the guards; Colonel Donkin being placed in the ſame ſituation further upon the left, in the rear of the king's German legion. The enemy immediately commenced his attack in the duſk of the evening, by a cannonade upon the left of our poſition, and by an attempt, with his cavalry, to overthrow the Spaniſh infantry, poſted, as I have before ſtated, on the right: this attempt failed entirely. Early in the night he puſhed a diviſion along the valley, on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he gained a momentary poſſeſſion; but Major-General Hill attacked it inſtantly with the bayonet, and regained it. This attack was repeated in the night, but failed, and again at daylight in the morning of the 28th, by two diviſions of infantry, and was repulſed by Major-General Hill. Major-General Hill has reported to me in a particular manner the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the 1ſt battalion 48th regiment, in theſe different affairs, as well as that of Major-General Tilſon, and Brigadier-General Richard Stewart. We have loſt many brave officers and ſoldiers in the defence of this important point in our poſition; among others I cannot avoid to mention Brigadier-Major Fordyce, and Brigadier-Major Gardner; and Major-General Hill was himſelf wounded, but, I am happy to ſay, but ſlightly. The defeat of this attempt was followed, about noon, by a general attack with the enemy's whole force upon the whole of that part of the poſition occupied by the Britiſh army. In conſequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on our left by the valley, I had placed two brigades of Britiſh cavalry in that valley, ſupported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's diviſion of Spaniſh cavalry. The enemy then placed light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were oppoſed by a diviſion of Spaniſh infantry under Lieutenant-General De Baſſecourt. The general attack began by the march of ſeveral columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by Major-General Hill. Theſe columns were immediately charged by the 1ſt German light dragoons, and 23d dragoons, under the command of Gen. Anſon, directed by Lieutenant-General Payne, and ſupported by General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23d dragoons ſuffered conſiderable loſs, the charge had the effect of preventing

venting the execution of that part of the enemy's plan. At the ſame time he directed an attack upon Brigadier-General Alex. Campbell's poſition, in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the Britiſh. This attack was moſt ſucceſsfully repulſed by Brigadier-General Campbell, ſupported by the king's regiment of Spaniſh cavalry and two battalions of Spaniſh infantry; and Brigadier-General Campbell took the enemy's cannon. The brigadier-general mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, the 2d battalion 7th, and of the 2d battalion 53d regiments; and I was highly ſatisfied with the manner in which this part of the poſition was defended. An attack was alſo made at the ſame time upon Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's diviſion, which was on the left and centre of the firſt line of the Britiſh army. This attack was moſt gallantly repulſed by a charge with bayonets, by the whole diviſion; but the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were expoſed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retiring columns; and the diviſion was obliged to retire towards the original poſition, under cover of the ſecond line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which I had moved from the centre, and of the 1ſt battalion 48th regiment. I had moved this regiment from its original poſition on the heights, as ſoon as I obſerved the advance of the guards; and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's diviſion. Shortly after the repulſe of this general attack, in which apparently all the enemy's troops were employed, he commenced his retreat acroſs the Alberche, which was conducted in the moſt regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition, tumbrils, and ſome priſoners. Your lordſhip will obſerve, by the incloſed return, the great loſs which we have ſuſtained of valuable officers and ſoldiers in this long and hard-fought action, with more than double our number: that of the enemy has been much greater. I am informed that entire brigades of infantry have been deſtroyed; and, indeed, the battalions that retreated were much reduced in numbers. By all accounts their loſs is 10,000 men. Generals Lapiſſe and Morlot are killed; Generals Sebaſtiani and Boulet wounded. I have particularly to lament the loſs of Major-General Mackenzie, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the 27th, and of Brigadier-General Langworth, of the king's German legion, and of Brigadier-Major Becket, of the guards. Your lordſhip will obſerve, that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed againſt the Britiſh troops. The Spaniſh commander in chief, his officers, and troops, manifeſted every diſpoſition to render us aſſiſtance, and thoſe of them which were engaged did their duty; but the ground which they occupied was ſo important, and its front at the ſame time ſo difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy, while he was engaged with us. I have rea-

ſon

ſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops. I am much indebted to Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke for the aſſiſtance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his diviſion to the charge with bayonets. To Lieutenant-General Payne and the cavalry, particularly General Anſon's brigade; to Major-Generals Hill and Tilſon, Brigadier-Generals A. Campbell, R. Stewart and Cameron, and to the diviſions and brigades of infantry under their commands reſpectively, particularly the 29th regiment, commanded by Colonel White; the 1ſt battalion 48th, by Colonel Donnellan, afterwards, when that officer was wounded, by Major Middlemore; the 2d battalion 7th, by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir W. Myers; the 2d battalion 53d, by Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham; the 97th, by Colonel Lyon; the 1ſt battalion of detachments, by Lieutenant-Colonel Bunbury; and the 2d battalion 31ſt, by Major Watſon; and of the 45th, by Lieutenant-Colonel Guard; and 5th battalion 60th, commanded by Major Davy on the 27th. The advance of the brigade of guards was moſt gallantly conducted by Brigadier-General Campbell; and, when neceſſary, that brigade retired, and formed again in the beſt order. The artillery, under Brigadier-General Howorth, was alſo throughout theſe days of the greateſt ſervice; and I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with the aſſiſtance I received from the chief engineer, Lieutenant-Col. Fletcher, the adjutant-general, brigadier-general, the Hon. C. Stewart, and the quarter-maſter-general, Colonel Murray, and the officers of thoſe departments reſpectively, and from Colonel Bathurſt and the officers of my perſonal ſtaff. I alſo received much aſſiſtance from Colonel O'Lawler, of the Spaniſh ſervice, and from Brigadier-General Whittingham, who was wounded when bringing up the two Spaniſh battalions to the aſſiſtance of Brigadier-General A. Campbell. I ſend this by Captain Lord Fitzroy Somerſet, who will give your lordſhip any further information, and whom I beg to recommend.

"A. WELLESLEY."

From Sir A. Wellesley, Talavera, Aug. 1.

"Since I had the honour of addreſſing you on the 29th July, the enemy have continued to keep a rear-guard of about 10,000 men on the heights to the left of the Alberche. The extreme fatigue of the troops, the want of proviſions, and the numbers of wounded to be taken care of, have prevented me from moving from this poſition. Brigadier-General Crauford arrived with his brigade on the 29th in the morning, having marched twelve Spaniſh leagues in little more than twenty-four hours."

From Sir A. Welleſley, Talavera, Aug. 1.

"When I addreſſed you this morning, I had not received the report from our out-poſts. It appears that the enemy withdrew the rear-guard, which was poſted on the heights on the left ſide of the Alberche, laſt night at 11 o'clock, and the whole army marched towards Santa Olalla; I conclude, with an intention of taking up a poſition in the neighbourhood of Guadarama."

Official

Official Account, by General Cueſta, of the Battle of Talavera, to the Secretary of War. Dated Seville, Sep. 7.

" Moſt excellent Sir,

" I removed my head quarters on the 21ſt current, to Velada, according to what I mentioned in my former diſpatch of the ſame night. This communication was made after I had ſeen, at Oropeſa, in the evening of that day, the gallant and illuſtrious army of the Engliſh. Their forces having all reunited in that town, I ordered my vanguard to be placed before Velada, concluding that the firing I then diſcovered, was a ſkirmiſhing of our parties with an advanced body of the enemy, ſtationed at that time in the diſtrict of Gamonal, two leagues diſtant from Talavera, and which in the ſequel was routed and purſued to Caſar. At break of day, on the 22d, my army being aſſembled in the extenſive plain between Velada and Talavera, I directed that the vanguard, under the intrepid chief, Brigadier-General Don Joſef de Zayas, ſhould charge the enemy, who had been reinforced with the diviſion of cavalry of General Latour Maubourg, and I directed that the diviſions of infantry and cavalry ſhould march in cloſe order, that thus advancing towards Talavera, they might reſiſt the attack, if the French ſhould endeavour to force the entrance to this place, as they ſeemed to have determined. The diſpatch of Zayas, No. 1. ſent by this opportunity, will give you a perfect knowledge of what occurred on that morning.

" The whole army followed the vanguard, paſſing by Talavera, and took up a poſition in the olive grounds, between that town and the river Alberche.

" The Britiſh army on the night of the 21ſt, marched from Oropeſa, and on the following morning, united with us, and while the vanguard attacked and repulſed the enemy, the Engliſh alſo filed off by Talavera, to take up a poſition on our left, according to the plan agreed. It was, moſt excellent ſir, a magnificent exhibition, when we ſaw the combined armies in a plain of two leagues extent, advancing upon the enemy, and moſt brilliant and gratifying was the admirable order, firmneſs and gallantry, with which this movement was performed by our allies. The whole evening of the 22d we were reconnoitring the camp of the enemy, when we took ſome priſoners between the wood and the olive grounds, who could not reach their vanguard, which had been obliged to retreat in conſequence of an intrepid charge by our cavalry.

" During the whole of the 23d, nothing deſerving notice happened. It was employed in examining the poſition of the enemy, who had again concentrated his forces in the diſtrict of Caſalegas, and on the adjacent heights, preſerving his vanguard ſupported by ſome pieces of artillery on the bridge and ſhores of the river Alberche, and which fired the greater part of the day on our ſkirmiſhing parties.

" I had agreed with the general in chief of his Britannic majeſty's army, Sir Arthur Welleſley, as to the attack on the bridge and ſhores of the river before day break on the 24th, and to this purpoſe, I ſent onward the fifth diviſion of infan-

try, under Marſhal de Camp D. Luis de Baſſecourt, in the evening of the 23d, in order, that after having croſſed at the ford of Cardiel, three leagues from Talavera, they might march by the contiguous heights, ſo as by break of day on the 24th, to fall on the rear-guard and right flank of the army of the enemy at Caſalegas. At the ſame hour I propoſed to attack in perſon on the left flank, and a part of his front, while the Engliſh army aſſailed the whole of his right. The flight of the enemy during the night of the 23d diſconcerted this plan, and when at dawn of the 24th, we ſaw the French camp abandoned, I thought it proper to follow them with my army alone (as the Britiſh army remained in Caſalegas and the ſhores of the Alberche) with the hope of reaching his rear guard, or ſome portion of it. The news which I acquired of his route, appriſed me that he had proceeded in two columns by Santa Olalla, and Cebolla, and in conſequence, I divided my army ſo as to follow him in both directions. — Notwithſtanding the forced march of my army, who made their day's progreſs without fatigue, we could not accompliſh our object, as the enemy had early commenced his retreat, and had proceeded with great rapidity. On the 24th, having poſted myſelf in Santa Olalla, I ordered the troops which had taken the road of Cebolla to join me, with the exception of the fifth corps, which I left there to watch the diſtrict, placing the vanguard in the neighbourhood of Alcabon, from whence the piquets of the enemy were diſlodged, and purſued to Torrijos, where a conſiderable part of the army of the enemy was ſtationed.

"The whole of the 25th was engaged in giving repoſe to the troops and in apportioning the rations, which were extremely deficient.—Parties of the French, during the day, were employed either in endeavouring to diſlodge us from our poſt, or to reconnoitre our ſituation, but in both attempts they were diſappointed by the valour of the officers commanding the ſkirmiſhing parties, who attacked them on all ſides, and prevented their approach. At nine o'clock at night, of the ſame day, I had information that the enemy was advancing upon Torrijos, and that his whole army was in movement, but my advices did not inſtruct me to which point the greater part was proceeding. On hearing this, I appriſed the generals and diſpatched an officer to general Welleſley. In conſequence of his determination and direction, and on finding my vanguard powerfully attacked on the morning of the 26th, by a very ſuperior force, and the enemy indicating a deſign of making a general attack, I reſolved to make a retrograde movement upon the Alberche, to reunite with the Engliſh, which I effected on the evening of the ſame day. The diſpatches of Brigadier-General Don Joſef de Zayas, and of Lieutenant-General the Duke of Albuquerque, No. 2 and 3, explain the particulars of the action on the morning of that day, and in which the corps there mentioned acquired great credit for their firmneſs, valour, &c.

"Thus the evening of the 26th concluded; and after having conferred with General Welleſley that night

night on our ſituation, I reſolved to repaſs the Alberche on the morning of the following day, when we agreed that the right line ſhould be taken by the Spaniſh, and the left by the Engliſh army. The Engliſh vanguard remained during that night in Caſalegas, and on the heights near it, under Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, with orders to retire to the oppoſite ſide of the river, which were obeyed on the morning of the 27th.

"I muſt now obſerve, that at dawn on the 24th, Marſhal Victor had withdrawn from the poſt he occupied on the ſhores of the Alberche, in order to avoid the attack meditated on that day by the allied armies; and he afterwards united himſelf, in the neighbourhood of Toledo, with the forces under General Sebaſtiani, and with 8,000 men, compoſing the guard of the royal impoſtor, who took the command of the whole, thus congregated, aſſiſted by Marſhals Jourdan and Victor, and by General Sebaſtiani.

"It now appeared that the enemy wiſhed to bring on a general action, by the frequent approach of his advanced guard, and by the occupation of Santa Olalla by the whole of his army on the evening of the 26th. His out poſts then approached the allied army. Thus circumſtanced, at break of day on the 27th, the poſition agreed upon was taken; and Sir Arthur Wellesley ordered General Mackenzie, with a diviſion of Engliſh infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, to continue in the olive plantation on the right ſide of the Alberche, where this party, compoſing the vanguard, might cover the right flank of the Britiſh army.

"The whole combined army occupied an extent of ground of above three miles; the right towards the Tagus, was covered by our native troops, reaching to the front of Talavera. The ground on the left was occupied by the Engliſh army, open to and commanded by an elevation, where was aſſembled in a second line, a diviſion of Engliſh infantry, under the orders of General Hill.—Between this height and a chain of mountains at ſome diſtance, there is an incloſure, which, in the firſt inſtance, General Welleſley did not order to be defended, becauſe it was commanded by the height, and becauſe it was conſidered too diſtant to be uſeful in the approaching battle. The whole of the ground, on which the Spaniſh army was drawn up, was covered with olive plantations interſected by ſinuoſities, inequalities and cottages. The great road towards the bridge of Alberche was defended by a ſtrong battery, ſerved by our infantry, in front of the hermitage of Our Lady of the Prado. The other avenues of the diſtrict were defended in a ſimilar manner. Talavera was protected by an appointed garriſon, and the reſt of the Spaniſh infantry, forming two lines, was placed behind a village which is at the extremity of the diſtrict, and formed a line in continuation of the poſition taken by the Engliſh army. In the centre, and between the two armies, there was a riſing ground, where the Engliſh had begun to conſtruct a ſtrong redoubt, having in their rear a ſmall plain. At this point was ſtationed the Engliſh general Campbell, who commanded a diviſion of infantry, ſupported by the brigade of dragoons of General

Cotton, and by ſome ſquadrons of our cavalry.

" Our combined army being thus arranged, the enemy preſented himſelf in conſiderable force to our view, manifeſting, at firſt, an intention to attack the diviſion of the vanguard under General Mackenzie. In point of fact, he fulfilled this deſign before that officer was enabled to retire to his proper poſition, but theſe gallant and diſciplined troops, which compoſed the brigade of General Mackenzie, of Colonel Donkin, the brigade of cavalry of General Anſon, and their corps, ſupported by General Payne, with four regiments of cavalry, poſted in the plain and olive grounds of Talavera, retired in moſt admirable order, but not without ſome loſs in the olive grounds, particularly two of the corps of this diviſion. The regularity, ſteadineſs, and fortitude of all theſe troops, as well as the military talents of General Mackenzie, were conſpicuous in every movement, and this officer is deſerving of the higheſt praiſe and admiration for the coolneſs and ſerenity with which he withdrew this diviſion to the left of the Britiſh army. The number of the enemy increaſed on the right bank of the Alberche as the day advanced, and every thing indicated his determination to give battle to the combined forces. As duſk approached, he commenced a furious attack by a cannonade, and a charge by the whole of his cavalry, on the right occupied by the Spaniſh infantry, with the apparent deſign of breaking through our ranks, poſted as I have before deſcribed. This attack was received by an active fire, perfectly well ſuſtained, both of cannon and muſketry, which diſconcerted the purpoſe of the enemy and put him to flight at a quarter paſt eight.— During this time, a ſtrong diviſion of the French advanced by the valley to the left of the height occupied by the Engliſh general Hill, of which with very great loſs, they obtained a momentary poſſeſſion, but Hill returned to the charge preſently with the bayonet, drove off the enemy, and recovered his ground. In the night the French repeated their attack, but without ſucceeding, and with great loſs. At break of day, on the 28th, they returned with two diviſions of infantry, but they were repulſed by the brave Hill, who could not be intimidated by their repeated attempts, or by the progreſſive accumulation of the forces of the aſſailants.

" General Welleſley, in conſequence of theſe renewed exertions of the enemy by the valley, on the left ſide of the height, ordered thither two brigades of his cavalry, ſupported by Lieutenant-General the Duke of Albuquerque, with the whole of his diviſion of cavalry. The French ſeeing this movement, ſent ſharp-ſhooters into the chain of mountains to the left of the valley, who were attacked by the fifth diviſion of my infantry under Marſhal de Camp Don Louis Baſſecourt, who diſlodged them with much loſs.

" The general attack commenced by the advance of different columns of the enemy's infantry with the intention of attacking the height occupied by General Hill. Theſe columns were charged by two parties of Engliſh dragoons, under the command of General Anſon

Anſon, led by Lieutenant-General Payne, and ſupported by the brigade of cavalry of the line of General Fane. One of theſe regiments of Engliſh dragoons ſuffered very much; but this ſpirited charge had the effect of diſconcerting the deſigns of the enemy, who ſuſtained a very great loſs. At the ſame time, the French attacked the centre of the army, where the Engliſh general Campbell was ſtationed, having on his right Lieutenant-General Don Franciſco de Eguia, the enemy was driven back by both theſe generals, who had their infantry ſupported by the king's regiment of cavalry, and by the diviſion of Lieutenant-General Don Juan de Heneſtroſa. This corps covered itſelf with glory in the charge that it made on the infantry of the enemy, during which it turned the column by which it was aſſailed; under which advantage, the Engliſh infantry, protected by the Spaniſh, poſſeſſed themſelves of the artillery of the enemy. At the ſame time with theſe proceedings, the French attacked with fury the centre of the Engliſh army, commanded by General Sherbrooke. The foes were received with extraordinary courage, and were driven back by the whole Engliſh diviſion, with charged bayonets. But the Engliſh brigade of guards, which was carried on precipitately in the ardour of battle, advanced too far, and was in conſequence obliged to withdraw under the fire of the ſecond line, compoſed of the brigade of cavalry of General Cotton, and of a battalion of infantry detached from the height by General Welleſley, as ſoon as he obſerved the remote ſituation of the guards. General Howorth, who commanded the Engliſh artillery, was diſtinguiſhed for his extraordinary courage, and performed the moſt important ſervices.

"Lieutenant-General Don Franciſco de Eguia, my ſecond in command, was poſted on my left, with the 3d. 4th and 5th diviſions, under Generals the marquis de Portago, Don Rafael Manglano, and Don Louis Alexandro Baſſecourt, but the latter was ordered to ſupport the diviſion of cavalry of Lieutenant-General the Duke of Albuquerque, which was detached to reinforce the Britiſh army. The diſpatches No. 4, 5, and 6, from theſe generals, are incloſed for the information of his majeſty.

"I took under my particular orders the centre and the right, without neglecting, however, the ſuperintendance of the reſt, and with much ſatisfaction I noticed the conduct of the generals of the 1st and 2d diviſion of the Marquis de Zayas and Don Vicente Igleſias, as well as Don Juan Berhuy, and Lieutenant-General Don Juan Heneſtroſa, &c.

"The loſs of the enemy was very great. They left on the field of battle from four to five thouſand men, and the number of their wounded is computed at five thouſand more. Two or three generals were killed, ſeveral wounded, and at leaſt four hundred other officers. We have taken nineteen pieces of artillery, and many waggons of ammunition, and the rout was one of the moſt complete, conſidering that we were acting on the defenſive. The Engliſh have loſt General Mackenzie, Brigadier-General Langworth, and other officers of diſtinguiſhed rank and

merit. The total of their officers, killed and wounded, is 260, and that of their rank and file 5,000. Our diminution is much leſs. Don Rafael Manglano was wounded, and fifty more of our officers were killed and wounded, and 1150 rank and file. Our artillery was ſerved with ability and fortitude, and the names of ſuch officers, whoſe talents were moſt conſpicuouſly diſplayed, are mentioned in the diſpatches from the reſpective generals.

" I ſhould be negligent of my own duty, if I did not communicate to your excellency, for the information of his majeſty, that the conduct of the Britiſh general in chief Sir Arthur Welleſley, and that of the generals, ſubordinate officers and ſoldiers under his command, is above all praiſe. I have ſeen the enthuſiaſm with which theſe faithful allies have in copious ſtreams poured forth their blood in the defence of our liberty, and no language can adequately expreſs the ſentiments of gratitude with which our breaſts are animated. With the higheſt ſatisfaction I have noticed my army hailing our companions for the victory obtained, and mingling with exclamations indicative of the warmeſt affection, the appellatives of our country, and Ferdinand, with thoſe of our powerful and generous allies.

[This liberal and ſpirited eulogy is ſucceeded by a liſt of the officers and others of the Spaniſh army, who deſerved the high reward of the approbation of their commander, among whom is diſtinguiſhed a lad of ſixteen years of age, who killed four Frenchmen with his own hand. We are ſorry our limits do not allow our inſerting the catalogue of the names of theſe brave champions of Spaniſh independence.]

(Signed)

" GREGORIO DE LA CUESTA."

To his Excellency Don Antonio Cornel.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 19.

The following Diſpatches have been received from Sir R. J. Strachan, Bart. K.B. Rear-Admiral of the White, &c. addreſſed to the Hon. W. W. Pole.

" *Kangaroo, in the Weſt Scheldt, off the Kaloot, Aug. 11.*

" Sir,

" I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that I am this moment going up to Bathz, in South Beveland, which has been attacked by a ſtrong detachment of the enemy's flotilla, and which, by Sir R. Keats's reports, conſiſts of two frigates, one bearing a vice-admiral's flag, thirty brigs, eight luggers or ſchooners, and fourteen gun-boats. I was under the neceſſity of detaining our flotilla, to prevent ſupplies being thrown into the garriſon at Fluſhing, and to aſſiſt in cutting off its communication with Cadſand; which ſervice was effectually done, except during the late heavy gales, which drove the gun-boats from their ſtations, and prevented our ſhips entering the Scheldt, from the circumſtance of their not being able to weigh their anchors. Since the weather has mode-

moderated, the wind has provokingly drawn round to the ſouth-eaſt, which is the only obſtacle that prevents Lord W. Stuart, with a ſquadron of ten heavy frigates, paſſing Fluſhing, as well as Rear-Admiral Lord Gardner, with the effective line-of-battle ſhips, taking up the anchorage in Dykeshook Bay, where I intend his lordſhip ſhall remain, with a view of having the aſſiſtance of that ſquadron in our further operations againſt the enemy, and eventually to proceed up the Scheldt. The diviſions of the army under the Earl of Roſslyn and Marquis of Huntley, landed on South Beveland on the 9th. The cavalry and ordnance ſhips, with the brigs and ſome ſloops of war, have paſſed through the Slou into the Weſt Scheldt, and are now availing themſelves of every favourable tide to proceed to Bathz. I am alſo endeavouring to warp the Pallas and Circe through by the ſame channel, and with every probability of ſucceſs. Sir Home Popham was detached with ſome gun-veſſels, for the purpoſe of ſounding the river, and of joining Sir Richard Keats at Bathz. The batteries are not yet ready to open on Fluſhing; therefore I hope to be here again in time to co-operate with the army in the attack on that garriſon. I am concerned to add, that the enemy has cut the dyke to the right of the town, and the iſland is likely to be inundated.—I have ordered Rear-Admiral Otway to ſend the Monmouth and Agincourt to England for water, as ſoon as they can be got down from Zierickzee; and earneſtly entreat that other means may be adopted for ſupplying the army and navy from England, as I apprehend all the water in this iſland will be ſpoiled by the inundation, and that there is not more in the other iſlands than is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants. Their lordſhips muſt be aware that, in this extenſive and complicated ſervice, it is impoſſible for me to enter ſo fully into detail as I could wiſh, eſpecially as our arrangements muſt vary in proportion with the movements of the enemy. In my abſence I have directed Rear-Admiral Otway to ſuperintend the ſeveral duties relative to the inveſtment of this iſland, and to correſpond with the admiralty on all matters of ſervice. Capt. Dobie, who acted in the Pallas during the abſence of Captain Seymour, is the bearer of this diſpatch. He had my flag for ſome time in that ſhip, and has been particularly attentive to the public ſervice. In conſequence of the protracted ſiege of Fluſhing, and the neceſſity for the flotilla going up the Scheldt, I have ordered guns from the ſhips of war to fit twenty tranſports as gun-ſhips, and with launches of the ſhips under Rear-Admiral Otway, to form a flotilla for the lower part of the Scheldt, which I truſt their lordſhips will approve. You will pleaſe likewiſe to inform their lordſhips, that Lord Gardner has ordered the Centaur and Theſeus to cruize off the Texel.

" R. J. STRACHAN."

" *Kangaroo, in the Weſt Scheldt, Auguſt* 12.

" Sir,

" Having directed the frigates

 named

named in the margin * to proceed up the Weſt Scheldt, under the orders of Lord William Stuart, captain of the Lavinia, the moment the wind was favourable, that zealous officer availed himſelf of a light air from the weſtward on the afternoon of the 11th inſt. notwithſtanding the tide was againſt his proceeding, and paſſed the batteries between Fluſhing and Cadſand. The ſhips were under the enemy's fire nearly two hours. The gallant and ſeaman-like manner in which this ſquadron was conducted, and their ſteady and well-directed fire, excited in my breaſt the warmeſt ſenſations of admiration. The army witneſſed their exertions with applauſe; and I am certain their lordſhips will duly appreciate the ſervices of Lord William Stuart, the captains, officers, ſeamen, and marines, on this occaſion. No very material accident happened, except by a ſhell ſtriking L'Aigle, and which fell through her decks into the bread-room, where it exploded; one man was killed, and four others wounded; her ſtern frame is much ſhattered. Lord William Stuart's modeſt letter accompanies this diſpatch, together with a return of the killed and wounded, and the damages ſuſtained by his Majeſty's ſhips in forcing the entrance of this river."

"*Kangaroo, in the Weſt Scheldt, Auguſt* 13.

"Sir,

"I had diſpatched Sir Home Popham with the ſloops, brigs, and veſſels, named in the margin †, together with a light flotilla, under Captains Lyford, Lowe, and Buck, up the Weſt Scheldt, to ſound and buoy the channels of that river, to enable the larger ſhips to advance, for the purpoſe of putting into execution the ulterior objects of this expedition. Sir Home Popham has executed this ſervice with his uſual judgment and correctneſs. I have the honour to incloſe, for their lordſhips' information, a copy of a letter I have received from Sir Richard Keats, to whom I have given the command of the naval part of our operations in the upper part of both Scheldts, until I get the frigates advanced under Lord William Stuart, and which will be done with the utmoſt diſpatch.

"R. J. STRACHAN."

"*Fort Bathz, Auguſt* 12.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you, that, in purſuance of your directions, I arrived at Bathz yeſterday; and in order, if practicable, to make an attack on the enemy's flotilla more complete, I ordered thirty flat boats armed with carronades, and ſome other boats from the ſhips under my orders, to rendezvous at this place, and meet the flotilla under Sir Home Popham; but before the arrival of either, ſix of the enemy's gun-boats having grounded on a bank within reach of the artillery of the fort, after ſuſtaining ſome injury by it, were abandoned;

"* Lavinia, Heroine, Amethyſt, Rota, Nymphen, L'Aigle, Euryalus, Statira, Dryad, and Perlin."

"† Sky-lark, Harpy, Challenger, La Fleche, Pilot, Parthian, Darin, Thais, Cracker, Bloodhound, Galgo (rocket-ſhip)."

five

five of which were deſtroyed, and the other brought in. The arrival of Sir Home Popham and my boats from the Eaſt Scheldt, took place nearly at the ſame time; but the enemy's flotilla moved up to Lillo with the ſame tide that brought our's to Bathz, one of which was handſomely burned by the advanced gun-boats, almoſt amongſt them. As the navigation of the Weſt Scheldt is now open as far as it can poſſibly be cleared by the navy, and a flotilla force of upwards of fifty ſail in the Eaſt Scheldt demand attention, and I can at any time return in a few hours to this place, it is my intention to repair this morning to the Superb, where I have ordered the boats of my diviſion. Sir Home Popham is examining the channels. Although we are now maſters of the navigation to Lillo, it may be proper to obſerve, that it is in the enemy's power, by ſending a ſuperior naval force, to deprive us of it, as far as Bathz, (before ſome larger ſhips aſcend) whenever he pleaſes.

"R. G. KEATS."

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Downing-ſtreet, Aug. 19.

The following Diſpatch was this Day received from the Earl of Chatham, K. G.

"*Head-Quarters, Middleburgh, Auguſt* 16.

"My lord,

"I have the honour of acquainting your lordſhip, that on the 13th inſt. the batteries before Fluſhing being completed, and the frigates, bombs, and gun-veſſels, having at the ſame time taken their ſtations, a fire was opened at about half paſt one *p. m.* from fifty-two pieces of heavy ordnance, which was vigorouſly returned by the enemy. An additional battery of ſix 24 pounders was completed the ſame night, and the whole continued to play upon the town with little or no intermiſſion till late on the following day. On the morning of the 14th inſt. about ten o'clock, the line-of-battle ſhips at anchor in the Durloo Paſſage, led by Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, got under weigh, and kept up as they paſſed a tremendous cannonade on the town for ſeveral hours with the greateſt gallantry and effect.—About four in the afternoon, perceiving that the fire of the enemy had entirely ceaſed, and the town preſenting a moſt awful ſcene of deſtruction, being on fire in almoſt every quarter, I directed Lieut.-General Sir E. Coote to ſend in to ſummons the place. General Monnet returned for anſwer, that he would reply to the ſummons as ſoon as he had conſulted a council of war: an hour had been allowed him for the purpoſe; but a conſiderable time beyond it having elapſed without any anſwer being received, hoſtilities were ordered to recommence with the utmoſt vigour, and about 11 o'clock at night, one of the enemy's batteries, advanced upon the ſea-dyke in front of Lieutenant-General Fraſer's poſition, was moſt gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet by detachments from the 36th, 71ſt, and light battalions of the King's German legion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pack, oppoſed to great ſuperiority of numbers: they took forty priſoners, and killed and wounded a great many of the enemy. I muſt not omit to mention,

mention, that on the preceding evening, an intrenchment in front of Major-General Graham's poſition was alſo forced in a manner equally undaunted, by the 14th regiment, and detachments of the King's German legion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls, who drove the enemy from it, and made a lodgement within muſket-ſhot of the walls of the town, taking one gun and thirty priſoners. About two in the morning, the enemy demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms for forty-eight hours, which was refuſed, and only two hours granted; when he agreed to ſurrender according to the ſummons ſent in, on the baſis of the garriſon becoming priſoners of war. I have now the ſatisfaction of acquainting your lordſhip, that, theſe preliminaries being acceded to, as ſoon as the admiral landed in the morning, Captain Long, adjutant-general, and Captain Cockburn, of the royal navy, were appointed to negotiate the further articles of capitulation, which I have now the honour to encloſe. They were ratified about three this morning, when detachments of the royals on the right, and of his Majeſty's 71ſt regiment on the left, took poſſeſſion of the gates of the town. The garriſon will march out to-morrow, and will be embarked as ſpeedily as poſſible. I may now congratulate your lordſhip on the fall of a place ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to our future operations, as ſo large a portion of our force being required to carry on the ſiege with that degree of vigour and diſpatch, which the means of defence the enemy poſſeſſed, and particularly his powers of inundation (which was rapidly ſpreading to an alarming extent) rendered abſolutely neceſſary. Having hoped, had circumſtances permitted, to have proceeded up the river at an earlier period, I had committed to Lieutenant-General Sir E. Coote the direction of the details of the ſiege, and of the operations before Fluſhing; and I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my ſenſe of the unremitting zeal and exertions with which he has conducted the arduous ſervice intruſted to him, in which he was ably aſſiſted by Lieutenant-Colonels Walſh and Offerey, attached to him as aſſiſtants in the adjutant and quarter-maſter-general's department. [Here follow ſome encomiums on the troops.] The active and perſevering exertions of the corps of royal engineers have been conducted with much ſkill and judgment by Colonel Fyers, aided by Lieut.-Colonel D'Arcey; and it is impoſſible for me to do ſufficient juſtice to the diſtinguiſhed conduct of the officers and men of the royal artillery, under the able direction and animating example of Brigadier-General M'Leod. The ſeamen, whoſe labours had been ſo uſeful to the army, ſought their reward in a further opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves; and one of the batteries was accordingly intruſted to them, and which they ſerved with admirable vigour and effect. I muſt here beg to expreſs my ſtrong ſenſe of the conſtant and cordial co-operation of the navy on all occaſions; and my warmeſt acknowledgements are moſt particularly due to Captain Cockburn, of the Belleiſle, commanding the flotilla, and Captain Richardſon, of the Cæſar, commanding the brigade

brigade of ſeamen landed with the army. I have the honour to enclose a return of the garriſon of Fluſhing; in addition to which I have learned that, beſides the number killed, which was conſiderable, upwards of 1000 wounded men were tranſported to Cadſand previous to the complete inveſtment of the town. I alſo ſubjoin a ſtatement of deſerters and priſoners, excluſive of the garriſon of Fluſhing. This diſpatch will be delivered to your lordſhip by my firſt aid-de-camp, Major Bradford, who is fully qualified to give your lordſhip further information, and whom I beg leave earneſtly to recommend to his Majeſty's protection. "CHATHAM."

[Here follow the articles of capitulation. The garriſon of Fluſhing, amounting to 4379 men *, are allowed to march out with the honours of war, but are to lay down their arms on the glacis, and be ſent priſoners of war to England. The other ſtipulations, which ſhow that the whole iſland is to be permanently annexed to the Britiſh empire, relate entirely to the military and civil arrangements.] The return of priſoners and deſerters taken in the iſland of Walcheren amounts to 1700 rank and file. Our loſs, we rejoice to ſtate, is trivial, conſiſting of 3 officers, 23 rank and file killed; 15 officers, and 94 rank and file wounded.

Admiralty-Office, Auguſt 20.

Diſpatches were received laſt Night from Sir R. J. Strachan, addreſſed to the Hon. W. W. Pole.

"*St. Domingo, Fluſhing-Roads, Auguſt 17.*

"Sir,

"I have much ſatisfaction in acquainting you, for the information of their lordſhips, that the town and garriſon of Fluſhing have capitulated on the terms, a copy of which I ſend herewith. Their lordſhips have already been appriſed it was my intention to have proceeded up the Scheldt, with the diviſion of frigates under Lord W. Stuart, and that the greater part of our flotilla had advanced to Bathz, in the charge of Sir H. Popham, by whom the enemy were driven above Lillo, where their ſhips and gun-brigs had taken up a ſtrong poſition. The command of the important ſervice of the Scheldt I have given to Sir R. Keats; and he has my directions to co-operate with Lieut. General the Earl of Roſslyn, as well as to uſe every means in his power for capturing or deſtroying the fleet and flotilla of the enemy. Rear-Admiral Lord Gardner remained with the ſhips named in the margin † off Dykeſhook, and his lordſhip had received my direction to hold that ſquadron in readineſs to go againſt the garriſon of Fluſhing. On the 12th inſt. I was informed by Lord Chatham, that the

"* Lord Chatham, in his next diſpatch, dated the 18t Inſt., incloſes the articles of capitulation of the iſlands of Schowen and Duiveland, and corrects this return of the garriſon of Fluſhing, which amounted to 5,803 men; and theſe added to the number killed or taken priſoners, make the force originally oppoſed to us in Walcheren amount to 9000 men."

"† St. Domingo, Blake, Repulſe, Victorious, Denmark, Audacious, and Venerable."

advanced

advanced batteries were ſufficiently prepared to open on the enemy the day following, at one o'clock in the afternoon; and as it appeared to me of conſequence that the line-of-battle ſhips ſhould paſs the town at the ſame moment, I therefore abandoned my intention of going up to the advanced flotilla, and, proceeding to Dykeſhook, hoiſted my flag in the St. Domingo. The batteries opened on the garriſon, as it was previouſly ſettled, at one in the afternoon of the 13th inſt. and the fire was returned with great vigour by the enemy. The bombs and gun-veſſels, under the direction of Captain Cockburn, of the Belleiſle, were moſt judiciouſly placed at the ſouth-eaſt end of the town; and to the ſouth-weſt, Captain Owen, of the Clyde, had, with equal ſkill and judgment, placed the bombs and other veſſels under his orders. I had much ſatisfaction in witneſſing the fire that was kept up by the ſquadrons under the command of theſe two officers, and the preciſion with which the ſhells were thrown from the bombs. Unfortunately, the wind was too ſcant to allow me to weigh when the batteries opened; but it proving more favourable the following day, I immediately put that intention into execution, and at ten in the forenoon of the 14th, proceeded with the ſhips already named towards Fluſhing, meaning to paſs to a more convenient anchorage for placing the ſquadron againſt it, when ſuch a meaſure ſhould appear to be neceſſary.—This ſquadron was led in by the St. Domingo, bearing my flag, and I was followed by the Blake, with the flag of Rear-Admiral Lord Gardner; the other ſhips advanced in ſucceſſion. Soon after we had opened our fire, the wind came more ſoutherly, and the St. Domingo grounded inſide of the Dog-Sand. Lord Gardner, not knowing our ſituation, paſſed inſide of us, by which the Blake alſo grounded. The other ſhips were immediately directed to haul off, and anchor as previouſly intended. After being ſome time in this ſituation, during which the enemy's fire ſlackened, by the active and zealous exertions of Captain Owen, of the Clyde, who came to our aſſiſtance, and anchored cloſe to the St. Domingo, ſhe was got off; and ſoon after I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Blake alſo afloat, and come to anchor with the reſt of the ſquadron. I was much pleaſed with the conduct and exertions of Captain Gill, of the St. Domingo, and his officers, and with the ſteadineſs, energy, and good order of the ſhip's company. Lord Gardner bears equal teſtimony to the behaviour of the officers, ſeamen, and marines of the Blake; and his lordſhip mentions the aſſiſtance he received from Captain Codrington in the higheſt terms of praiſe. The fire of the enemy towards the evening had conſiderably abated; the town was burning in many places, and much damage was done to the houſes. At ſeven o'clock I received a meſſage from Lieutenant-General Sir E. Coote, requeſting I would ceaſe hoſtilities, as a ſummons had been ſent into Fluſhing; but at night the fire again commenced, and was kept up without intermiſſion until two o'clock of the morning of the 15th, when the French commandant, General Monnet, offered to ſurrender. This

was

was communicated to me by the lieutenant-general; and, in conſequence, I directed the flag of truce to be hoiſted at day-light on board his Majeſty's ſhips, and that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe.

" The lieutenant-general having alſo intimated his wiſh that two commiſſioners ſhould be ſent on the part of the navy, to aſſiſt in the propoſed capitulation, I accordingly nominated Lord Gardner to meet Sir E. Coote at Eaſt Zouburg, and to take with him Captain Cockburn, to act in conjunction with the officers on the part of the army. Shortly after, I received a meſſage from the Earl of Chatham, requeſting to ſee me at Zouburg. On my arrival there, I found his lordſhip had ſelected Colonel Long, adjutant-general of the army, and Captain Cockburn, to be the commiſſioners for ſettling the terms of capitulation, which were finally concluded late in the evening of the 15th.

[" The diſpatch concludes with commendations on Rear-Admirals Otway, Keats, and Lord Gardner, Sir H. Popham, Captains C. Richardſon and Blaney, of the Cæſar and Harpy, and Firſt Lieutenant May, of the St. Domingo.]

" R. J. STRACHAN."

[Here follows a letter from Admiral Keats, ſtating that Sir H. Popham had, with a diviſion of gun-boats, cut off the communication between the Eaſt and Weſt Scheldt.—Another from Captain Cockburn, who commanded the flotilla of gun-boats, praiſing the officers and men under his command; and an incloſure from Captain Otway, of the Monarch, relative to a detachment of ſeamen and marines placed under the orders of Captain Richardſon, of the Cæſar, and employed in conſtructing and manning ſeveral batteries, which ſervice they executed with the utmoſt gallantry and effect.]

The only naval officers killed, are Lieutenant Rennie, of the Marlborough, and Lieutenant Ruſſell and Surgeon Burnſide, of the San Joſef. None dangerouſly wounded. Total—ſeamen killed 18, and 37 wounded.

Downing-ſtreet, Auguſt 26.

The following Diſpatch has been received from Major Maxwell, of the Royal African Corps, addreſſed to Viſcount Caſtlereagh.

" *Senegal, July* 18.

" My Lord,

" When I had laſt the honour of writing to your lordſhip, I communicated ſuch information as I had received concerning the ſituation of the French colony of Senegal, and my opinion of the practicability of reducing it with a ſmall force: I alſo mentioned the annoyance we had received at Goree, and its vicinity, from their privateers, during the abſence of ſhips of war from that ſtation.—On the 24th of June, Commodore Columbine arrived at Goree with the Solebay frigate, and brig Tigreſs, having the colonial ſchooner George, Agincourt tranſport, and ſeveral merchant veſſels under convoy; and having communicated to him what intelligence I had lately obtained, we thought the reduction of Senegal practicable with the force we poſſeſſed, provided no obſtacles ſhould prevent our being able to paſs the bars at the mouth of the river.—

To

To this attempt I was induced by conſiderations which I truſt your lordſhip will conceive to be of weight. I was of opinion that the colony of itſelf would be an acquiſition of importance to the nation, from its commerce; that by the French government, as it had always been much valued, its loſs would be proportionally felt; and that by driving the enemy from their ſole poſſeſſion on the coaſt, his Majeſty's ſettlements, and the Britiſh commerce, would be more ſecure, and more eaſily protected. Having therefore procured ſome light veſſels and boats, the beſt adapted for paſſing the bar, a detachment of the garriſon of Goree, conſiſting of ſix officers, ſix ſerjeants, four drummers, and 150 rank and file, was embarked on board the Agincourt tranſport on the 4th of July, when we ſailed, and anchored at the bar on the evening of the 7th. Next morning, Commodore Columbine was of opinion, the troops might be paſſed over the bar, which was accordingly effected through much difficulty by the exertions of the navy. We unfortunately, however, loſt a ſchooner and ſloop, containing much of our proviſions and ammunition; and the ſchooner George went on ſhore inſide the bar. I landed the detachment, and ſixty royal marines from the ſhips of war, on the left bank of the river, where I took up a poſition, with a view to wait till proviſions could be paſſed from the ſhipping, and the ſchooner George could be got off. We then learnt that the enemy had made a formidable line of defence at the poſt of the Babague, twelve miles up the river, where there is a battery, in front of which three cannoniers and four other veſſels were moored, and the whole protected by a ſtrong boom drawn acroſs the river. On the 9th we were attacked, but ſpeedily repulſed the enemy, and drove them within their line at Babague: after which we returned to get off the ſchooner, which was effected on the following evening. The 11th was employed in refitting the ſchooner, and embarking proviſions and water. The Solebay frigate and Derwent ſloop of war were ordered to anchor oppoſite to the poſt of Babague, and bombard it, which was executed with much effect. During the night, in ſhifting her birth, the Solebay unfortunately got aground, but in a poſition which enabled her ſtill to annoy the enemy. On the morning of the 12th the troops were embarked, and the flotilla proceeded up the river, till juſt within gun-ſhot of the enemy's line of defence; and when every thing was in readineſs for a night attack, we received information that it was the intention of the French commandant to capitulate. Willing to ſpare an unneceſſary effuſion of human blood, the attack was poſtponed. On the morning of the 13th, we diſcovered that the boom was broken, that the enemy had abandoned the battery and veſſels, leaving their colours flying, and ſhortly afterwards a letter was received from Meſſrs. Degrigny and Durecu, in the name of the commandant of Senegal, offering to capitulate. Mr. Heddle, ſurgeon to the forces, who had acted as my aid-de-camp during the campaign, was ſent forward to treat with theſe gentlemen, and ſoon returned with the articles of

capi-

capitulation, which I incloſe, and which we ratified. I immediately took poſſeſſion of the battery of Iſle aux Anglois; and in the courſe of the evening, the battery of Guelander facing the town.—Next morning the garriſon laid down their arms, and were embarked. We then found that the force which had been employed againſt us amounted to 160 regular ſoldiers, and 240 militia and volunteers. We had no reaſon, however, to count on much oppoſition from the latter part of the enemy's force.

["The diſpatch concludes with ſpeaking in high terms of Captain Titley, Lieutenant Bones, and the other officers of the royal navy and marines, as well as Mr. Heddle, Aſſiſtant Commiſſary Hamilton, and Captain Odlum, the bearer of the diſpatch.]

"C. W. MAXWELL,
Major R. A. corps."

From the London Gazette.—Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 4.

Diſpatches, of which the following are Copies, were Yeſterday Morning received at the Office of Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart, dated Iſchia, 5th and 9th July laſt.

"*Iſchia, July 5*, 1809.

"My Lord,

"In my diſpatch to your lordſhip of the 9th ult. from Milazzo, I did myſelf the honour to acquaint you with a project which I had formed, in concert with Rear-Admiral Martin, to make ſuch a movement, as although it ſhould produce no iſſue of achievement to ourſelves, might ſtill operate a diverſion in favour of our Auſtrian allies, under the heavy preſſure of reverſe with which we had learned at the period they were bravely but unequally ſtruggling.

"The firſt meaſure that ſuggeſted itſelf to our contemplation was a menace upon the kingdom and capital of Naples; and the army, as within detailed being embarked, we ſailed under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhips Canopus, Spartiate, Warrior, and ſome frigates and ſmaller veſſels, on the 11th of laſt month, leaving orders to the diviſion of his Sicilian Majeſty's troops, which had been placed under my conduct, and were waiting my inſtructions at Palermo, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Boureard, to proceed to a given rendezvous.—His Royal Highneſs Prince Leopold, I found at our ſubſequent junction, had embarked with this diviſion.

"Our appearance on the coaſt of Calabria, which we reached on the morning of the 13th, had the effect of inducing the body of the enemy ſtationed in that province, to abandon, for the purpoſes of immediate concentration, the greater part of their poſts along the ſhore, when thoſe upon the line oppoſite Meſſina were ſeized and diſarmed by a corps under Lieut.-Colonel Smith, who had been detached from the fleet immediately after our ſailing from Milazzo, with proviſionary orders for that purpoſe.

"Major-General Mackenzie, who had ſailed with me, as deſigned to bear a part in this expedition, returned alſo at my requeſt about this period, for the general

ſuperintendance of theſe ſervices, as well as to hold the general command in Sicily, which becomes a charge ſo important during the term of our preſent operations.

"On the 24th ult. the advanced diviſion of the Britiſh and Sicilian fleet, namely, that which contained the Britiſh troops, anchored off Cape Miſeno, in the vicinity of Baia, when our preparations were immediately made for a debarkation upon the iſland of Iſchia; and the neceſſary arrangements and diſpoſition of boats being intruſted by the admiral to Sir Francis Laforey, a deſcent was forced on the following morning by the troops named in the margin *, commanded by Major-General M'Farlane, under the immediate fire of his Majeſty's ſhips Warrior and Succeſs, aided by the Britiſh and Sicilian gun-boats, in the face of a formidable chain of batteries, with which every acceſſible part of the ſhore was perfectly fortified. Theſe were turned and ſucceſſively abandoned, as our troops gained their footing. About 250 or 300 men, of the 1ſt Legere, in the firſt inſtance fell into our hands. General Colonna, who commanded, retired with his principal force into the caſtle, where he rejected a ſummons from Major-General M'Farlane, and held out until the 30th ult. when a breaching battery having been erected againſt his works, he ſurrendered upon terms of capitulation.

"As it was conjectured by the admiral and myſelf that the ſucceſs and promptitude with which the landing upon Iſchia was effected, might probably operate an influence upon the adjacent garriſon of Procida, a ſummons was immediately ſent to the commandant thereof, who, in the courſe of the day, ſubmitted to our propoſed terms; an event which contributed moſt fortunately to the almoſt entire capture or deſtruction of a large flotilla of about forty heavy gun-boats, which attempted their paſſage during the night and following morning to Naples from Gaeta, and expected to find protection, as well as co-operation, under the artillery of the fortreſs, in their paſſage through the narrow ſtraight that ſeparates the iſland from the Main.

"This important ſervice was executed by Captain Staines, of his Majeſty's ſhip Cyane, aſſiſted by the Eſpoir ſloop, and the Britiſh and Sicilian gun-boats.—It is with regret I add, that in a ſubſequent intrepid attack upon the frigate and corvette of the enemy in the bay, the above gallant officer has received a wound, which muſt for ſome time

"* Troops that landed under the command of Major-General M'Farlane, aſſiſted by the Hon. Brigadier-General Lumley.

Firſt battalion infantry	850
Second battalion light infantry (foreign)	330
Eighty-firſt regiment	600
Corſican rangers	400
Detachment Calabrian free corps	150
Artillery, staff-corps, &c.	50
	—2380

Four ſix-pounders. Two howitzers."

deprive

deprive the ſervice of his aſſiſtance.

"The amount of priſoners who have fallen into our hands, already exceeds 1500 regular troops, excluſive of their killed and wounded, both of military and marine, in different partial encounters, which we have reaſon to think are conſiderable. Among the priſoners are a general of brigade, two colonels, and upwards of ſeventy officers of progreſſive ranks.

"Nearly 100 pieces of ordnance, with their correſponding ſtores, have alſo become our capture.

"It is with much greater ſatisfaction, however, my lord, than any that can be derived from theſe local or momentary advantages, that I contemplate our ſucceſs in the material and important object of diverſion, for which this expedition was deſigned. A conſiderable body of troops which had been recently detached from Naples as a reinforcement to the army in Upper Italy, as well as almoſt the whole of the troops which had been ſent into the Roman ſtates, to aid the late uſurpation of the Papal dominions, were precipitately recalled on our firſt appearance on the coaſt; and I venture to hope, that the check which has been operated, and which I ſhall endeavour to preſerve, will have already, though remotely, contributed to ſupport the efforts of our brave allies.

"The preponderating regular force which the enemy has now aſſembled in the contiguity of Naples, aided by a large body of national guards, precludes the hope, at this moment, of any attack upon the capital. But our footing upon theſe healthy iſlands (which were eſſentially neceſſary to us, as a temporary lodgment as well as depôt) in affording us the earlieſt means of information, is alſo a poſition from which we can profit from circumſtance, or can move with facility and promptitude to ulterior objects; while our enemy, who are obſerving us from the unwholeſome plains of Baia, muſt be kept on the alert by the uncertainty of our operations, and harraſſed by the neceſſity of correſponding with our every movement.

"A flotilla of gun-boats, which I found it neceſſary to fit out at Meſſina, to aid the army in that narrow ſtraight, under the direction of Captain Reade, of the quarter-maſter-general's department, has acquired the approbation of the admiral by their conduct upon this ſervice. Captain Cameron, of the 21ſt regiment, who commanded a diviſion of theſe boats, is unfortunately among the few who have fallen.

"The harmony and perfect concert that have ſubſiſted between the naval and military branches upon this duty, and between his Majeſty's forces and thoſe of his Sicilian Majeſty; the great diſpoſition to concurrence and ſupport which I have received from Lieutenant-General Lord Forbes, and the other general officers; the able arrangements of the adjutant-general's and the quarter-maſter-general's departments under Major-General Campbell, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bunbury, as well as thoſe of the ordnance branches under Lieutenant-Colonels Bryce and Lemoine; the providence of the commiſſariat and medical departments under Mr. Burgman and Dr. Franklin;

Franklin; and the zeal, readineſs, and good-will of the army throughout, are the means by which I am prepared to avail myſelf of opportunities to proſecute further a ſervice, the plans and progreſs hitherto of which I humbly hope will meet his Majeſty's moſt gracious approbation.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "J. STUART."

[Here follow the Articles of Capitulation.]

Return of Killed and Wounded belonging to the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart, K.B. &c. between the 24th and 30th June, 1809.

Total—1 ſubaltern, 1 bugle, 2 rank and file, 2 marines killed—1 captain, 2 ſerjeants, 5 rank and file, 2 marines wounded.

[Here follows a return of the ordnance.]

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded.

21ſt foot—Lieutenant Cameron, doing duty with the flotilla, killed.

Corſican rangers—Captain Arata, wounded.

J. CAMPBELL,
Maj. Gen. A. G.

Iſchia, July 4.

"*Iſchia, July* 9, 1809.

"My lord,

"In my diſpatch of the 5th inſtant, I had the honour of ſtating to your lordſhip, that Lieutenant-Colonel Smith had been detached, after our ſailing from Milazzo, with the 10th regiment and Chaſſeurs Britanniques, which were to be joined at the Faro by the 21ſt regiment, with orders to occupy and diſarm the poſts upon the ſtraight oppoſite to Meſſina, upon the late retreat of the enemy upon the firſt appearance of our armament on the coaſt of Calabria.

"An attempt to reduce the Caſtle of Scylla was attended, in the firſt inſtance, with diſappointment, from the ſudden re-appearance of a large preponderating force of the enemy, which conſtrained Lieutenant-Colonel Smith to raiſe the ſiege, and embark for Meſſina; a meaſure which was effected, I am happy to ſay, on the 20th ult. without the ſmalleſt loſs, but that of his beſieging train, which neceſſarily became a ſacrifice. It fortunately, however, has proved only a ſacrifice of the moment. The official reports from Major-General Mackenzie ſtate to me, that on the night of the 2d inſtant, the enemy, from ſome ſudden panic, retreated again from the coaſt, having previouſly blown up the works of Scylla, and not only left us again our captured ſtores, but an immenſe quantity of ordnance and ſtores of their own, which had been placed in depôt. Major-General Mackenzie mentions to me, in particular, that thirty pieces of braſs cannon had been thrown from the rock into the ſea, from whence, however, there could be no difficulty in raiſing them, the water being extremely ſhallow.

"The ſtores had been progreſſively aſſembling, I am informed, by means of coaſting navigation, for a conſiderable time paſt, as preparatory to the long menaced, and I believe really intended, invaſion of the kingdom of Sicily.

"The conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, during the courſe of this ſervice, although attended with a momentary reverſe, has been repreſented to me by Major-General

General Mackenzie, in terms of great approbation, with every praiſe to the zeal and perſeverance of the troops employed under his orders. He has alſo expreſſed great acknowledgments to the active aſſiſtance of Captains Crawley and Palmer, of his Majeſty's ſhips Philomel and Alacrity, who were his co-operators on this ſervice.

"The great diſunion of party in the province was a material obſtacle to every means of intelligence, and led to the loſs of a detachment of the 21ſt regiment, which had been ſent at the ſolicitation of the inhabitants of the town of Palmi, for their protection. General Murat directed a flag of truce to me after our arrival here, to offer to treat for an exchange of three officers, four non-comiſſioned officers, and eighty men of this party, who were ſtated to be priſoners, and on their march to Naples. I had ſcarcely agreed to the meaſure, when in a ſeeming fit of humour, occaſioned by a diſſatisfaction at the terms of capitulation of this iſland, he ſent another flag again to me, withdrawing the former, and declining any further correſpondence or communication with me whatever.

"J. STUART,
"Lieutenant-General."

Return of Caſualties in the Diviſion of the Army under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, 27th Regiment, during the Siege of Scylla Caſtle, and at Palmi, from the 13th to the 28th June, 1809.

Total—1 captain, 1 rank and file, 1 mule killed; 9 rank and file wounded; 2 captains, 2 ſubalterns, 4 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 76 rank and file priſoners; 24 rank and file, 4 horſes, 11 mules miſſing.

Names of the Officers killed and taken priſoners.

21ſt foot—Captain Hunter, killed—Captains Mackay and Couran, Lieutenants M'Nab and Mackay, taken priſoners.

(Signed) J. CAMPBELL,
Major-General.

Copy of a Diſpatch from Major-General Carmichael to Viſcount Caſtlereagh, dated St. Carlos, before the City of St. Domingo, July 8, 1809.

"My lord,

"I have the pleaſure to inform your lordſhip, that I ſailed from Jamaica on the 7th ult. with the troops as per margin, and landed at Polingue, the neareſt landing place, thirty miles diſtant from the city of St. Domingo, on the 28th inſtant, when I immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the forts and fortifications, which was completely effected on the 29th, and fully ſatisfied me that the walls and baſtions were aſſailable by coup-de-main; and conſidering the garriſon, who had bravely defended them for a conſtant ſiege of eight months, it appeared to me that prompt and deciſive meaſures were moſt prudent before a gallant enemy, and would obviate the evil effect of open trenches in the rainy ſeaſon, the only foe to be dreaded by this corps, and which had already made a ſevere impreſſion on the Spaniſh natives of the country,

400 out of 600 of their beſt regiment being rendered unfit for ſervice, and would probably be attended with more mortality to the Britiſh troops, than a conflict upon the walls.

"His excellency General Sanchez, from whom I met, on the 30th ult. the moſt kind and cordial reception, being very ſick ſome time before, and, I am grieved to ſay, ſtill continuing ſo by fatigue and liver diſeaſe, ordered the Spaniſh troops at the different poſts to execute any directions given by me, which they cheerfully performed by a forward movement immediately, and effectually cutting off the communication between the city of St. Domingo and the ſtrong fortreſs of fort Jerome, which, by covering the only landing place, prevented our communication with the ſquadron.

"Having the ſame evening refuſed the French general's application for an armiſtice, I advanced with a detachment of the Spaniards to the church of St. Carlos, and eſtabliſhed my quarters there within muſket ſhot of the city, confident that the Britiſh troops would be with us that night; which, however, was rendered impracticable, by heavy and inceſſant rain, until the following night of the firſt, after ſuffering the greateſt fatigue and privations, dragging the field pieces on bad roads, and dreadful weather, and paſſages of rivers, without proper conveyance.

"The 1ſt of July I received another letter from General Barquier, allowing him until twelve the next day for an anſwer.

"In conſequence of a continual fire of muſketry from the walls, whilſt the white flag was up, I moved forward with a party of dragoons, and ſent an aid-de-camp to demand the cauſe, who was very politely received, and aſſured by General Barquier, that the inhabitants were firing at immenſe numbers of wild pigeons flying over the walls, but that he would give ſtrict orders for it to ceaſe during the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. On the 2d inſt. I received a letter from General Barquier, reſpecting the movement of the troops to St. Carlos, which had been occupied on the 30th ult. when his overture for negociation was rejected. On the 3d, the commiſſioners for the capitulation met; thoſe on the part of the French having declared that their inſtructions were poſitively not to conſent to ſurrender, which I alſo underſtood by priſoners and intercepted letters; and as I did not conceive myſelf juſtifiable in admitting any other terms, the meeting adjourned until a communication could be had with the commander of the naval forces.

"In conſequence of bad weather, the anſwer was not received until the 6th inſt. which perfectly coincided with my opinion as to the only terms that could be granted to the enemy. I was alſo informed that the river Huna had overflowed its banks, and we were thus ſeparated from the greater part of the ordnance ſtores and our proviſions, which further determined me to bring the matter to immediate iſſue, as I ſtated to Captain Cumby, and requeſted that co-operation in armed ſeamen, ammunition, and proviſions, which I found him ever ready moſt cordially to afford.

With

"With humble ſubmiſſion to the Almighty Diſpoſer of events, full confidence in a juſt cauſe, and Britiſh hearts to maintain it, I wrote a letter to be delivered to General Barquier, on the garriſon again refuſing to lay down their arms, and immediately made the following diſpoſition:

"The firſt brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, who preferred that command to the duty of deputy-adjutant-general.

"The ſecond brigade, under Major Curry of the 54th regiment, (Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth, of the 55th regiment, a valuable officer, not having joined, by the Diego tranſport, in which he was embarked, being a bad ſailer,) and whoſe abſence I ſhould have greatly regretted, as well as the excellent officers and men with him, had the expected engagement taken place. On firing the firſt gun from the enemy, the reſerve to be formed of the Royal Iriſh and 54th grenadiers, fifty men of the 2d Weſt India regiment, and the ſame number of the Porto Rico regiment; as this body had ſufficient cover as long as the walls of the church and my quarters remained, upon which above twenty guns and one mortar bore at the diſtance of 338 yards; I directed Brigadier-General French, a moſt active and zealous officer, to take up a poſition at a hollow, about 150 paces diſtant in my rear; and ſhould the garriſon attempt a ſortie upon the reſerve, to wait their cloſe approach, charge bayonets, and follow them into the city. Had the enemy remained within the gates, falſe attacks and feints at different points were to be made during the night; and, ſcaling ladders being prepared, a general aſſault was to take place in open day, the firſt favourite opportunity; a lodgment effected upon the baſtions; but the troops not to enter the ſtreets until further orders.

"During this hour of ſuſpenſe under arms, the only ſenſation perceptible was impatience for attack, and the countenance of every Britiſh ſoldier at that intereſting period depicted a reſolute determination to plant the glory of England with the points of their bayonets upon the fortified walls of St. Domingo. The hour having expired, I ſent my military ſecretary, Captain Twigg, to know the reaſon the white flag was continued after the time had elapſed, and not any anſwer returned to my letter? He met at the gate Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, announcing that the ultimatum had been agreed upon, and the garriſon conſented to lay down their arms as priſoners of war.

"I alſo detached Major Walker, of the Royal Iriſh, with the three light companies of the Royal Iriſh, 54th, and 55th regiments of foot, to Fort Jerome, a very ſtrong fortreſs, about two miles weſt of the city, with orders, on the commencement of the action, to force the gate with a field-piece, and to ſtorm by the ſally-port, the walls being too high for eſcalade. Upon his ſummon, Captain Gillerman, who had no proviſions but biſcuit left, gave the anſwer of a brave ſoldier—that he would abide the fate of the city.

"The honour of his Majeſty's arms, my lord, has been maintained without the loſs of one Bri-

tiſh ſoldier, by ſhot or ſickneſs, or having recourſe to that glorious, but at the ſame time deplorable reſource, the aſſault of a populous city. When it is conſidered the courage and perſevering fortitude of the French garriſon, with their ſuperiority of poſition and numbers, I truſt his Majeſty will not diſapprove of the meaſures taken for the reduction, the magnitude of the object obtained, and the terms granted to the enemy; and which will be delivered to your lordſhip by my military ſecretary, Captain Twigg, of the 54th regiment, to whom I beg leave to refer for further information, and earneſtly recommend him as an officer deſerving ſuch mark of favour as his Majeſty be graciouſly pleaſed to confer.

"I have now, my lord, a further moſt gratifying duty to perform; that of making known to his Majeſty the moſt zealous and indefatigable exertions of the following officers:—Brigadier-General French, ſecond in command; Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, commanding the firſt brigade; Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, commanding the royal artillery, whoſe abilities and unwearied attention ſurmounted uncommon difficulties; Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, deputy quarter-maſter-general, and commiſſioner to arrange the articles of capitulation.

"The prominent ſituation of thoſe officers afforded me a conſtant experience of their zeal, abilities, and anxiety for the moſt honourable termination of the enterprize; and which ſentiments, I can aſſure your lordſhip, actuated every officer, non-commiſſioned officer, and ſoldier, upon the expedition.

"It would be ingratitude in me, my lord, were I to omit ſtating, in the ſtrongeſt poſſible terms, the cordial co-operation, as I have already noticed, and efficient aid the army received from Captain Cumby, commanding his Majeſty's ſquadron before the city, who alſo landed two officers, Lieutenants Denman and Sheriff, with a detachment of ſeamen, who were of infinite ſervice, and cheerfully underwent the moſt ſevere fatigue and labour.

"It is impoſſible for me to paſs over in ſilence the very great aſſiſtance I received from William Walton, jun. Eſq. an Engliſh gentleman, who formerly reſided in the iſland, and whoſe acquaintance with the country, inhabitants, and languages, rendered his voluntary and able ſervices of the moſt eſſential benefit, as private ſecretary to me during the expedition.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. I. CARMICHAEL,
Major-General, commanding his Britannic Majeſty's forces at the city of St. Domingo."

Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 2.

The following Diſpatch has been received from Lieutenant-General Lord Viſcount Wellington.

"*Deleyſtoſa, Aug.* 8.

"My Lord,

"I appriſed your lordſhip on the 1ſt inſt. of the advance of a French corps towards the Puerto de Banos, and of the probable embarraſſments to the operations of the army which its arrival at Placentia would occaſion; and theſe embarraſſments having ſince exiſted to a degree ſo conſiderable as to oblige

oblige us to fall back, and to take up a defenſive poſition on the Tagus, I am induced to trouble you more at length with an account of what has paſſed upon this ſubject. When I entered Spain, I had a communication with General Cueſta, through Sir R. Wilſon and Colonel Roche, reſpecting the occupation of the Puerto de Banos and the Puerto de Perales, the former of which it was at laſt ſettled ſhould be held by a corps to be formed under the Marquis de la Reyna, to conſiſt of two battalions from General Cueſta's army, and two from Bejar; and that the Puerto de Perales was to be taken care of by the Duke de Parque, by detachments from the garriſon of Ciudad Rodrigo. I doubted of the capacity of the garriſon of Ciudad Rodrigo to make the detachment to the latter; but had ſo little doubt of the effectual operation of the former, that in writing to Marſhal Beresford on the 17th July, I deſired him to look to the Puerto de Perales, but that I conſidered Banos as ſecure, as appears by the extract of my letter, which I incloſe. On the 30th, intelligence was received at Talavera that twelve thouſand rations had been ordered at Fuente Duenas for the 28th, and twenty-four thouſand at Los Santos for the ſame day, for a French corps, which it was believed was on its march towards the Puerto de Banos. General Cueſta expreſſed ſome anxiety reſpecting this poſt, and ſent me a meſſage to propoſe that Sir R. Wilſon ſhould be ſent there with his corps. Sir Robert was on that day at Talavera, but his corps was in the mountains towards Eſcalona; and as he had already made himſelf very uſeful in that quarter, and had been near Madrid, with which city he had had a communication, which I was deſirous of keeping up, I propoſed that a Spaniſh corps ſhould be ſent to Banos without loſs of time. I could not prevail with General Cueſta, although he certainly admitted the neceſſity of a reinforcement when he propoſed that Sir Robert ſhould be ſent to Banos; and he was equally ſenſible with myſelf of the benefit to be derived to the cauſe from ſending Sir Robert back to Eſcalona. At this time we had no further intelligence of the enemy's advance than that the rations were ordered; and I had hopes that the enemy might be deterred from advancing by the intelligence of our ſucceſſes on the 28th, and that the troops in the Puerto might make ſome defence; and that under theſe circumſtances it was not deſirable to divert Sir Robert Wilſon from Eſcalona. On the 30th, however, I renewed my application to General Cueſta, to ſend there a Spaniſh diviſion of ſufficient ſtrength, in a letter to General O'Donoghue, of which I incloſe a copy,—but without effect; and he did not detach General Baſſecourt till the morning of the 2d, after we had heard that the enemy had entered Bejar, and it was obvious that the troops in the Puerto would make no defence. On the 2d we received accounts that the enemy had entered Placentia in two columns. The Marquis de la Reyna, whoſe two battalions conſiſted of only 600 men, with only twenty rounds of ammunition each man, retired from the Puerto and from Placentia without firing a ſhot, and went to the

bridge of Almaraz, which he declared that he intended to remove; the battalions of Bejar diſperſed without making any reſiſtance. The general called upon me on that day, and propoſed that half of the army ſhould march to the rear to oppoſe the enemy, while the other half ſhould maintain the poſt at Talavera. My anſwer was, that if by half the army he meant half of each army, I could only anſwer, that I was ready either to go or ſtay with the whole Britiſh army, but that I could not ſeparate it. He then deſired me to chooſe whether I would go or ſtay; and I preferred to go, from thinking that the Britiſh troops were moſt likely to do the buſineſs effectually, and without conteſt; and from being of opinion it was more important to us than to the Spaniſh army, to open a communication through Placentia, although very important to them. With this deciſion General Cueſta appeared perfectly ſatisfied. The movements of the enemy in our front ſince the 1ſt, had induced me to be of opinion that, deſpairing of forcing us at Talavera, they intended to force a paſſage by Eſcalona, and thus to open a communication with the French corps coming from Placentia. This ſuſpicion was confirmed on the night of the 2d, by letters received from Sir Robert Wilſon, of which I incloſe copies; and before I quitted Talavera on the 3d, I waited on General O'Donoghue, and converſed with him upon the whole of our ſituation; and pointed out to him the poſſibility, that, in the caſe of the enemy coming through Eſcalona, General Cueſta might find himſelf obliged to quit Talavera, before I ſhould be able to return to him; and I urged him to collect all the carts that could be got, in order to remove our hoſpital. At his deſire I put the purport of this converſation in writing, and ſent him a letter to be laid before General Cueſta, of which I incloſe a copy. The Britiſh army marched on the 3d to Oropeſa, General Baſſecourt's Spaniſh corps being at Centinello, where I deſired that it might halt the next day, in order that I might be nearer it. About five o'clock in the evening, I heard that the French had arrived from Placentia at Navalmoral, whereby they were between us and the bridge of Almaraz. About an hour afterwards, I received from General O'Donoghue the letter and its incloſures, of which I incloſe copies, announcing to me the intention of General Cueſta to march from Talavera in the evening, and to leave there my hoſpital, excepting ſuch men as could be moved by the means he already had, on the ground of his apprehenſions that I was not ſtrong enough for the corps coming from Placentia, and that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to Santa Olalla in his front. I acknowledge that theſe reaſons did not appear to me ſufficient for giving up ſo important a poſt as Talavera, for expoſing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at the ſame time, and for abandoning my hoſpital; and I wrote the letter of which I incloſe a copy. This unfortunately reached the general after he had marched, and he arrived at Oropeſa ſhortly after day-light on the morning of the 4th. The queſtion, what was to be done? was then to

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be conſidered. The enemy, ſtated to be 30,000 ſtrong, but at all events conſiſting of the corps of Soult and Ney, either united or not very diſtant from each other, and ſuppoſed, by Marſhal Jourdan and Joſeph Buonaparte, to be ſufficiently ſtrong to attack the Britiſh army, ſtated to be 25,000 ſtrong, were on one ſide, in poſſeſſion of the high road to the paſſage of the Tagus at Almaraz, the bridge at which place we know had been removed, although the boats ſtill neceſſarily remained in the river. On the other ſide we had reaſon to expect the advance of Victor's corps to Talavera, as ſoon as General Cueſta's march ſhould be known; and, after leaving 12,000 men to watch Venegas, and allowing him from 10 to 11,000 killed and wounded in the late action, this corps would have amounted to 25,000. We could extricate ourſelves from this difficult ſituation only by great celerity of movement, to which the troops were unequal, as they had not had their allowance of proviſions for ſeveral days, and by ſucceſs in two battles. If unſucceſsful in either, we ſhould have been without a retreat; and if Soult and Ney avoiding an action, had retired before us, and had waited the arrival of Victor, we ſhould have been expoſed to a general action with 50,000 men, equally without a retreat.

"We had reaſon to expect that as the Marquis de la Reyna could not remove the boats from the river Almaraz, Soult would have deſtroyed them.—Our only retreat was therefore by the bridge Arco Biſpo; and if we had moved on, the enemy, by breaking that bridge while the army ſhould be engaged with Soult and Ney, would have deprived us of that only reſource. We could not take a poſition at Oropeſa, as we thereby left open the road to the bridge of Arco Biſpo from Talavera by Calera; and after conſidering the whole ſubject maturely, I was of opinion that it was adviſable to retire to the bridge of Arco Biſpo, and to take up a defenſive poſition upon the Tagus. I was induced to adopt this laſt opinion, becauſe the French have now at leaſt 50,000 men diſpoſable to oppoſe to the combined armies, and a corps of 12,000 to watch Venegas; and I was likewiſe of opinion, that the ſooner the defenſive line ſhould be taken up, the more likely were the troops to be able to defend it. Accordingly I marched on the 4th, and croſſed the Tagus by the bridge of Arco Biſpo; and have continued my route to this place, in which I am well ſituated to defend the paſſage of Almaraz and the lower parts of the Tagus. General Cueſta croſſed the river on the night of the fifth, and he is ſtill at the bridge of Arco Biſpo. About 2,000 of the wounded have been brought away from Talavera, the remaining 1500 are there; and I doubt whether, under any circumſtances, it would have been poſſible or conſiſtent with humanity to attempt to remove any more of them.—From the treatment which ſome of the ſoldiers wounded on the 27th, and who fell into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which I have always treated the wounded who have fallen into my hands, I expect that theſe men will be well treated; and I have only

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to lament that a new occurrence of events, over which, from circumſtances, I had and could have no controul, ſhould have placed the army in a ſituation to be obliged to leave any of them behind.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

The following is an abſtract of the total loſs of the reſpective regiments (including officers, non commiſſioned officers, and privates) in killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the battles of Talavera:—

General ſtaff	14
3d dragoon guards	3
4th dragoons	12
14th light dragoons	16
16th light dragoons	14
23d light dragoons	207
1ſt light drag. Ger. leg.	42
Royal Britiſh artillery	34
Royal German artillery	34
Royal engineers	2
Royal ſtaff corps	2
1ſt batt. Coldſtream	297
1ſt batt. 3d guards	322
3d foot	142
2d batt. 7th foot	64
2d batt. 24th	355
1ſt batt. 29th	186
2d batt. 31ſt	249
1ſt batt. 40th	58
1ſt batt. 45th	193
1ſt batt. 48th	176
2d batt. 48th	71
2d batt. 53d	39
5th batt. 60th	77
1ſt batt. 61ſt	272
2d batt. 66th	128
2d batt. 83d	288
9th batt. 87th	253
1ſt batt. 88th	140
1ſt batt. 97th	53
1ſt batt. detachments	374
2d. batt. ditto	21
1ſt line batt. Ger. leg.	300
1ſt and 2d light batt. ditto	79
2d line batt. ditto	390
5th ditto, ditto	306
7th ditto, ditto	256
Killed	801
Wounded	3,913
Miſſing	713
Total	5,427

Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 2d.

The following Diſpatch was received from Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, dated Head-quarters, Bathz, Auguſt 29.

"My Lord,

"Major Bradford delivered to me your lordſhip's diſpatch of the 21ſt inſt. ſignifying to me his majeſty's commands that I ſhould convey to Sir E. Coote, the general and other officers and troops employed before Fluſhing, and particularly to thoſe of the artillery and engineer departments, his majeſty's moſt gracious approbation of their conduct; and which I have obeyed with the moſt entire ſatisfaction. I had the honour in my laſt diſpatch of acquainting your lordſhip with my intention of proceeding to this place, and I ſhould have been moſt happy to have been enabled to have announced to your lordſhip the further progreſs of this army. Unfortunately, however, it becomes my duty to ſtate to your lordſhip, that, from the concurrent teſtimony from ſo many quarters as to leave no doubt of the truth of the information, the enemy appears to have collected ſo formidable a force, as to convince me that the period was arrived at which my inſtructions would have directed me to withdraw the army under my command, even if engaged in actual operation. I had certainly underſtood on my arrival

at

at Walcheren, that the enemy were aſſembling in conſiderable force on all points; but I was unwilling to give too much credit to theſe reports, and I was determined to perſevere until I was ſatisfied, upon the fulleſt information, that all further attempts would be unavailable. From all our intelligence it appears that the force of the enemy in this quarter, diſtributed between the environs of Bergen-op Zoom, Breda, Lillo, and Antwerp, and cantoned on the oppoſite coaſt, is not leſs than 35,000 men, and by ſome ſtatements is eſtimated higher. Though a landing on the continent might, I have no doubt, have been forced, yet, as the ſiege of Antwerp, the poſſeſſion of which could alone have ſecured to us any of the ulterior objects of the expedition, was by this ſtate of things rendered utterly impracticable, ſuch a meaſure, if ſucceſsful, could have led to no ſolid advantage; and the retreat of the army, which muſt at an early period have been inevitable, would have been expoſed to much hazard. The utmoſt force (and that daily decreaſing) that I could have brought into the field, after providing for the occupation of Walcheren and South Beveland, would have amounted to about 23,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. Your lordſhip muſt at once ſee, even if the enemy's force had been leſs numerous than repreſented, after the neceſſary detachments to obſerve the garriſons of Bergen-op Zoom and Breda, and ſecuring our communications, how very inadequate a force muſt have remained for operations againſt Lillo and Liefkenſhoeik, and ultimately againſt Antwerp; which town, ſo far from being in the ſtate which had been reported, is, from very correct accounts, repreſented to be in a complete ſtate of defence; and the enemy's ſhips had been brought up and placed in ſecurity under the guns of the citadel. Under theſe circumſtances, however mortifying to me to ſee the progreſs arreſted of an army, from whoſe good conduct and valour I had every thing to hope, I feel that my duty left me no other courſe than to cloſe my operations here; and it will always be a ſatisfaction to me to think, that I have not been induced lightly to commit the ſafety of the army confided to me, or the reputation of his majeſty's arms. It was an additional ſatisfaction to me to find that the unanimous opinion of the Lieutenant-Generals of this army, whom I thought it right to conſult, more out of reſpect to them than I thought a doubt could be entertained on the ſubject, concurred entirely in the ſentiments I have ſubmitted to your lordſhip. I am concerned to ſay that the effect of the climate at this unhealthy period of the year is felt moſt ſeriouſly, and that the number of ſick already is little ſhort of 3000 men.—It is my intention to withdraw gradually from the advanced poſition in this iſland, and, ſending into Walcheren ſuch an additional force as may be neceſſary to ſecure that important poſſeſſion, to embark the remainder of the troops, and to hold them in readineſs to await his majeſty's further commands, which I ſhall moſt anxiouſly expect.

"CHATHAM."

[The copy of a dispatch from Sir R. Strachan, dated on board the

the St. Domingo off Bathz, the 27th ult. follows. The rear-admiral ſtates, that having made the neceſſary naval arrangements for landing the army near Santfleet without hearing from Lord Chatham, he communicated with his lordſhip on the 24th, and found him undecided. On the 26th he attended, with Rear-Admiral Sir R. Keates, a meeting of the Lieutenant-Generals of the army, when, for the reaſons already ſtated in Lord Chatham's diſpatch, the ulterior objects of the expedition were abandoned. Having offered every naval aſſiſtance in reducing the fortreſſes, and conceiving the ſubject of the deliberation to be purely military, he withdrew with Sir R. Keates. The Rear-Admiral then ſtates, that the enemy's ſhips, which were five miles above Antwerp, have come down, and are extended in a line fronting it, except two of the line, which are in the reach above Liefkenſhoeik, and four frigates gone to Lillo. An immenſe number of ſmall gunboats are on the boom, behind them a creſcent of 60 gun and mortar-brigs; and the battery of 10 guns, between forts Lillo and Hendrich, is finiſhed, though that on the Doel ſide is abandoned.]

Downing-Street, Sept. 7.

Diſpatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, were this day received.

"*Truxillo, Aug.* 20.

"My Lord,

"I wrote ſome days ago a letter to the French commander-in-chief, which I ſent to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Walters, to requeſt his care and attention to the wounded officers and ſoldiers of the Britiſh army, who had fallen into his hands, in return for the care and attention which I had paid to the French officers and ſoldiers who had fallen into my hands at different times; and that he would allow money to be ſent to the officers; and that officers, who ſhould not be deemed priſoners of war, might be ſent to ſuperintend and take care of the ſoldiers, till they ſhould recover from their wounds, when the officers ſhould be ſent to join the Britiſh army. I received a very civil anſwer from Marſhal Mortier, promiſing that every care ſhould be taken, and every attention paid to the Britiſh officers and ſoldiers who were wounded; but ſtating, that he could not anſwer upon the other demands contained in my letter, having been obliged to refer them to the commander-in-chief. Since the receipt of this letter, Mr. Dillon, the aſſiſtant-commiſſary has arrived from Talayera, having been taken priſoner near Cevolla on the 27th of July, previous to the action, and having been allowed to come away. He reports that the Britiſh officers and ſoldiers who are wounded are doing remarkably well, and are well fed and taken care of; indeed, he ſays, preferable to the French troops. I propoſe to ſend Colonel Walters with another flag of truce to-morrow morning, and a letter to the commander-in-chief of the French army, requeſting that a ſum of money which I ſhall ſend may be given to the officers; and I ſhall endeavour to eſtabliſh a cartel of exchange as ſoon as poſſible.

"A. Wellesley."

Truxillo,

Truxillo, Aug. 21.

"My Lord,

"When I marched from Talavera on the 3d inſtant, with a view to oppoſe the French corps which we had heard had paſſed through the Puerto de Banos, and had arrived at Placentia, Sir Robert Wilſon was detached upon the left of the army towards Eſcalona; and before I marched on that morning, I put him in communication with the Spaniſh general Cueſta, who, it had been ſettled, was to remain at Talavera. I underſtood that General Cueſta put Sir Robert in communication with his advanced guard, which retired from Talavera on the night of the 4th. Sir R. Wilſon, however, did not arrive at Valada till the night of the 4th, having made a long march through the mountains; and as he was then ſix leagues from the bridge of Arco Biſpo, and had to croſs the high road from Oropeſa to Talavera, of which the enemy was in poſſeſſion, he conceived that he was too late to retire to Arco Biſpo, and he determined to move by Venta St. Julien and Centinello towards the Tietar, and acroſs that river towards the mountains which ſeparate Caſtile from Eſtremadura. Some of Sir R. Wilſon's diſpatches having miſſed me, I am not aware by which of the paſſes he went through the mountains, but I believe by Tornavacas. He arrived, however, at Banos on the 11th, and on the 12th was attacked and defeated by the French corps of Marſhal Ney, which, with that of Soult, returned to Placentia on the 9th, 10th, and 11th, that of Ney having ſince gone on towards Salamanca. I incloſe Sir R. Wilſon's account of the action. He has been very active, intelligent, and uſeful in the command of the Portugueſe and Spaniſh corps with which he was detached from this army. Before the battle of the 28th of July, he had puſhed his parties almoſt to the gates of Madrid, with which city he was in communication; and he would have been in Madrid, if I had not thought it proper to call him in, in expectation of that general action which took place on the 28th of July. He afterwards alarmed the enemy on the right of his army; and, throughout the ſervice, ſhowed himſelf to be an active and intelligent partiſan, well acquainted with the country in which he was acting, and poſſeſſing the confidence of the troops which he commanded. Being perſuaded that his retreat was not open by Arco Biſpo, he acted right in taking the road he did, with which he was well acquainted; and although unſucceſsful in the action which he fought, (which may be well accounted for, by the ſuperior numbers and deſcription of the enemy's troops,) the action, in my opinion, does him great credit.

"A. WELLESLEY."

"*Miranda de Caſtenar, Aug.* 13.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that I was on march yeſterday morning on the road of Grenadelia from Aldea Neuva, to reſtore my communication with the allied army, when a peaſant aſſured us, that a conſiderable quantity of duſt which we perceived in the road of Placentia proceeded from the march of a body of the enemy. I immediately returned and took poſt

poſt in front of Banos, with my piquets in advance of Aldea Neuva, ſelecting ſuch points for defence as the exigency of the time permitted. The enemy's cavalry advanced on the high road, and drove back my ſmall cavalry poſts; but a piquet of Spaniſh infantry, which I had concealed, poured in on the cavalry a ſteady and well-directed fire, that killed and wounded many of them. The 200 Spaniſh infantry in advance of Aldea Neuva continued, under the direction of Colonel Grant and their officers, to maintain their ground moſt gallantly, until the enemy's cavalry and chaſſeurs à cheval, in conſiderable bodies, appeared on both flanks; when they were obliged to retreat. The enemy's chaſſeurs à cheval and cavalry advanced in great numbers in every direction, and puſhed to cut off the legion poſted between Aldea Neuva and Banos; but by the ſteady conduct of officers and men, the enemy could only advance gradually, and with a very ſevere loſs from the commanding fire thrown on them. The Merida battalion, however, having given way on the right, a road was laid open, which cut behind our poſition, and I was obliged to order a retreat on the heights above Banos, when I was again neceſſitated to detach a corps, in order to ſcour the road of Monte Major, by which I ſaw the enemy directing a column, and which road turned altogether the Puerto de Banos, a league in our rear. At this time, Don Carlos Marquis de Eſtrague came up with his battalion of light infantry, and in the moſt gallant manner took poſt along the heights commanding the road of Banos, which enabled me to ſend ſome of the Merida battalion on the mountain on our left commanding the main road, and which the enemy had tried to aſcend. The battalion of light infantry, the detachment of the legion on its right, continued, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire of artillery and muſketry, to maintain their ground; but, at ſix o'clock in the evening, three columns of enemy mounted the heights on our left, gained it, and poured ſuch a fire on the troops below, that longer defence was impracticable, and the whole was obliged to retire on the mountains on our left, leaving open the main road, along which a conſiderable column of cavalry immediately poured. The battalion of Seville had been left at Bejar with orders to follow me next day; but when I was obliged to return, and the action commenced, I ordered it to Puerto Banos, to watch the Monte Major road, and the heights in the rear of our left. When the enemy's cavalry came near, an officer and ſome dragoons called out to the commanding officer to ſurrender; but a volley killed him and his party, and then the battalion proceeded to mount the heights, in which movement it was attacked and ſurrounded by a column of cavalry and a column of infantry, but cut its way and cleared itſelf, killing a great many of the enemy, eſpecially of his cavalry. The enemy is now paſſing to Salamanca with great expedition. I lament that I could no longer arreſt his progreſs; but when the enormous ſuperiority of the enemy's force is conſidered, and that we had no artillery, and that the Puerto de Banos on the Eſtremaduran ſide is not a paſs of ſuch ſtrength

ſtrength as on the ſide of Caſtile, eſpecially without guns, I hope that a reſiſtance for nine hours, which muſt have coſt the enemy a great many men, will not be deemed inadequate to our means. I have to acknowledge the ſervices rendered me on this occaſion by Colonel Grant, Major Reiman, Don Fermen Marquis, adjutant-major of the dragoons of Pavia, Captain Charles and Mr. Bolman; and to expreſs the greateſt approbation of two companies of the Merida battalions advanced in front, and of the commanding officer and ſoldiery of the battalions of Seville and the Portugueſe brigade. I have already noticed the diſtinguiſhed conduct of Don Carlos, and his battalion merits the higheſt encomiums. I have not yet been able to collect the returns of our loſs. From the nature of mountain warfare, many men are miſſing who cannot join for a day or two; but I believe the enemy will only have to boaſt that he has achieved his paſſage, and his killed and wounded will be a great diminution of his victory.

"ROBERT WILSON."

"*Sir Arthur Welleſley.*"

"*Truxillo, Aug.* 21, 1809.

"General Cueſta moved his head-quarters from the neighbourhood of the bridge of Arzo Biſpo on the night of the 7th inſtant, to Peraleca de Garbin, leaving an advanced-guard, conſiſting of two diviſions of infantry, and the Duke D'Albuquerque's diviſion of cavalry, for the defence of the paſſage of the Tagus at this point.

"The French cavalry paſſed the Tagus at a ford immediately above the bridge, at half-paſt one in the afternoon of the 8th, and ſurpriſed this advanced-guard, which retired, leaving behind them all their cannon, as well as thoſe in the batteries conſtructed for the defence of the bridge.

"The general then moved his head-quarters to the Meſa d'Ibor on the evening of the 8th, having his advanced-guard at Bohoral. He reſigned the command of the army on the 12th, (on account of the bad ſtate of his health) which has devolved upon General Equia. The head-quarters of the Spaniſh army are now at Deleytoſa.

"It appears that a detachment of Vanegas's army had ſome ſucceſs againſt the enemy, in an attack made upon it in the neighbourhood of Aranjuez, on the 5th inſtant. General Vanegas was then at Ocana, and he had determined to retire towards the Sierra Morena; and after the 5th, he had moved in that direction. He returned, however, towards Toledo, with an intention of attacking the enemy on the 12th, but on the 11th the enemy attacked him with Sebaſtiani's corps, and two diviſions of Victor's in the neighbourhood of Almonacid. The action appears to have laſted ſome hours, but the French having at laſt gained an advantage on General Vanegas's left, he was obliged to retire, and was about to reſume his poſition in the Sierra Morena.

"On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, large detachments of the French troops which had come from Placentia, returned to that quarter, and on the 12th, they attacked and defeated Sir Robert Wilſon in the

the Puerto de Banos, on their return to Salamanca.

"It appears now that the French force in this part of Spain is distributed as follows:—Marshal Victor's corps is divided between Talavera and La Mancha; Sebastiani's is in La Mancha; Marshal Mortier's at Oropesa, Arzo. Bispo, and Navalmoral; Marshal Soult's at Placentia; and Marshal Ney's at Salamanca.

"Distress for want of provisions, and its effects, have at last obliged me to move towards the frontiers of Portugal, in order to refresh my troops. In my former dispatches I have informed your lordship of our distress for want of provisions and the means of transport. Those wants, which were the first cause of the loss of many advantages after the 22d of July, which were made known to the government, and were actually known to them on the 20th of last month, still exist in an aggravated degree, and under these circumstances I determined to break up on the 20th from Jaraicejo, where I had had my head-quarters since the 11th, with the advanced posts on the Tagus near the bridge of Almaraz, and to fall back upon the frontier of Portugal, where I hope I shall be supplied with every thing I want."

The London Gazette of Tuesday, the 22d of August, contains some further dispatches from Flushing, though of no important nature. They contain a return of the garrison of Flushing, which amounted to 200 officers, 4985 rank and file, and 618 sick. Total 5803.—The whole force opposed to ours on the island was upwards of 9000 men. This greatly exceeds the estimate in the former dispatches.

Saturday's London Gazette.

Foreign Office, Nov. 11, 1809.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, was this Day received by Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Lieutenant-Colonel Carrol, dated Army of the Left, Camp on the Heights of Tamames, Oct. 19, 1809.

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that the army of Marshal Ney, now commanded by General Marchant, advanced on the morning of yesterday, in force ten thousand infantry and one thousand two hundred cavalry, with fourteen pieces of artillery, to attack this army, which was most judiciously posted on these heights.

"The enemy divided his force into three columns, which advanced against the right, centre, and left of our line; it soon became evident that the principal object of his attack was to force and turn our left, it being the point in which our position was weakest.

"The enemy, at the commencement, gained some advantage of position on our left, in consequence of the retreat of a small party of our cavalry, destined to cover the left of our line. This success, however, was momentary, as the vanguard, led on by Generals Mendizabal and Carrera, charged with the greatest spirit and gallantry, routed the enemy, and retook, at the point of the bayonet, six guns, of which the

the enemy poſſeſſed himſelf during the retreat of the diviſion of our cavalry. The vanguard in this charge committed great ſlaughter amongſt the enemy, taking from them one eight-pound gun, with a quantity of ammunition. After a long and obſtinate conteſt, the enemy, being unable to gain a foot of ground, began to give way in all points. About three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy betook himſelf to a precipitate and diſorderly flight.

" The loſs of the enemy, as far as we have been yet able to aſcertain, exceeds one thouſand, in killed and priſoners. The number of the wounded muſt be very conſiderable.

" Our loſs has been comparatively very trifling, not exceeding three hundred: one imperial eagle, one eight pounder braſs gun, three ammunition waggons, twelve drums, with four or five thouſand ſtand of arms, an immenſe quantity of ball cartridges, carts of proviſions, and knapſacks loaded with plunder, fell into our hands.

" No language can do ſufficient juſtice to the gallant and intrepid conduct of the troops on this memorable day; it would be impoſſible to make any diſtinction in the zeal and ardour of the different corps, for all equally panted for the conteſt. The vanguard and firſt diviſion, however, had the good fortune to occupy thoſe points againſt which the enemy directed his principal efforts, and to add freſh laurels to the wreath they had acquired in Lugo, St. Jago, and San Payo.

" The ſteady intrepidity diſplayed by the ſecond diviſion, through whoſe ranks the party of retreating cavalry paſſed, and the ſpirit and promptneſs with which it puſhed forward againſt the enemy, who had at that moment turned our left, is deſerving of the higheſt approbation.

" The entire of the cavalry, with the exception of the party attached to the vanguard, about three hundred, who, from being overpowered, were obliged to retreat, evinced the greateſt ſteadineſs and reſolution in maintaining the poſt allotted them, and keeping the enemy's cavalry in check.

" It is, however, to be lamented that our cavalry did not find themſelves in a ſituation to enable them to take advantage of the enemy's diſorderly flight acroſs the plain between theſe heights and the village of Carraſcalejo, a league in extent; for had five or ſix hundred horſe charged the fugitives, the victory would have been moſt deciſive.

" The vanguard of General Ballaſteros's diviſion is in ſight; we only wait his arrival to purſue, and annihilate the diſcomfited enemy.

" From priſoners we learn that General Marchant proclaimed at Salamanca his intention of annihilating, by two o'clock on the 18th, thirty thouſand peaſant inſurgents: his orders to his army were, on pain of death, to poſſeſs itſelf of the heights by twelve o'clock, as he propoſed proceeding to deſtroy Ballaſteros's diviſion, after having diſperſed and annihilated this army.

" The French general certainly appears to have held this army very cheap; judging from his plan of attack, which was far from judicious, but executed, to a certain

tain point, with the greateſt bravery, and with that intrepidity which the confidence of ſucceſs inſpires.

"Our light troops purſued, and hung on the enemy's rear; ſeveral parties of which, amongſt whom were 200 of the regiment of Balbaſtro, have not returned as yet, having expreſſed a determination of hanging on the enemy's flanks as long as the cover of the woods afforded a facility of ſo doing. The number of the enemy's dead already found and buried amounts to upwards of 1100. Several, no doubt, will be found in the woods."

London Gazette Extraordinary,—Wedneſday. Nov. 29.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 29, 1809. The Hon. Lieutenant William Waldegrave, of the Ville de Paris, arrived here this Morning with Diſpatches from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the Mediterranean, addreſſed to the Hon. William Welleſley Pole, of which the following are Copies:—

"*Ville de Paris, off St. Sebaſtian, October 30, 1809.*

"Sir,

"By my letter of the 16th September, their lordſhips would be informed of the intelligence I had received relative to the intended movements of the French ſquadron, and of my reaſons for changing my ſtation to St. Sebaſtian.

"While on this ſtation, on the night of the 22d inſtant, the Pomone joined, and Captain Barrie (who with indefatigable perſeverance had, with the Alceſte, watched the port of Toulon) informed me, that the day before, ſeveral of the enemy's ſquadron had put to ſea, that others were coming out when he left them, and that there was every appearance of the whole fleet being on the move from the harbour. They had a numerous convoy with them, and as this movement was made with the firſt of an eaſterly wind, there was little doubt of their being bound to the weſtward. I immediately made the neceſſary ſignals for the ſquadron to be prepared for their reception, and placed the three frigates and ſloop (Pomone, Hydra, Volontaire, and Minſtrel) to windward, to give notice of the enemy's approach.

"On the following morning (the 23d) ſoon after eight o'clock, the Volontaire made the ſignal for a fleet to the eaſtward; while they continued to come down before the wind, no alteration was made in the ſquadron, except by advancing two faſt-ſailing ſhips, the Tigre and Bulwark. At ten, the Pomone made the ſignal, that the enemy had hauled to the wind, and the convoy ſeparating from the ſhips of war (which were now diſcovered to conſiſt of three ſhips of the line only, two frigates, two ſmaller frigates, or ſtore-ſhips, and a convoy of about twenty ſail of veſſels,) I ordered Rear-Admiral Martin to chaſe them, and eight of the beſt ſailing ſhips, which ſtanding on contrary tacks, might take advantage of the changes of the wind which was then variable.

"At two P. M. the Pomone having got far to windward, was directed

directed by signal to destroy such of the convoy as could be come up with; and in the evening she burnt two brigs, two bombards, and a ketch. The enemy before dark was out of sight, and the ships chasing not much advanced, were standing to the northward; while the squadron with me stretched to the southward. The next morning neither the French nor our own chasing ships were in sight.

"This morning Rear-Admiral Martin joined with his division, as named in the margin *, having again fallen in with the enemy on the 24th, off the entrance of the Rhone, and on the 25th they chased them on shore; the Robust, of 84 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Boudain, and the Leon, of 74, off Frontignan, where the day following themselves set fire to them. The Borée, of 74 guns, and a frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the Port of Cette, where there is little probability of either of them being saved.

"I cannot sufficiently express the high satisfaction I have felt at the intrepid perseverance of Rear-Admiral Martin, and of the captains of the ships who were with him in the pursuit. Nothing less ardent, or less skilful, would have produced a result so fortunate, where the coast near the Rhone is exceedingly shoal and dangerous, so that some of the ships were in five and six fathom water, the weather thick, and the south-east wind blowing strong.

"I enclose to you, Sir, Rear-Admiral Martin's letter; and beg to congratulate their lordships on three great ships of the enemy being thus destroyed, without the smallest resistance on their part, or a shot being fired by the British ships, except a few by the Tigre at the Borée, when she was pushing ashore at Cette; of their two frigates, the Pomone and Pauline, one hauled her wind some time in the night, and fetched into Marseilles Roads.

"The other part of the French squadron are found to remain in Toulon by the ships which have since examined that port.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) "COLLINGWOOD."

"*Canopus at Sea, Oct.* 27, 1809.

"My Lord,

"In obedience to the signal for the Canopus to chase E. N. E. I stood that way the whole of the night of the 23d, and the following day, in company with the Renown, Tigre, Sultan, Leviathan, and Cumberland; in the evening four sail were seen, to which we immediately gave chase, and pursued them till after dark; when, from shoal water, and the wind being direct on the shore, near the entrance of the Rhone, it became necessary to keep to the wind during the night. The following morning, the 25th, the same ships were again seen, and chased between Cette and Frontignan, where they ran on shore. Two of them (an 80 gun ship, bearing a rear-admiral's flag, and a seventy-four) at the latter place, and one ship of the line and a frigate at the former. From the shoal water and intricacy of the

* Canopus, Renown, Tigre, Sultan, Leviathan, and Cumberland.

navigation, it was impoſſible to get cloſe enough to the enemy's two line of battle ſhips near Frontignan, to attack them when on ſhore; for in attempting to do ſo, one of his majeſty's ſhips was under five fathoms water, and another in leſs than ſix. On the 26th, I ſent the boats to ſound, meaning, if poſſible, to buoy the channel (if any had been found) by which the enemy's ſhips could be attacked; but at night we had the ſatisfaction to ſee them ſet on fire.

"From the circumſtances under which the ſhip and frigate ran on ſhore at the entrance of the port of Cette, I have little doubt the former will be loſt; and the frigate muſt certainly have received conſiderable damage; but they cannot be got at on account of the batteries.

"Your lordſhip muſt be well aware that nothing but the great preſs of ſail carried by his majeſty's ſhips, and the good look out kept, could have enabled them to cloſe with thoſe of the enemy from the diſtance they were at the time they commenced the chaſe.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "G. MARTIN.

"*Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*"

"*Ville de Paris, off Roſas, November* 1, 1809.

"Sir,

"When the enemy's convoy was chaſed on the 23d ultimo, their tranſports ſeparated from the ſhips of war, and, under the protection of an armed ſtore-ſhip, two bombards, and a zebec, made for the Bay of Roſas. When the ſhips of war were diſpoſed of, as related in my letter of yeſterday, the convoy became the object of my attention, and on the 29th the Apollo was ſent off Roſas to examine what veſſels were there, and how far they were in a ſituation aſſailable.

"The next day I appointed the ſhips, as per margin *, for this ſervice, under the orders of Captain Hallowell to bring them out if the wind was favourable, or otherwiſe to deſtroy them. The ſtate of the wind and ſea would not permit this operation until laſt night, when, after dark, the ſhips bore up for the bay, and anchored about five miles from the caſtle of Roſas, under the protection of which caſtle, of Trinity fort, and of ſeveral other newly erected batteries, the convoy, conſiſting of eleven veſſels, five of them armed, as per accompanying liſt, were moored.

"The boats being arranged in ſeparate diviſions, the whole were put under the orders of Lieutenant Tailour, Firſt Lieutenant of the Tigre, and proceeded to the attack of the enemy, who, although he could have had no previous intimation of ſuch an enterpriſe againſt him, was found vigilant and completely on his guard. The ſhip, which was a ſmaller ſort of frigate, was incloſed in boarding nettings, and a gun-boat advanced a-head of her for the look out; on being hailed, and the alarm-gun fired, our boats ſtretched out, the crews at the higheſt pitch of animation filling the air with their cheers; each diviſion took the

* Tigre, Cumberland, Volontaire, Apollo, Topaze, Philomel, Scout, and Tuſcan.

part

part previouſly allotted to it, the armed ſhip was boarded at all points, and carried in a few minutes, notwithſtanding a ſpirited and ſturdy reſiſtance which the enemy made: all their armed veſſels were well defended, but the Britiſh ſeamen and marines, determined to ſubdue them, were not to be repelled, even by a force found to be double that which was expected; and beſides the oppoſition made by the veſſels, the guns from the caſtle, the forts in the bay, the gun-boats, and muſketry from the beach, kept a conſtant fire on them. On the opening of day every ſhip or veſſel was either burnt or brought off, aided by the light winds which then came from the land, and the whole of the convoy that came from Toulon for the ſupply of the French army in Spain, has been deſtroyed, with the exception of the frigate, which eſcaped to Marſeilles, and one ſtore-ſhip, not ſince heard of.

"I cannot conclude this narrative without an expreſſion of the ſentiment which the execution of this bold enterprize has inſpired me with, and the reſpect and admiration I feel for thoſe who performed it.

"In the firſt place, ſucceſs greatly depended upon the previous arrangement which was made by Captain Hallowell with a judgment and foreſight that diſtinguiſhes that officer in every ſervice he is employed on: the diviſion of the boats, the preparation of fire materials, and providing them with every implement that contingency could require, eſtabliſhed confidence throughout the whole; and in this he was ably aſſiſted by the experience and zeal of Captains Wodehouſe, Bullen, Taylor, and Hope. The brigs were under ſail, as near the veſſels attacked as the light winds would allow, and Captain Hallowell ſpeaks in high terms of praiſe of the conduct of their commanders, Crawley, Raitt, and Wilſon. The firſt Lieutenant Tailour led to the aſſault in a moſt gallant manner, and was followed by the other officers, as if each were ambitious of his place, and deſired to be firſt; the whole party bravely maintained the character which Britiſh ſeamen have eſtabliſhed for themſelves.

"I am ſorry I have to add, that the loſs has been conſiderable, of which I encloſe a liſt. Lieutenant Tait, of the Volontaire, an excellent and brave young officer, and Mr. Caldwell, maſter's mate of the Tigre, a youth of great promiſe, were the only officers ſlain.

"Many officers in the fleet were deſirous of being volunteers in this ſervice. I could not reſiſt the earneſt requeſt of Lieutenants Lord Viſcount Balgonie, the Hon. J. A. Maude, and the Hon. W. Waldegrave, of the Ville de Paris, to have the command of boats, in which they diſplayed that ſpirit which is inherent in them.

"I tranſmit alſo Captain Hallowell's letter relating his proceedings, with liſts of the officers who commanded boats, and had appointments in this ſervice, and of the veſſels burnt and captured.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) "COLLINGWOOD."

"P.S. I have charged Lieutenant Waldegrave, of the Ville

de Paris, with the delivery of my diſpatches; an officer of great merit, and who commanded one of the boats employed on this ſervice."

"*His Majeſty's Ship Tigre, off Cape St. Sebaſtian, November* 1, 1809.

"My Lord,

"In obedience to your lordſhip's orders of the 30th ultimo, I proceeded to the Bay of Roſas with the ſhips and ſloops named in the margin, where, finding it impracticable to attack the enemy's convoy while under weigh, (the wind being at S. E. and a heavy ſwell) I anchored the ſhips of the ſquadron yeſterday evening after dark, about five miles off the town of Roſas, and detached all the boats, under the command of Lieutenant Tailour, firſt of the Tigre, to deſtroy them; the ſpirited manner in which he led them on to the attack commanded the admiration of every one preſent; and the gallant manner in which he was ſupported reflects the higheſt honour on every perſon employed in this ſervice.

"I have the honour to incloſe a liſt of veſſels captured and deſtroyed on this occaſion; and when your lordſhip is informed that the enemy was aware of our intention to attack him, and had taken the precaution of fixing boarding nettings, and placing a launch with a gun in it in advance, to give him a notice of our approach, and that the veſſels were alſo defended by the very ſtrong batteries on ſhore, I truſt your lordſhip will conſider it equal in gallantry and judgment to any exploit that has occurred under your lordſhip's command.

"Our loſs has been ſevere, 15 killed and 55 wounded; and among the liſt of killed I have to lament the loſs of Lieutenant Tait, of the Volontaire, of whom Captain Bullen ſpeaks in high terms, as an officer who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon many occaſions; and Mr. Caldwell, maſter's mate of the Tigre: the latter has left a widowed mother in diſtreſſed circumſtances, who looked to him for comfort and ſupport. Among the wounded are Lieutenant Tailour, of the Tigre, and Lieutenant Forſter, of the Apollo, ſeverely.

"The brigs were directed to keep under weigh, and were in an admirable ſituation at day-light to have given aſſiſtance, had it been neceſſary.

"I have the honour alſo to incloſe a liſt of the officers employed on this ſervice, and I have only to ſtate that their conduct, and that of the ſeamen and marines under their command, was ſuch as to exceed any encomium from my pen, and entitles them to my warmeſt thanks and approbation.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) "B. HALLOWELL."

"*A Liſt of Ships and Veſſels captured and deſtroyed by the Boats of the Squadron under the Command of Benjamin Hallowell, Eſq. Captain of his Majeſty's Ship the Tigre, in the Bay of Roſas, on the Morning of the 1ſt November,* 1809.

"Armed ſtore-ſhip, La Lemproye, Bertault la Brectrecte, Lieutenant de Vaiſſeau, commander, of 16 nine-pounders, 116 men, and 600

600 tons: burnt.—Pierced for 22 guns on the main deck—Veſſel of war.

" Bombard La Victoire, Garribou, Enſign de Vaiſſeau, commander, of 14 ſix-pounders, and 80 men: burnt—Veſſel of war.

" Felucca L'Alſacien, Rouve, maſter, of 25 muſkets and 20 men: burnt—Tranſport belonging to government.

" L'Union, of 150 tons; burnt —Landed her cargo.

" La Bien Aimé 150 tons, laden with biſcuit; burnt.

" Notre Dame de Roſaire, of 150 tons; burnt — Landed her cargo.

" Felucca Notre Dame de Grace, of 90 tons; burnt—Landed her cargo.

" Bombard Le Grondire, Coreille, Enſign de Vaiſſeau, commander, of 8 ſix-pounders, and 45 men, laden with biſcuit; taken —Tranſport belonging to government.

" Xebeck Le Normande, Arnaut, Enſign de Vaiſſeau, commander, of 10 four-pounders, and 48 men; taken—Veſſel of war.

" Le Dragon, of 200 tons, laden with biſcuit; taken.

" L'Indien, of 200 tons, laden with corn and flour; taken.

(Signed) " B. HALLOWELL."

Admiralty Office, December 5.

Letter from Lord Collingwood to the Hon. W. W. Pole, dated Ville de Paris, off St. Sebaſtian, the 30th of November.

" Sir,

" My Letter of the 4th Auguſt informed their lordſhips of the propoſal I had made to Sir J. Stuart, that the iſlands of Zante, Cephalonia, &c. ſhould be ſeized on, before the French could turn their regard from the defence of Naples to ſtrengthen other points, and in which letter I encloſed you a copy of the inſtructions I had ſent to Admiral Martin, to be delivered to Captain Spranger, of the Warrior, whom I had ſelected to command the naval part of the expedition. The change which at that time had taken place in the ſtate of the armies of the North, required the general's conſideration, whether an adequate force might be ſpared from the army; and delayed their departure from Sicily until the 23d September, when the Warrior ſailed from Meſſina, with the Philomel ſloop and tranſports, carrying about 1600 troops, under the command of General Oſwald. The Spartan at the ſame time ſailed for Malta, with Mr. Foreſti and Count Cladan, a Cephalonian gentleman, who had for ſome time taken refuge at Malta, and whoſe influence in the country I hoped would be advantageous to the ſervice. Orders were alſo ſent to Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, to join them with the Corfu ſquadron. I have great ſatisfaction in informing you of the ſucceſs of the expedition, and that the French garriſons in Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, have, after a faint reſiſtance, ſurrendered to his Majeſty's arms, the people liberated from the oppreſſion of the French, and the government of the Sept-Inſular republic declared to be reſtored. As no preparation for ſo unexpected a change could

have been made by the inhabitants, it has been found convenient by the officers and principal people who are now to assume the government, that the British flag, with that of the republic, shall be continued to fly until the several departments are filled, and regularity is established. The influence of Mr. Foresti, and the estimation in which his character is held by the people, much facilitated the operations. I have written to him to resume his functions of British resident. At Cerigo the greatest resistance was made; but Captain Brenton's skill and resources are such as would surmount much greater difficulties than they could present.

"I have, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

Report relating to the Dutch Commissioners.

Your committee, having derived from the minutes of evidence and proceedings of the committees of public expenditure of the preceding sessions referred to them by the house, some material information respecting the establishment and the transactions of the commissioners for the sale, management, and disposal of Dutch property, captured or detained on the occasion of the commencement of hostilities with Holland, in consequence of its invasion by the French, have pursued the investigation of that subject, and proceed to report upon it. The commissioners, who were five in number, were appointed in 1795, under the authority of the 21st clause of the 35th Geo. 3. c. 80; and their commission, after reciting in the words of the act, that the cargoes of Dutch ships, detained or brought in, might perish or be greatly injured, if some provision was not made respecting the same, authorizes the commissioners to take such ships and cargoes under their care, and to manage, sell, and dispose of the same according to such instructions as they should from time to time receive from the king in council. The lords of the privy council, in their instructions dated 13th June, 1795, direct the commissioners generally as to the conduct of their transactions, and require them to keep minutes of all their proceedings, and "to keep accounts in such form as the lords commissioners of the treasury shall direct or approve." No instructions appear to have proceeded from the board of treasury, and the commissioners represent themselves to have undertaken their office, without having come to any understanding with any branch of the government respecting the manner of deriving their compensation for their services, or the amount of it. They state, that they were charged with the investigation of numerous claims to British and neutral property found in the detained and captured vessels, and in many cases acted in a judicial character in this respect; that they received a separate and special commission to take the management of sundry Dutch vessels brought into Ireland; that they had to make arrangements with the East-India Company respecting cargoes directed

rected to be sold by the company at their own sales; that they had to adjust many complicated accounts with their agents at the out-ports, and to settle the wages of the officers and crews both of the vessels of which the cargoes were sold by the East-India Company, and of those which were intrusted altogether to their own management, and that they found the duties of their office to be for some time extremely difficult and laborious. They observe, however, that their sales ceased, and their transactions were nearly brought to a close in July 1799, but that the final adjustment of them had been protracted partly by "small sales of remnants not completed till November 1801," partly by some "property claimed in the court of admiralty not adjudged till July 1803," partly by "unsettled accounts with the executor of the late king's proctor, of which the balance was not paid till January last," but chiefly by an important law-suit, commenced in 1797, which brought into question property to the amount of about 180,000*l.* The suit has within these few months terminated in their favour, and the commissioners now expect that in the course of the ensuing summer they shall close their transactions, and deliver in their accounts to government. It appears by a paper dated 29th April, 1808, that the gross amount of the produce of the ships, and of the ships and cargoes sold (of which cargoes your committee perceive that much the larger part was sold by the East-India Company) was,

		£1,937,064
The charges were	£631,239	
Commission charged	88,164	
Restitutions to claimants	69,988	
Grant to captors	117,746	
		907,137
Leaving a net amount of - - -		1,029,927
From which was further to be deducted on account of loss on ships in debt (that is, on ships the charges on which exceeded the proceeds) - -		52,657
Leaving at that time the estimated net sum of - -		977,269

The chief part of the balance now in hand is invested in government or other securities, which run at interest. The sum of 900,000*l.* has been paid at sundry periods to government, and having been carried to the account of the consolidated fund, has been applied to the purposes prescribed by parliament.

Your committee now proceed to offer observations on a variety of points to which their attention has been called, referring to the appendix for a more detailed account of some of the circumstances which they shall notice. It has been already mentioned, that no agreement in respect to the mode or amount of remuneration was made at the time when the commissioners

miſſioners were appointed. The difficulty of aſcertaining beforehand the degree of trouble to be incurred, and the nature of the duties to be performed, may form, in ſome caſes, a ſufficient motive for ſuſpending the determination of both the amount and manner of an allowance. But no circumſtances have appeared which furniſh a juſtification of the delay of no leſs than fourteen years, which in this inſtance has taken place. It belonged to the government, after the lapſe of a moderate period, to take up the conſideration of the remuneration due to the commiſſioners, with a view of it being ſubmitted to parliament; and when the ſubject had manifeſtly eſcaped attention, the commiſſioners ought to have given notice of the omiſſion. But they have to this day held no communication with any branch of the government on this queſtion. Under theſe circumſtances they had, in the judgment of your committee, no right to appropriate any ſums to themſelves as compenſation; indeed the terms of their commiſſion, already quoted, direct them to diſpoſe of the Dutch property intruſted to them only "*according to ſuch inſtructions as they ſhould receive from the king in council;*" and the inſtructions accordingly given, ſince they merely authorize allowances to crews in payment of wages, do not appear to your committee in any degree to ſanction ſuch application of their funds. The 26th clauſe of 35 Geo. III. authorizes the payment of "the expences of the ſales out of the proceeds;" but the term "expences" cannot, in the judgment of your committee, be conſtrued to include the payment of remuneration to the commiſſioners, ſince neither the mode nor the amount of it had been ſanctioned by the government. It appears, however, that the commiſſioners, at a very early period, proceeded both to determine in the firſt inſtance for themſelves the rate of compenſation due, and alſo actually to apply it to their own uſe, intending to make mention of this point only on the final ſettlement of their affairs, though they have from time to time had to communicate with the ſecretary of the treaſury on other matters, and have tranſmitted to the lords of the privy council ſome general ſtatements. The compenſation which they have taken has been a commiſſion of 5 per cent. on the groſs produce of the ſales, a ſubject on which your committee will offer ſome further remarks towards the concluſion of this report. It has been charged on the principle of a mercantile tranſaction; but it is here obſervable, that they have deviated from the cuſtom of merchants, by taking large ſums for commiſſion before they had either received or paid over the whole net proceeds of the cargoes, on the groſs produce of which the commiſſion was charged, and alſo before they had rendered up their account. Your committee deem it neceſſary to animadvert on the length of time which has been ſuffered to elapſe without rendering any regular accounts and without their being called for by the government. The chief object of examination in ſuch caſes, is the detection and

rectification

rectification of errors, and the recovery of ſums improperly withheld from the public; but when any conſiderable period has paſſed, the elucidation of accounts is rendered difficult, as your committee have experienced in the courſe of the preſent inveſtigation, and the recovery of money becomes a meaſure of harſhneſs. The commiſſioner, on whom the financial department is ſaid to have devolved, is lately dead; and the want of recollection obſervable in many parts of the annexed evidence, is a further exemplification of the inconvenience reſulting from the long delay which has taken place. Your committee called for a copy of ſuch ſtatements of the tranſactions of the commiſſioners as had from time to time been delivered by them to the board of treaſury. The chief paper furniſhed in return is dated 20th July, 1796, being the copy of a report preſented to the privy council, which was evidently furniſhed rather with a view of ſhewing the ſum then deemed likely to accrue from the ſale of Dutch property, than of ſubmitting the tranſactions of the commiſſioners to examination. It is obſervable that although in this report, which is in a great meaſure an eſtimate, the total amount of the charges incurred is given, and ſeveral particulars compoſing them are ſpecified, no mention of commiſſion is made, though it was undoubtedly an item at that time ſufficiently large to have been included in the enumeration; for under this head, the ſum of 25,000*l.* had been then divided. This omiſſion might lead to a ſuppoſition that no commiſſion had been taken. In the caſe of ſucceſſive ſales of a ſimilar kind made by merchants acting as factors, it is the cuſtom to make up ſeparate account-ſales of the ſeveral cargoes, until the delivery of which the charge of commiſſion is delayed, and alſo to render an annual account current, detailing all the receipts and payments of the year. If the tranſactions of the commiſſioners are to be conſidered as of a mercantile nature, the public ought not to be without the benefit of thoſe checks upon the conduct of their agents which have been generally eſtabliſhed among merchants. The act authorizing the appointment of the commiſſioners, contains a clauſe "requiring" that they ſhall "cauſe the proceeds of their ſales," after "payment of the duties and the expences," to be paid "into the bank of England, there to remain ſubject to ſuch orders as his Majeſty, with the advice of his privy council, may, from time to time, think fit to give thereupon," or as the court of admiralty may think fit to give in the caſe of ſales made under the authority of that court. Your committee expected that the caſh of the commiſſioners would, in purſuance of this clauſe, have been kept ſolely at the bank; but they find that it was, during the firſt year, lodged only with a private banker, and that five private bankers have been occaſionally employed, each of the commiſſioners having recommended that a temporary account ſhould be opened with the banker with whom he was individually connected. The clauſe does not appear to have eſcaped the attention

of

of the commiſſioners; but it is ſtated in the evidence, that they underſtood it to apply, not to all the proceeds of their ſales as they aroſe, but to the ſurplus of the proceeds above the ſums expected by them to be wanted for charges and current payments. They have retained a large balance of caſh for theſe purpoſes; and they repreſent that they were obliged to do this, becauſe another order of his Majeſty in council, for a ſupply of caſh, would from time to time have been neceſſary, the money paid into the bank under the direction of the act being no longer ſubject to the call of the commiſſioners. They further ſtate, that being authorized by the 23d clauſe of the 35 Geo. 3. c. 80. to reſtore all goods which ſhould be proved to belong to neutrals, and having ſold moſt of ſuch goods before the deciſion of the claims, they deemed it neceſſary to retain caſh ſufficient for this purpoſe. Your committee, nevertheleſs, cannot approve of the conſtruction which the commiſſioners have given to the law. Their payments into the bank appear to have been large payments made with a view to their immediate transfer from thence into the exchequer; but the terms uſed in the act are, that the proceeds, after payment of the duty and expences of ſale, were to be paid into the bank, "and remain there;" an expreſſion which implies, that the caſh was not merely to paſs through the bank in its way to the exchequer, but was to be lodged in the bank as a place of ſafe cuſtody, in order to await the direction of the privy council. The legiſlature, however, ſeems not to have anticipated the circumſtance of certain ſums being neceſſary to be withdrawn from the amount of the proceeds in hand, with a view both to the payment of charges and to the reſtitution of property due to neutrals; and by not providing very ſpecifically or conveniently for theſe objects, it has afforded ſome countenance to that interpretation of the law which has taken place. Your committee think, that the difficulty which oppoſed the adoption of a ſtrict conſtruction of the act, has been much overſtated by the commiſſioners. At the commencement of their tranſactions, having no money in hand for current payments, they obtained an order of council, directing 25,000*l.* to be advanced to them in order to ſupply their immediate occaſions, which ſum was to be replaced by the ſubſequent proceeds of ſales. They might afterwards have obtained ſucceſſive orders of council for ſimilar purpoſes, as well as for the ſatisfaction of claimants, without any great inconvenience; and in this caſe the lords of the privy council would have had the opportunity of exerciſing their judgment as to the amount of the money proper to be placed at the diſpoſal of the commiſſioners. A leſs objectionable mode of proceeding, though not conformable to the act, would have been to keep two accounts with the bank; the one an account of money paid in under the act, and conſequently ſubject only to the orders of the king in council; the other a ſeparate account, ſubject to the controul of the commiſſioners. This expedient was reſorted to after the firſt

firſt twelve months, but there was ſtill no relinquiſhment of the practice of keeping a large balance with private bankers. On the ſuppoſition of any uncertainty as to the conſtruction of the act, the ſubject ought to have been diſtinctly ſubmitted to the lords of the privy council, in purſuance of their inſtructions, which had directed an application to themſelves "in all caſes of doubt or difficulty." Your committee are further of opinion, that if the act had been ſilent on this topic, the commiſſioners ought to have lodged their caſh in the bank of England; and with a view to future caſes, they think that it may be uſeful to ſuggeſt the following general reaſons:—Firſt, The public have an intereſt in thus preferring the bank, which is nearly ſimilar to that which the commiſſioners may individually be ſuppoſed to have had in favouring their reſpective bankers. Indeed, ſince the report on the bank of England, made by the former committee on public expenditure, in which the average amount of the government balances in the bank was ſtated, the corporation has conſented to make ſome compenſation for benefit of this kind, by affording to the public the loan of a conſiderable ſum without intereſt. A general intention of employing the bank of England as the banker of the public, was then profeſſed; and there can be no doubt that every preference ſhewn to the bank ought now to be conſidered as contributing to the liberal fulfilment of the general conditions of that arrangement, and even though not repaid by a ſpecific compenſation, as producing ſome correſponding advantages.

The more ſafe cuſtody of the public money, intruſted to the commiſſioners, is another motive for lodging it in the bank. Your committee conceive, that in the caſe of any loſs ariſing out of the confidence which the commiſſioners have placed in private banks (an event in the preſent high ſtate of credit, admitted to be extremely improbable) the commiſſioners would have been perſonally reſponſible. There is a third reaſon for this preference of the bank of England, which is not leſs important. The bank makes no allowance of intereſt, and ſhews no ſpecies of favour to the individual who places in it a conſiderable balance of caſh. The public accountants, who keep caſh in the bank, are therefore under no temptation to render their balances unneceſſarily large, and are likely not to fail in the punctuality of their payments into the exchequer. Your committee have next to notice the too great magnitude of the balances of caſh which appear in the caſh-book of the commiſſioners, eſpecially during a large part of the two firſt years, a ſubject not unconnected with the preceding obſervations. The paper in the appendix ſhews the balance to have been at the end of October, 1795, about 100,000*l.* and to have gradually riſen by the end of April, 1796, to above 200,000*l.* between which period and the end of May, 1797, it fell to about 160,000*l.* It fluctuated between about 80 and 120,000*l.* during the next four years, and between 50 and 70,000*l.* during almoſt

almoſt the whole ſucceeding period. Your committee have learnt by their inſpection of the minute-book of the commiſſioners, that on the 25th of February, 1796, information was aſked on the part of Mr. Pitt, whether any and what ſum then in hand ariſing from the diſpoſal of Dutch property, could be paid into the exchequer for the ſervice of the current year; and that the commiſſioners replied, that no payment of conſequence into the bank, according to the act of parliament, could be made, unleſs the treaſury ſhould firſt move the lords of the privy-council, to direct the India company to pay a ſum, amounting to about 118,000*l.*, then due from the company to the commiſſioners. At the time of this application, the balance in hand, the amount of which appears not to have been ſtated to the treaſury, was about 190,000*l.* and it was never ſo low as 150,000*l.* in the courſe of the next fifteen months, a balance apparently much more than ſufficient to allow of a payment of 50,000*l.* (the ſum uſually transferred at one time) into the bank under the act. The commiſſioners ſtate to your committee, that demands upon them to the amount of not leſs than about 260,000*l.* were then outſtanding; but this ſum muſt obviouſly comprize the payments which were to be expected in a long ſucceeding period, for all the actual payments of the following ſixteen months (if a ſum of 50,000*l.* paid to government, June 30, 1796, and of 40,000*l.* transferred on 31ſt of December, 1796, to the commiſſioners on account of commiſſion, and of about 49,000*l.* paid to captors, which had been previouſly received from the Eaſt-India company for that purpoſe, within the ſame period, are excepted) amounted to only about 143,000*l.* according to the ſtatement of the commiſſioners. Theſe payments are, undoubtedly, no exact or very ſure criterion of the ſum which might fairly be conſidered on the 25th of February, 1796, as likely to be wanted. They, however, furniſh a ſtrong preſumption on the ſubject, and the circumſtance of the 50,000*l.* juſt mentioned having been afforded to government, beſides 40,000*l.* to the commiſſioners, a few months after the 25th of February, 1796, without producing a reduction of the balance below 150,000*l.* affords additional reaſon for thinking that there was no ſufficient ground for objecting to make a payment into the exchequer, as deſired. It is further obſervable, that the commiſſioners in their ſtatement on this ſubject to your committee, omit to mention the ſums which in February, 1796, they might expect to receive. The ſums actually received in the firſt fifteen of the above-mentioned ſixteen months, (excluſive of the 49,000*l.* which were both received from the Eaſt-India company, and paid over to captors as already ſtated) appear by a paper called for by your committee, to have been more than equal to the ſum paid in the correſponding period, if the before-mentioned payment of 50,000*l.* to government, and 40,000*l.* to the commiſſioners, are included. It is moreover obſervable,

able, that a ſum of from 86,000*l.* to 665,000*l.* (which in conformity to a clauſe in 35 Geo. 3. chap. 80. was gathering intereſt at four per cent.) lay in the hands of the Eaſt-India company from the beginning of March, 1796, to March, 1798, being the produce of ſales made by them from time to time on account of the commiſſioners, a part of which fund, ſuppoſing a proper underſtanding on this ſubject to have ſubſiſted between the commiſſioners, the government, and the Eaſt-India company, might have been convertible to the purpoſe of ſupplying the commiſſioners with the means of meeting ſome of the demands coming unexpectedly upon them. It is, therefore, on the whole preſumable, that at the time of the application in queſtion, a further augmentation of the large balance already in hand, rather than a diminution of it, was reaſonably to be expected.

Your committee cannot contemplate the magnitude of the balances as they appear in the caſh-book of the commiſſioners, without expreſſing an opinion, that (ſuppoſing it allowable for the commiſſioners to adopt that conſtruction of the act which they have given to it) theſe balances ought to have been made productive by inveſting a very large proportion of them in exchequer-bills for the benefit of the public. Probably not leſs than between 40 and 50,000*l.* would have accrued in the way of intereſt from a due attention to economy on the part of the commiſſioners in this particular, and the employment of the chief part of their large caſh for ſuch a purpoſe would have conſtituted a much better apology than has been offered by them by withholding from the bank the ſums which the act, according to the ſtrict conſtruction of it, required to be paid into it, and would unqueſtionably have been the moſt convenient arrangement. In the year 1799, a ſum of 27,000*l.* due to captors, was turned to this uſe, which, through the accumulation of intereſt, amounted to 38,553*l.* at the time when it was paid; and a ſum of about 33,000*l.* has been obtained for intereſt on the balances in the hands of the Eaſt-India company. It has, indeed, been diſcovered in the progreſs of theſe inquiries, that the commiſſioners have availed themſelves of the opportunity ſo obviouſly afforded them of rendering their balances productive; but that they employed them, during the years which preceded the completion of their ſales, entirely with a view to their own emolument. They have inveſted a part of them in exchequer-bills, a part in India bonds, and a ſmall part in the very exceptionable article of bills of exchange on private individuals, which they have diſcounted. No minute was made of any reſolution of the board to employ any part of the caſh in hand in this manner, and no proof of ſuch employment of it appears among the receipts and payments of the caſh-book; the balances of which, therefore, do not exhibit, as they ought to do, the amount of caſh in the hands of the bank, and of the ſeveral bankers, but include the ſum lent out at intereſt: neither has any trace of the tranſaction been exhibited in any account, nor any mention

mention of it been made to government, except that at about the ſame time when it was ſtated to the committee on public expenditure, the treaſury were furniſhed with a copy of the ſtatement. The committee itſelf did not at once receive correct or explicit information on this point.

It will appear by the papers and evidence annexed, that on the 2nd of March, 1807, the commiſſioners were directed (nearly in the ſame terms in which the heads of other offices were required to furniſh their returns) to give an "account of their eſtabliſhment and names, how paid, ſalary, fees, and other emoluments, and amount of their receipts on an average of the laſt three years." The commiſſioners ſtated in their return, that they had "no ſalary, fees, or emoluments, they being paid the uſual commiſſion on the ſale of the property placed under their care, out of which they paid ſalaries to clerks, and all other expences of their eſtabliſhment;" and they proceeded to ſay, that "their ſales having ceaſed from the year 1798, and conſequently their commiſſion alſo, they expected to be allowed, on the final ſettlement of their accounts, a reaſonable remuneration for their ſervices ſince that period." In an examination of one of the commiſſioners, which took place a week after, he having mentioned, that "a ſum had been inveſted for the benefit of the captors," was thereupon aſked, "What was the amount of the ſum veſted in public ſecurities?" and he replied, "about 27,000*l.* for the captors, and the whole remainder is inveſted alſo in public ſecurities, which we ſhall account for to government (when we cloſe our accounts) with intereſt."

In an explanatory paper, delivered to the committee a fortnight after this examination, the commiſſioners after ſtating, "that they have taken particular care, from time to time, not to retain a larger balance than was neceſſary to meet the exigencies to which they were liable," add, that "they have inveſted the greateſt part of that money in public ſecurities, with a view of making it productive while it remained in their hands." They then ſay, that "they conſider themſelves accountable to government for the intereſt thus accruing." Theſe expreſſions ſeem to your committee to imply, that they conſidered themſelves accountable to government for whatever intereſt they had at any time received by lending the balances in hand, with the exception only of that portion of intereſt for which they had repreſented themſelves as accountable to captors. They further obſerve in this explanatory paper, that "on the other hand, having received no commiſſion ſince the year 1799, they conceived that the ſervices they have ſince rendered will not be more than adequately compenſated by that intereſt," &c. But when the commiſſioners were ſpecifically required, by a ſubſequent order of the 9th of March, 1808, to render "an account of intereſt and benefit of any kind derived from the poſſeſſion of any money which in virtue of their commiſſion may from time to time have remained in their hands, and of which no account had been rendered

rendered to the treaſury," they took a diſtinction between two conſiderable ſums, received by them for intereſt at different periods, the one a ſum of about 18,000*l.* (or of about 16,000*l.* according to a ſubſequently corrected ſtatement) received for intereſt before the completion of their ſales; the other, a ſum of about 26,000*l.* received after that period; and they remarked, that "it is for the laſt of theſe ſums that they have declared themſelves ready to account;" but that as to the ſmaller ſum, firſt received, "they have only kept an account of it, as between themſelves." They have declared themſelves unable to furniſh from their private papers all the information which has been aſked reſpecting the ſum firſt received; but they confidently remark, that the profit thus made, is not more than the ſum ſtated.

They endeavour to eſtabliſh their title to the ſum firſt received, partly by claiming intereſt on their balances as a privilege common to public accountants, and partly by obſerving that the ſum in queſtion is not equal to certain ſums which they had relinquiſhed, though entitled to them. The chief ſum ſaid to be ſo relinquiſhed, is that part of their commiſſion which had been applied by them to the payment of the expences of their eſtabliſhment (amounting to about 15,000*l.*) from the burthen of ſupporting which they now claimed a right to be exempt, although, in their original return, they had profeſſed to charge themſelves with it. Another ſum, which they take credit for having relinquiſhed, conſiſts of ſome commiſſion, which they forbore to charge to captors; but the reaſon aſſigned for this renunciation is one which your committee cannot countenance or approve. Annexed is a paper tranſmitted by one of the commiſſioners, in explanation of the meaning of the expreſſions uſed in their firſt return: but, in the judgment of your committee, it has not removed the ground of any of the preceding obſervations. Your committee now proceed to the laſt point on which it is neceſſary to dwell, namely, the amount and mode of remuneration which, under all the circumſtances of the preſent caſe, ſeem the moſt proper to be adopted.

The following is the amount of the profits which were ſtated on the 10th of February, 1809, to have been received by the commiſſioners:

Commiſſion, at five per cent. on the groſs proceeds of their ſales, after paying charges of their eſtabliſhment	£74,137
Brokerage - - -	4,346
Intereſt - - - - -	36,458
Making together -	114,941

It was then alſo ſtated, that a further ſum had been received, or was receivable for intereſt, which would make the profits of the commiſſioners - - - 124,785

Subject to a deduction of - - - - -	1,587
Making - -	123,198
They have expected for commiſſion, a further ſum of about -	10,000

Making the total profits received, and expected, about - - -	133,198

Much the larger part of their commiſſion has been charged on property ſold for them by the Eaſt-India company, who, by a clauſe in 37 Geo. 3, chap. 80, were allowed five per cent. for their expence in effecting ſuch ſales. The commiſſioners, in their firſt return, have termed a commiſſion of five per cent. on the groſs proceeds of their ſales, "the uſual commiſſion;" but two and a half per cent. on the groſs proceeds is the higheſt rate common among merchants, and is the rate charged by them in the caſe of goods ſold through the medium of the Eaſt-India company. The intereſt which the commiſſioners have derived from the great balance of caſh in their hands, is not warranted by mercantile practice, an exact intereſt account being generally kept between merchants ſelling on commiſſion, and their employers, to whom, indeed, they frequently make large advances; and a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. is, therefore, to be conſidered as in ſome meaſure a recompenſe for that accommodation. It may be further remarked, that the extraordinary magnitude of the ſales of the commiſſioners form a reaſonable ground for keeping down the rate of commiſſion. This principle was urged in the report of the committee on public offices upon the bank, with a reference to the allowance made for the management of the public debt, and has been ſince acted upon; and it no leſs evidently applies to the preſent caſe. But the grounds on which the commiſſioners have preferred their claim to a commiſſion of five per cent. on the groſs proceeds in their more recent ſtatements, have chiefly been a precedent for that allowance, ſuppoſed to have been afforded in the caſe of a ſimilar commiſſion iſſued in the war of 1756, and the general practice of prize agents. The commiſſioners ſtate themſelves to have derived their intelligence on the former of theſe points from a converſation with the late Mr. Aufrere, one of the commiſſioners in 1756, but their information is very imperfect and incorrect; and the commiſſioner who gave evidence before your committee, profeſſed not to know whether the commiſſion was charged on the groſs or on the net amount of the proceeds of the ſales.

It appears by ſome authentic documents on this ſubject, of which copies are annexed, that a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. on the net proceeds having been granted, out of which various undefined expences were to be defrayed, the commiſſioners repreſented theſe expences (which, according to their conſtruction of the term, included brokerage and various other charges, beſides thoſe of their eſtabliſhment) to amount to more than their commiſſion; and that a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. on the net proceeds of ſales, independently of all expences, was conſequently ſubſtituted. A copy of the entry in the account preſented to the treaſury by the auditor, after the termination of the tranſactions under this commiſſion, is inſerted in the

the appendix, by which it appears, that the total ſum paid for commiſſion was 14,768*l.* 3*s.* It was divided among fourteen commiſſioners.

The rate of commiſſion charged by prize agents has been fixed, by long uſage, at five per cent.; and has lately been applied by the law to the net proceeds of ſale, having before been charged on the groſs proceeds. It appears by the evidence, that the exceſs of the commiſſion of prize agents above that of merchants, is juſtified chiefly by the peculiar trouble impoſed on the prize agent, in the diſtribution of the proceeds of his ſales among the crews of the capturing veſſels, a trouble from which the commiſſioners for the ſale of Dutch property were exempt. If alſo the capital employed by the prize agent, and the reſponſibility and riſk to which he is ſubject, are taken into conſideration, little diſparity between the two charges will be found.

Your committee will now preſent an eſtimate of the remuneration, to which the commiſſioners would be entitled, according to each of the three principles which have been mentioned. Firſt, if the commiſſion uſual among merchants of two and a half per cent. on the groſs proceeds of ſales ſhould be granted, about 50,000*l.* would be the amount of the allowance, out of which the expences of the eſtabliſhment (in all about 17,000*l.*) would be to be defrayed, leaving about 33,000*l.* clear profit to be divided among the commiſſioners.—2dly. If the principle adopted in 1756, of two and a half per cent. on the net proceeds, (which may amount to about 1,300,000*l.* or 1,400,000*l.*) ſhould be reſorted to, a ſum of about 32,500*l.* to 35,000*l.* would be receivable, which, the expences of the eſtabliſhment being paid, would leave about 15,500*l.* to 18,000*l.* to be divided among the commiſſioners.—3dly. If the commiſſion ſhould be calculated at the rate which was uſual among prize agents, at the time when the commiſſioners began to act, namely, five per cent. on the groſs proceeds of ſales, the ſum would be about 99,000*l.* ſubject to a ſimilar deduction, leaving a clear profit of about 82,000*l.* Your committee can by no means agree to decide the queſtion according to this principle. The commiſſion received by prize agents at the time when the commiſſioners were appointed, has lately been determined to be a more than adequate remuneration for the whole of their trouble. It ſhould alſo be recollected that the commiſſioners not only have been exempt from the labour of diſtributing the proceeds of their ſales among the individual ſailors concerned in the captures, and from much other trouble and reſponſibility, as well as from the advances to which prize agents are ſubject, but are alſo enabled, by the magnitude of the ſum on which their commiſſion is charged, to tranſact the public buſineſs at a much lower rate than is fairly due to individuals receiving ordinary conſignments. On the whole, your committee recommend that a commiſſion of five per cent. on the net proceeds of ſales ſhould be allowed to the commiſſioners, then paying the charges of their eſtabliſhment. This allowance will probably amount to not leſs than about

50,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* to each commiſſioner, and will be more, by about 17,000*l.* than would be due to them, according to the uſual practice of merchants, and more, by at leaſt about 32,000*l.* than they could claim according to the precedent of 1756, to which they have appealed. The exceſs of this remuneration above that enjoyed by merchants, as well as above that granted in 1756, may be juſtified on the ground partly of more than ordinary trouble impoſed on the preſent commiſſioners, and partly by the length of time during which their commiſſion has neceſſarily ſubſiſted, and perhaps partly alſo by the circumſtance of your committee, in conſequence of the omiſſion not only of the commiſſioners, but alſo of the government, having to recommend a retroſpective arrangement. The ſum which the commiſſioners will have to refund, in caſe of the adoption of this ſuggeſtion, will be not leſs than between 60 and 70,000*l.* They will alſo fail to receive nearly 20,000*l.* which they appear to have expected to appropriate to their own uſe, for further intereſt and commiſſion. Your committee cannot allow any weight to the obſervation, that two of the commiſſioners, having, after a term, quitted their profeſſions with a view to the fulfilment of their truſt, ſome reference ſhould be made to this circumſtance in eſtimating the amount of the remuneration. No notice of the intended ſacrifice was given; and it is obvious, that by proportioning the general compenſation receivable by the body to the ſpecial claims of two individuals, a more than adequate reward would be granted to the majority. If it ſhould be thought fit to adopt the ſuggeſtion of your committee, the commiſſioners ought to be credited in account for the propoſed commiſſion, and to be debited for all ſums applied to their own uſe, ſince they have been taken without due authority, the ſame general principles being obſerved by the auditors, in the ſettlement of the concerns of these commiſſioners, which are uſual in ſimilar caſes. Your committee further ſuggeſt, that the commiſſioners ſhould be directed to uſe their utmoſt diligence to make up and tranſmit their accounts to the lords of his Majeſty's privy council, with a view to their being ſubmitted to the board of treaſury, and by them referred to the auditors. Your committee have not purſued their examination of all the topics to which their attention had been called, as will be ſeen by the evidence, partly becauſe ſuch inveſtigation might detain them too long from their inquiries into other ſubjects, and partly on the ground of their not wiſhing to be conſidered as exempting the government from the duty of applying their attention to the tranſactions of the commiſſioners, or the auditors from the diligent and exact performance of the functions of their important office. The magnitude of the charges on the veſſels and cargoes ſold, which manifeſts itſelf in the difference between the groſs and the net proceeds, and in the exceſs of the charges above the whole proceeds in the caſe of many veſſels, appears to demand attention. Your committee have had it chiefly in their view to examine and animadvert upon thoſe points which derive

derive importance either from the magnitude of the ſaving in queſtion, or from their involving ſome general principles, on which it might be material to inſiſt. On a review of the whole of the ſubject which has been before them, they beg leave generally to remark, that to commit pecuniary truſts of extraordinary magnitude to perſons, however reſpectable as individuals, and however qualified for their employment by the habits of their former lives, without ſettling, during a long courſe of years, the mode or amount of their remuneration, without providing any material check on their proceedings, and without reminding them of their reſponſibility by calling for any regular or periodical account, is a neglect which may be expected often to lead to equally prejudicial conſequences, and is a deviation from the acknowledged duty, and alſo, as your committee truſts, from the ordinary practice of government.

East-India Company.

Report from the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, on the Patronage of the Eaſt India Company. —Ordered to be printed 23d March, 1809.

The ſelect committee, appointed to inquire into the exiſtence of any corrupt practices, in regard to the appointment and nomination of writers or cadets in the ſervice of the East India Company; or any agreement, negotiation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the ſale thereof; and to report the ſame as it ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, together with their obſervations thereupon; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them; and their proceedings, from time to time, to the houſe;

Began their inveſtigation by examining into a caſe brought before them by George Woodford Thelluſon, Eſq. a member of this houſe, in which his patronage and confidence appear to have been groſsly abuſed. The whole evidence being given at length in the appendix, your committee content themſelves with inſerting, in this place, a ſhort abſtract only of this, and every other tranſaction; giving the names of the perſons appointed, of thoſe by whom they were recommended, and by whom their nominations were ſigned, together with the names of the intermediate agents in any of the negociations where money was paid or received. Thoſe appointments which have been completed in conſequence of any ſuch bargains, and upon which ſatisfactory evidence has been produced, will be placed firſt; a ſecond claſs will be found of nominations which appear to have taken effect, but with regard to which, from the death of ſome of the parties, or from deficiency of proof in other particulars, your committee are unable to aſcertain the names of the perſons who were ſent out to India. It is a ſatisfaction to your committee, throughout the whole evidence, to remark nothing which traces any one of theſe corrupt or improper bargains to any director, or induces a reaſonable ſuſpicion that it was done

done with the privity or connivance of any member of that court. Several negociations which never took effect, will be found alluded to, or detailed in parts of the evidence; which it was thought proper not to reject under the comprehenſive directions "that your committee ſhould inquire into any agreement, negociation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the ſale of ſuch nomination;" and when ſuch information was received, they deemed it inexpedient to withhold it from this houſe, though they are fully aware that their deſire of opening every channel of inquiry has led to an extent of examination, and to a maſs of evidence, from which much might be retrenched without detriment, if it had been eaſy to eſtabliſh a ſatisfactory principle of omiſſion, or abridgment, which might have left nothing wholly irrelevant, or trifling, while it comprehended whatever might be intereſting either to this houſe, or to the Eaſt India Company.

Writers.—Mr. Ed. James Smith was nominated a writer to Bengal in the ſeaſon 1806-7, by Mr. G. W. Thelluſon; the appointment was given to his firſt couſin, Mr. Emperor J. A. Woodford, who ſold the appointment for 3,500*l.* through the agency of Mr. Tahourdin, ſolicitor, who received 100*l.* out of that ſum. The other perſons concerned in this negociation were Mr. Wimbourn and Mr. Laing.

Cadets.—Mr. Henry Stoughton was appointed a cadet to Madras, Jan. 1808, by George Abercrombie Robinſon, Eſq. by the recommendation of Mr. Morland, who gave the appointment to Mr. Jones for a relation of his. Mr. Jones, through the agency of John Anneſley Shee, ſold it to Mr. Stoughton, father to the perſon appointed, from whom Shee received 500 guineas: he paid 180*l.* to Mr. Jones, and received of him an undertaking to pay 320*l.* upon his procuring for Mr. Jones a Woolwich cadetſhip. This appointment has been vacated by the court of directors, in conſequence of their having diſcovered the means through which it was obtained.

Having reported between thirty and forty other caſes: the committee ſay,

It appears in evidence, that ſome other nominations of this deſcription have been purchaſed: but your committee have not been able to diſcover and bring before them ſome of the perſons who appear to have been parties to theſe tranſactions; particularly Sir Nicholas Nugent, Mr. W. Lowen Tugwell Robins, Mr. Joſeph Home, Captain Matthew, and Capt. Holmes. A further examination into ſome other bargains, is precluded by the death of Lady Lumm, Lady Leigh, and Captain Sealey.

The attention both of the legiſlature and of the Eaſt India Company has been attracted at various periods to abuſes, which were ſuppoſed to exiſt in the diſpoſal of their patronage; in conſequence of which, at the time when their charter was renewed, an oath was framed, to be taken by each director within ten days after his election, containing, among other engagements, the following: "I do ſwear, that I will not, directly nor indirectly, accept, or take any perquiſite, emolument, fee, preſent, or reward, upon any account what-

whatſoever, or any promiſe or engagement for any perquiſite, emolument, fee, preſent, or reward whatſoever, for or in reſpect of the appointment or nomination of any perſon or perſons to any place or office in the gift or appointment of the ſaid company, or of me as a director thereof, or for or on account of ſtationing or appointing the voyage or voyages of any ſhip or ſhips in the ſaid company's employ, or for or on account of or any ways relating to any other buſineſs or affairs of the ſaid company." 33 Geo. III. c. 52. ſ. 160.—In the bye-laws of the Eaſt India Company, c. 6, ſect. 5, a penalty is impoſed upon every director taking any reward on account of any appointment, in double the amount of ſuch reward, two-thirds of which to the company, and one-third to the informer; and ſuch director is rendered *ipſo facto* incapable of holding any place whatever under the company. The form of declaration on every writer's petition, is, "I recommended this petition, and do moſt ſolemnly declare that I have given this nomination to

and that I neither have received myſelf, nor am to receive, nor has any other perſon, to the beſt of my knowledge or belief, received, nor is to receive, any pecuniary conſideration, nor any thing convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account." The form of certificate required to be ſigned by the neareſt of kin to each cadet, contains the following declaration: "I do further declare, that I received the ſaid appointment for my ſon

gratuitouſly, and that no money or other valuable conſideration has been or is to be paid, either directly or indirectly for the ſame; and that I will not pay, or cauſe to be paid, either by myſelf, by my ſon, or by the hands of any other perſon, any pecuniary or valuable conſideration whatſoever, to any perſon or perſons who have intereſted themſelves in procuring the ſaid nomination for my ſon from the director above-mentioned." The printed preparatory inſtructions which are circulated by the Eaſt India Company for the uſe of thoſe who may be nominated cadets, begin with the following reſolution: "That any perſon who ſhall in future be nominated to a ſituation, either civil or military, in the ſervice of this company, and who ſhall have obtained ſuch nomination either directly or indirectly by purchaſe, or agreement to purchaſe, through the medium of an agent or other person, ſhall be rejected; and the perſons ſo nominated ſhall be rendered incapable of holding any ſituation whatſoever in the company's ſervice: and in the event of any perſon having obtained an appointment in the manner before ſtated, and proceeded to India previous to its being diſcovered, ſuch perſon ſhall be diſmiſſed the company's ſervice, and ordered back to England, and ſhall alſo be rendered incapable of holding any ſituation whatſoever in the company's ſervice." It is to be obſerved, that abuſes in the diſpoſal of cadetſhips are better guarded againſt than that of writerſhips, ſince the preſent form of certificate has been applied to them; for in the writerſhip the director himſelf only declares that to the beſt of

his knowledge or belief no pecuniary conſideration has been or is to be received; but with regard to every cadet, the parent or next of kin makes a ſimilar declaration for himſelf. The caſes which are exhibited in this report, demonſtrate that ſuch declarations are not of ſufficient force to prevent a very extenſive traffic in thoſe nominations, which are apparently the beſt ſecured by a poſitive denial of all undue practices. An inquiry was ſet on foot by the court of directors, in 1798, upon the allegation and ſuſpicion of abuſes in the nominations of writers; the origin, progreſs, and failure of which it may be proper to give in ſome detail.—25th of April, 1798: A committee of the directors was appointed to inveſtigate into the truth of the alleged practice of the ſale of patronage, and to conſider of ſuch means as may appear likely to prevent the ſame in future, if ſuch practices have occurred.—9th July: Each director's nomination of writers was laid before the committee, who reſolved that each member of the committee ſhould ſtate in writing the names of the parties to whom he has given the nomination, together with the reaſons which induced him to give the ſame: and that the ſeveral parties who have received ſuch nominations for their ſons, &c. be required to produce ſatisfactory information to the committee upon oath, or in ſuch manner as the committee ſhall deem moſt expedient, that neither they, nor any perſon on their account, or with their privity or knowledge, have given or promiſed to give any conſideration on account of ſuch nomination, either to the director from whom they obtained the ſame, or to any perſon on his behalf: and it was agreed to recommend to the court to direct each individual member of the court to do the ſame.—1ſt Auguſt, 1798: the court approved this report; and (15th August) each director in office, as well as thoſe out by rotation (except Mr. Devaynes) gave explanations in writing,—28th Feb. 1799: it was reſolved, that every appointment made in conſequence of corrupt practices be null and void, unleſs the parties to whom the appointment is given ſhall, upon examination before the committee, make a fair and candid diſcloſure of all the circumſtances attending the ſame. It was likewiſe reſolved, that each director ſhould, in future, on the petition of the writer whom he nominates, "declare upon his honour to whom he has given the appointment, and that he neither has received himſelf, nor is he to receive, nor has any other perſon, to the beſt of his knowledge and belief received, nor is to receive, any pecuniary conſideration, nor any thing convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account." The direction being changed in April; on the 14th of Auguſt, 1799, a new committee, to inveſtigate the truth of the ſale of patronage, &c. was appointed.—17th January, 1800: the draft of a letter propoſed to be addreſſed to the parents, &c. of perſons appointed writers ſince 1793, requeſting them to declare whether the appointments were given without any pecuniary or other conſideration, was conſidered by the committee; when a diſcuſſion aroſe, whether it ſhould be on oath: when

when it was adjourned till the 21ſt of Jan.: and it being then ſuggeſted whether it would be proper for the committee to proceed in their inquiry, it was decided in the affirmative.

The committee then proceeded to conſider the drafts of the letter to the parents, &c. a draft of a report to the court ſtating their reaſons for recommending this mode of inveſtigation, as alſo the form of a declaration for the perſons who have received ſuch appointments. The conſideration was adjourned to the 24th of January: when a diſcuſſion enſuing thereon, and on the neceſſity and expediency of the mode of public inveſtigation therein propoſed; it was agreed to poſtpone the ſaid report, and to proceed to act agreeably to the authority and inſtructions already received from the court. The committee reſolved, that in their opinion the parties to whom each director had given nominations, ſhould be called upon to ſtate on what grounds they have received the ſame, in every caſe that the committee may deem it expedient ſo to do.

The committee then examined, *viva voce*, its different members, as a preliminary to the propoſed meaſure; each member declared upon his honour, that what he had ſtated in regard to his appointments was ſtrictly true, and expreſſed his readineſs to confirm the ſame by his oath.—28th Jan. 1800: The committee met to conſider a draft of a report to the court, communicating their proceedings, and propoſing further meaſures for the court's adoption, as alſo a draft of a letter referred to in the ſaid report.—31ſt Jan: The report of this day's date, with the letters to the parents, &c. and the declaration to be made by them, was approved.—5th Feb.: The court, after conſiderable diſcuſſion of the above, confirm the ſame; but reſolve that the conſideration of what is further to be done on the ſaid report be adjourned to the 11th of Feb. when it is reſolved, that the committee of patronage be inſtructed to proceed in the examination of the other members of the court, as they did with themſelves. It was then moved, that the declaration propoſed in the report be upon oath: on this, the motion of adjournment was carried.—25th Feb. A report ſigned by fifteen directors, approves the declaration, and recommends that the ſeveral perſons to whom the ſame is ſent be requeſted to confirm ſuch declaration upon oath.—Another report on the ſame day, ſigned by twelve directors, recommends that no further proceedings be had in this buſineſs till the firſt of May. Both the above reports are approved by the court.—26th Feb. 1800: The right hon. Henry Dundas addreſſed the court, acknowledging the receipt of their minute: and ſtating that he feels it a duty that he owes both to himſelf and the court, to omit no means in his power for aſcertaining whether any perſon whom he has obliged through the favour of the court, has preſumed to abuſe his kindneſs in ſo fordid and unwarrantable a manner.

Sir Francis Baring diſſents from the reſolutions to call for the declaration on oath.

The committee of patronage ceaſing with the direction in April; on the 18th June, 1800, the court took into conſideration the

the propriety of re-appointing the ſaid committee.—It being moved, "That a committee of patronage be re-appointed;" an amendment was moved, to leave out all the words after the word "that," and to inſert in their room the following: "It does not appear to this court, that any circumſtance has been ſtated to the court, by the committee lately appointed for an inquiry into the diſpoſal of patronage, that can induce or would juſtify the court in adopting the illegal and novel adminiſtration of extra-judicial oaths to a variety of perſons, not directly connected with the Eaſt-India company or the management of its affairs, and which, though it would tend to throw a ſuſpicion upon the court at large, which no circumſtances that have hitherto come to the knowledge of the court can induce them to ſuppoſe the members thereof merit, would not, they conceive, be an effectual mode of bringing to light any ſuch practices, even if ſuch, in any partial inſtance, ſhould have exiſted."

On the queſtion for the amendment being put, the votes for and againſt were equal; when the lot decided for the amendment.

25th June: The chairman, deputy chairman, and eight other directors, diſſent from the reſolution not to re-appoint the committee of patronage.—24th Sept.: A motion was made in the court of proprietors, that the above proceedings be read; they were read accordingly, and notice given by the mover of his intention of bringing the ſubject forward at a future court.—20th Jan. 1801, It was moved, "That it is the opinion of this court that the inquiry into the alleged abuſe of patronage ought to be continued." It was moved to amend the ſaid motion, by adding thereto the following words: "To inveſtigate any charge that may be made of corrupt practices againſt any one or more of the court of directors." The above amendment paſſed in the negative; when a ballot was demanded on the original queſtion; it was, 3rd Feb. 1801, loſt by a majority of 139; 411 voting for the queſtion, againſt it 550.

The following opinion of counſel was given to the court of directors, previous to the ballot being taken; viz.

"Caſe for the Eaſt-India company:

"Whether the court of directors, or any committee of the ſaid court, whether conſidered as a committee of that court, or as a committee of proprietors, be legally authorized to call for the examination of ſuch perſons upon oath, as recommended by the court of directors in their reſolution of the 25th Feb. 1800; or whether, in their opinion, any magiſtrate would be juſtified in adminiſtering the oath ſo recommended; and generally to adviſe concerning the legality and effect of ſuch proceedings.—We are of opinion, that neither the court of directors, nor any committee of the ſaid court, or committee of proprietors, have any legal authority to require or receive examinations of perſons upon oath, as recommended by the reſolution of the court of directors of the 25th Feb. 1800; and that no magiſtrate will be juſtified in adminiſtering ſuch oaths.—"We therefore think the propoſed proceedings would be contrary to law."

law."—Signed, J. Mitford, W. Grant, J. Mansfield, T. Erſkine, George Rous.

If this houſe ſhould in its wisdom adopt any legiſlative meaſures for the purpoſe of preventing all traffic in the diſpoſal of offices under government, it will, in the opinion of your committee, be proper to extend the ſame protection to patronage held under the East-India company; but they ſee no reaſon to recommend any ſpecial or ſeparate proviſions, as applicable to their caſe, judging that the East-India company has, within its own power, the moſt effectual means for accompliſhing that end.—It can never be adviſable, without abſolute neceſſity, to add new offences to the long catalogue already enumerated in the penal ſtatutes; nor is it wiſe to diminiſh the ſanctity of oaths by reſorting to them upon all occaſions. Where ſolemn declarations have been habitually diſregarded, little reliance can be placed upon the ſanctity of any other ſpecies of aſſeveration. Inſtances occur but too frequently, where an oath comes to be conſidered merely as part of the official form by which an appointment is conferred; and the human mind, fertile in ſelf-deception, accommodates itſelf with wonderful facility to overcoming all ſcruples, or applies a perverſe ingenuity to evading all reſtrictions, which ſtand in the way of preſent intereſt. Little fear of detection is entertained, when tranſactions are in their nature private and confidential; and the appellation of honour, moſt improperly applied to negotiations of this clandeſtine kind, attaches, by a ſingular perverſeneſs, a ſtronger degree of obligation to the performance of ſuch engagements, upon the very ground that they are illegal.

With a view to prevent all dealings in patronage, the obvious and natural mode will be, to take away all inducement to traffic in it; and this can only be attained by making the hazard of ſuch ſpeculations greater than the temptation.—The regulations of the company are founded upon this true and efficacious principle. But examples have hitherto been wanting to demonſtrate the determination of the court of directors to enforce their orders; no inſtance of purchaſing or procuring, by undue means, an appointment in the civil or military ſervice of the East-India company, after ſuch appointment had actually taken place, and ſince the court's reſolution of the 28th Feb. 1799, having been ſo far eſtabliſhed, as to enable the court to diſmiſs the party appointed.—The immediate conſequence of the information contained in this report, muſt be, that a certain number of perſons in the ſervice of the company will be inſtantly deprived of their employments, recalled from India, and declared incapable of again receiving any appointment under the company. The money improperly given for procuring theſe ſituations, will be abſolutely loſt, without any poſſibility of recovery; and thoſe who have, either imprudently or corruptly, been concerned in obtaining what they conceived to be benefits for their relatives or friends, will find that they have done the greateſt injury to thoſe whom they deſired to ſerve, by inducing them to dedicate ſome of the beſt years of their lives

to

to an employment, which the original defects, aud corrupt practices through which it was obtained, muſt diſqualify them from proſecuting.—Hard as ſome of theſe caſes muſt be, and innocent and ignorant as many of the young men, nominated under theſe circumſtances, probably are, of the undue means by which their appointments were acquired, your committee are of opinion, that nothing but a ſtrict adherence to the rule laid down by the court of directors, can put a ſtop to the continuance of theſe abuſes, and prevent the chance of their recurring.—In 1799, when, in the courſe of the inveſtigation already mentioned, indemnity was offered to all thoſe who would make a fair and candid diſcloſure of all the circumſtances through which their ſituations had been procured, though information was gained with regard to facts, no example could be made, in conſequence of ſuch diſcloſure, of thoſe who were found offending; and it may be doubted whether ſuch practices have been leſs prevalent ſince that inquiry, than before. The deficiency of their power to compel perſons to anſwer, precluded the court of directors from diſcovering, if they puniſhed, or from puniſhing if they diſcovered, the traffic which was the ſubject of complaint.

The oath taken by the directors ſeems as effectual as any thing which can be deviſed for the purpoſe of guarding againſt corruption, ſo far as the directors themſelves are immediately concerned; and your committee have already remarked, that no one caſe of corruption or abuſe, which has been before them, affects any member of that court, It is, in the paſſing through ſeveral hands, which happens frequently with regard to the more numerous and leſs valuable appointments of cadets, that opportunities for this ſort of negotiation are preſented, which, without a greater degree of vigilance and ſtrictneſs on the part of each director, at the time of making ſuch nomination, it will be impracticable to prevent in future.

Your committee may perhaps be exceeding the limits of their province, in the further conſiderations to which this ſubject leads; but as they decline recommending any ſpecial legiſlative enactment, their view of the proper remedy for theſe abuſes may be incomplete, unleſs they proceed to ſuggeſt ſome other obſervations.—The unpleaſant duty of increaſed vigilance is not likely to be performed without ſome incitement of benefit or diſadvantage, attendant upon the exerciſe, or neglect of it; and it is equally conformable to experience to preſume, that patronage will continue to be abuſed, ſo long as no inconvenience is felt by the perſon primarily giving, or by the perſon ultimately receiving it.—Where ſtrict examination is a duty, any ſpecies of negligence cannot be wholly blameleſs; and it appears not unreaſonable to curtail, in ſome degree, the patronage of thoſe, who have either not been ſufficiently watchful in the diſpoſal of it, or whoſe diligence has been unſucceſsful in preventing the abuſes which are complained of. As an additional check againſt thoſe who are inclined to purchaſe ſuch appointments, it may be expedient that a bond ſhould be given by the parent, guardian, or friend, of every

every perſon receiving a nomination, containing a penalty to be paid to the Eaſt-India company, upon proof being made at any ſubſequent period, that any valuable conſideration was given for ſuch appointment; that ſpecies of proof being deemed ſufficient to levy the penalty, upon which the court of directors may think themſelves authorized to vacate the appointment.

The practices which are developed in the preſent report, and other tranſactions which this houſe has recently had under its cognizance, are ſufficient to demonſtrate that patronage, of various deſcriptions, has, in ſeveral inſtances, become an article of traffic; that an opinion of the generality of ſuch practices has been prevalent to a ſtill greater extent; and that fraudulent agents have availed themſelves of this belief, to the injury of the credulous and unwary, and to the diſcredit of thoſe in whoſe hands the diſpoſition of offices is lodged. It will depend upon the ſteps which may be taken in conſequence of theſe enquiries, whether ſuch abuſes ſhall receive a permanent check, or a virtual encouragement.

The following caſes have been brought before the public eye, by the inſtitution of the committee for inquiring into the abuſes of the patronage of the Eaſt-India company, in which the names of his royal highneſs the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, and the Earl of Clancarty are introduced.

FIRST CASE.

The Duke of Cambridge's.

It ſeems Mr. Anneſley Shee, who is now in Newgate for refuſing to anſwer the queſtions propoſed to him by the committee, (and who, we have heard, declares he will remain there until a diſſolution of parliament, rather than anſwer them,) advertiſed in the public papers that he had an Eaſt-India writerſhip to diſpoſe of, which advertiſement was replied to by a Mr. John Fuller, (formerly employed as an agent to the Morning Poſt,) who was authorized to purchaſe a writerſhip by a Mr. Greenhill, a gentleman of fortune, near Montroſe. We will now give Mr. Fuller's evidence, as ſtated before the committee of the houſe of commons.

What paſſed with Mr. Shee upon this ſubject?—He advertiſed a writerſhip, and in conſequence of that advertiſement I called upon him one morning and found him at home; he told me, yes, he had ſuch a thing to diſpoſe of, and I aſked him the price; he ſaid, either 3000 pounds or guineas; his principals were to have 3000*l.* and he was to have 150*l.* that is, the ſhillings.

Was any money depoſited for Mr. Shee's uſe, if he could procure this appointment?—No; he wrote me a note, which I have been trying to find, but I cannot, and rather conceive I muſt have deſtroyed it, but it was to this effect, that his mode of doing buſineſs was to introduce the principals together, and that on my depoſiting ſuch ſort of ſecurity as would enable him to receive 150*l.* when the buſineſs was effected, he would introduce me to the principals. I gave him a checque, I think, on Sir Matthew Bloxam, for 150*l.*

Conditionally? Yes, conditionally.

What

What was the reſult?—On my handing over this checque, he gave me a letter to a lady in Hampton Court palace.

Who was that lady?—Her name was Cottin.

Was that letter delivered?—I delivered it myſelf.

What paſſed in the converſation with Mrs. Cottin?—She read this note; Mr. Shee had previouſly prepared her for my reception; ſhe put on her hat, took me acroſs Hampton Court Green, and introduced me to a gentleman of the name of Poplett, who is, I believe, one of the deputy lieutenants for the county of Middleſex. Here I thought I had certainly got to the end of my troubleſome journey. In my converſation with Mrs. Cottin, it was ſtated that I was to give her 500*l.* and I was to depoſit 2500*l.* for the lady in whoſe poſſeſſion the patronage was. Captain Poplett informed me that he had no doubt in the world that he could procure the thing I was after: the firſt ſtep to be taken was, that I ſhould ſatisfy him this ſum of money was ſo depoſited. I went on the following day, to the beſt of my recollection, and in Kenſington's hands depoſited the ſum of money required, and ſent him the banker's receipts; and on the ſame day I ſent an undertaking to pay Mrs. Cottin her 500*l.* that being done, I was to expect a final anſwer from Captain Poplett in the courſe of three weeks, or I was to be at liberty to remove the money again, and take up the ſecurities I had depoſited. Three weeks paſſed; a month paſſed: at length I waited upon Captain Poplett, and I continued to make applications to him ſeveral times, I believe five or ſix. When he found that he could not do what he had undertaken, he gave me back my ſecurity for the 2500*l.*

Do you recollect in what month this was? It muſt have been in the month of November laſt, ſome where between the 15th and 25th, I think.

Did Captain Poplett mention to you at any time in whoſe patronage this appointment was, which he expected to have diſpoſed of?—He diſtinctly ſaid this: "The lady into whoſe hands this 2500*l.* is to go, if you knew her hiſtory, you would feel for as much as I do." He mentioned that ſhe was either the widow or daughter of ſome very excellent officer who had been ſlain ſomewhere, but he never ſaid more, nor did I ever know who the lady was: he enjoined me to the moſt profound ſecrecy, and nothing ſhould have wrung it from my boſom, but the neceſſity I preſume there is for my telling it here.

Did he mention in whoſe patronage this appointment was?—He ſaid that ſhe had very conſiderable influence with the Duke of Cambridge, who, he aſſured me, and I believe it moſt ſincerely, was perfectly unacquainted with the object of her application; that the duke had expreſſed a very great regard for her; and, of courſe, the young gentleman, whoſe name I mentioned, ſhe told him was a friend of hers; and the duke, in conſequence, wrote her a note, that he would do every thing which he could, to get her wiſhes complied with. I ſaw the note from the Duke of Cambridge to this lady, but the ſuperſcription of it was carefully taken of, ſo that I ſhould not know who it was.

State generally the contents of it.—That he had received her application, and that he ſhould certainly make a point of endeavouring to accommodate her friend, whoſe character ſhe ſpoke ſo highly of; that if he ſhould fail in one quarter, he would endeavour to procure *the patronage of the Queen*; but he did not think he ſhould be able to accompliſh the object this year, though it was very probable he might in that that was coming.

Was your friend introduced to this lady?—Never; in ſhort, he is in Scotland at this moment; he has never been in town ſince; I conſidered myſelf ſo ſecure at firſt, I ſent for him from Scotland.

Did this lady communicate to the Duke of Cambridge the name of your friend?—She muſt, for he mentioned the name in his note.

Did Mrs. Cottin mention the name of any lady to you, through whom this appointment was to take place?—No; and I believe for the beſt of all poſſible reaſons, that ſhe did not know the lady; Captain Poplett was more communicative to me than to Mrs. Cottin.

Are you certain that you are totally unacquainted with the name of the lady?—I am: her name was always carefully withheld from me.

The lady herſelf was never introduced to you?—Never.

What was the name of your friend, whom ſhe recommended to the Duke of Cambridge?—James Greenhill.

Before we proceed to the other caſe, we will make one or two remarks on the preceding one.—It ſeems there was a lady, "whoſe huſband had been ſlain ſomewhere," for whom the Duke of Cambridge had expreſſed a great regard, which regard was to be evinced by his procuring for her an Eaſt India writerſhip!!! What could his royal highneſs imagine this poor unfortunate lady, "whoſe huſband had been ſlain ſomewhere," was to do with this Eaſt India writerſhip? The anſwer is plain and obvious, and we are convinced will readily preſent itſelf to every unprejudiced man's mind. But the moſt curious part of this tranſaction is the method the royal duke propoſed to himſelf to procure this appointment: "if he ſhould fail in one quarter, he would endeavour to procure the patronage of the Queen." This is moſt aſtoniſhing. Mrs. Clarke, indeed, did ſay that her Majeſty enjoyed great patronage, and, we believe, hinted ſomething about the church; but every one knows how much credit is due to what ſhe ſaid—But here we have the Duke of Cambridge's written teſtimony, that the Queen does poſſeſs Eaſt India patronage. Nothing leſs than this evidence could make us pay the leaſt attention to the aſſertion.

SECOND CASE.

Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh and the Earl of Clancarty.

The other caſe (but far the moſt important) to which we ſhall call the attention of our readers, is that of Lord Caſtlereagh, a nobleman who at the time of this tranſaction held, and who now holds, one of the higheſt ſituations in the ſtate, a privy counſellor and a member of the cabinet. It appears, a man of the name of Reding, knowing a gentleman who wiſhed to exchange his ſeat in the houſe of

of commons for an East India writership for his son, opened a negotiation, for that purpose, with an Irish nobleman, the Earl of Clancarty, who was desirous of *buying* a seat. We will now give his lordship's evidence.—

In consequence of the examination of Mr. Reding, in which your lordship's name was mentioned frequently, I am desirous, in the first place, to know, when you became acquainted with Mr. Reding?—About the month of October, 1805.

On what occasion did you first become acquainted with that person?—With respect to obtaining a seat in parliament.

Did you see him frequently upon that occasion?—Three, four, or five times: more than twice, certainly.

Did he hold out that he had the power of procuring a seat in parliament?—He did: he represented that a friend of his in parliament, a very respectable man, was desirous of retiring from parliament, but wished to make that retirement subservient to the object of obtaining a situation for a young man, a relative of his, either a son or a nephew, to the best of my recollection, and stated that if a writership could be obtained for the party, he would be willing to retire. Having no wish to save any expense upon my part, and having no writership to dispose of, the negotiation at that time closed.

Was this negotiation renewed with Mr. Reding, and upon what occasion?—It was: having mentioned the circumstance to my friend, Lord Castlereagh, and expressing great disappointment that the seat could not be obtained, he told me that he had a writership undisposed of, which, as far as he himself was concerned, he should be very happy to give me the recommendation to; stating at the same time the necessity of the most minute inquiry into the character of the party to be recommended. After various interviews with Mr. Reding, in order to obtain the name of the person who was to retire, as well as of the person to be recommended, and not being able to obtain either, the negotiation altogether closed.

Did Lord Castlereagh offer you this appointment of a writership for the purpose of facilitating your being returned to parliament, if that could be obtained by this means?—Certainly: it being always to be understood that the party be of sufficient respectability to be eligible for the situation.

Did you communicate to Mr. Reding that you had a writership at your disposal, which you were ready to give to his friend, if the person recommended was perfectly eligible, provided the seat in parliament could be obtained?—I certainly gave him to understand that I had, or that the thing might be procured.

Lord Viscount Castlereagh next examined.

Had you any conversation with Lord Clancarty, as connected with this transaction of Mr. Reding, in which a writership was offered to Lord Clancarty's nomination? I think, some time after I inclosed Mr. Reding's letter to Lord Clancarty, Lord Clancarty told me, he had a negotiation with Mr. Reding with a view to procure a seat in parliament, which, he said, had

failed; inasmuch as the proposition he had made to Mr. Reding, which was of a pecuniary nature, had been declined by the person who was supposed to have the influence to procure the seat in parliament.

What passed between your Lordship and Lord Clancarty in consequence of this?—I should state, as preliminary to answering that question, that nothing in point of fact ever arose out of the communication I had with Lord Clancarty, by which the disposal of the writership was effected, nor did the nomination to any writership take place in consequence of that communication. With reference to the question itself, having been put to me by the committee, I feel it my duty to give an explicit answer to it; that "I was induced to place a writership at Lord Clancarty's disposal, and that certainly the impression under which I did it was, that Lord Clancarty's coming into parliament might be thereby facilitated." I stated, however, to Lord Clancarty, that I did not feel that I could recommend any person for a writership in the East India company's service, who was not individually, and in point of connections, a proper object to receive a political favour of such a nature from a member of the government, and such a person, in point of character, as the court of directors were entitled to expect to be placed in their service, in consequence of any nomination they had placed at my disposal, on which point my decision must be reserved till I knew who the party was that solicited the appointment.

Subject to those qualifications, was it your lordship's intention to have placed this nomination at Lord Clancarty's disposal, to be given in consideration for his being returned to parliament?—I conceived Lord Clancarty, with these qualifications, entitled to call upon me for the writership if it could be of any use to him, either for that purpose, or any other that he was interested about, and which had no relation to a pecuniary transaction. I must observe, however, that my conversation with Lord Clancarty arose out of a particular case stated, and, I believe, was never acted upon by him otherwise than to ascertain whether the case had any existence in point of fact. I certainly did not conceive, in so placing a writership at Lord Clancarty's disposal, that it could possibly become the subject either of sale for money, or general barter for a seat in parliament.

Correspondence between Mr. Perceval, Earl Grey, and Lord Grenville.

Letter sent in Duplicate to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville.

"*Windsor, Saturday, Sept. 23, 1809.*

"My Lord,

"The Duke of Portland having signified to his Majesty his intention of retiring from his Majesty's service, in consequence of the state of his Grace's health, his Majesty has authorised Lord Liverpool, in conjunction with myself, to communicate with your lordship and Lord Grey, for the purpose

purpoſe of forming an extended and combined adminiſtration.

" I hope, therefore, that your lordſhip, in conſequence of this communication, will come to town, in order that as little time as poſſible may be loſt in forwarding this important object, and that you will have the goodneſs to inform me of your arrival.

" I am alſo to acquaint your lordſhip, that I have received his Majeſty's commands to make a ſimilar communication to Lord Grey of his Majeſty's pleaſure.

" I think it proper to add, for your lordſhip's information, that Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Secretary Canning have intimated their intention to reſign their offices.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" SPENCER PERCEVAL."

Anſwer from Lord Grey.

" *Howick, Sept. 26.*

" Sir,

" I have this evening had the honour of receiving your letter of the 23d, informing me, that in conſequence of the Duke of Portland's intention of retiring from his Majeſty's ſervice, his Majeſty had authoriſed you, in conjunction with the Earl of Liverpool, to communicate with Lord Grenville and myſelf, for the purpoſe of forming an extended and combined adminiſtration, and expreſſing a hope that in conſequence of this communication I would go to town, in order that as little time as poſſible may be loſt in forwarding this important object.

" Had his Majeſty been pleaſed to ſignify tnat he had any commands for me perſonally, I ſhould not have loſt a moment in ſhowing my duty and obedience, by a prompt attendance on his royal pleaſure.

" But when it is propoſed to me to communicate with his Majeſty's preſent miniſters, for the purpoſe of forming a combined adminiſtration with them, I feel that I ſhould be wanting in duty to his Majeſty, and in fairneſs to them, if I did not frankly and at once declare, that ſuch an union is, with reſpect to me, under the preſent circumſtances, impoſſible. This being the anſwer I find myſelf under the neceſſity of giving, my appearance in London could be of no advantage, and might poſſibly, at a moment like the preſent, be attended with ſome inconvenience.

" I have thought it better to requeſt, that you will have the goodneſs to lay my duty at the feet of his Majeſty, humbly intreating him not to attribute to any want of attachment to his royal perſon, or to diminiſhed zeal for his ſervice, my declining a communication, which, on the terms propoſed, could lead to no uſeful reſult, and which might be of ſerious detriment to the country, if in conſequence of a leſs deciſive anſwer from me, any further delay ſhould take place in the formation of a ſettled government.

" I am, &c.

" GREY."

Firſt Anſwer from Lord Grenville.

" *Boconnoc, Sept. 25, 1809.*

" Sir,

" I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 23d inſt. and underſtanding it as an official ſignification

ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure for my attendance in town, I ſhall loſe no time in repairing thither, in humble obedience to his Majeſty's commands.

"I muſt beg leave to defer until my arrival all obſervations on the other matters to which your letter relates.

"I have, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

Second Anſwer from Lord Grenville.

"*Sept.* 29, 1809.

"Sir,

"Having laſt night arrived here, in humble obedience to his Majeſty's commands, I think it now my duty to loſe no time in expreſſing to you the neceſſity under which I feel myſelf of declining the communication propoſed in your letter, being ſatisfied that it could not, under the circumſtances there mentioned, be productive of any public advantage.

"I truſt I need not ſay, that this opinion is neither founded in any ſentiment of perſonal hoſtility, nor in a deſire of unneceſſarily prolonging political differences.

"To compoſe, not to inflame, the diviſions of the empire, has always been my anxious wiſh, and is now more than ever the duty of every loyal ſubject; but my acceſſion to the exiſting adminiſtration could, I am confident, in no reſpect contribute to this object; nor could it, I think, be conſidered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle.

"This anſwer, which I muſt have given to any ſuch propoſal if made while the government was yet entire, cannot be varied by the retreat of ſome of its members.

"My objects are not perſonal—they apply to the principle of the government itſelf, and to the circumſtances which attended its appointment.

"I have now, therefore, only to requeſt, that you will do me the honour of ſubmitting, in the moſt reſpectful terms, theſe my humble opinions to his Majeſty, accompanied by the dutiful and ſincere aſſurance of my earneſt deſire at all times to teſtify, by all ſuch means as are in my power, my unvaried zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice.

"I have, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

Letter from Mr. Perceval to Lord Grenville.

"*Sept.* 29, 1809.

"My Lord,

"I loſt no time in communicating to Lord Liverpool your lordſhip's letter of this day.

"It is with great concern that we have learnt from it, that your lordſhip feels yourſelf under the neceſſity of declining the communication which I had the honour to propoſe.

"In propoſing to your Lordſhip and Lord Grey, under his Majeſty's authority, to communicate with Lord Liverpool and myſelf, not for the acceſſion of your lordſhip to the preſent adminiſtration, but for the purpoſe of forming a combined and extended adminiſtration, no idea exiſted in our minds of the neceſſity of any dereliction of public principle on either ſide.

"Your lordſhip may reſt aſſured, that in communicating to his Majeſty the neceſſity under which you feel yourſelf of declining the communication which I had the

honour to propoſe to your lordſhip, I will do every juſtice to the reſpectful terms, and the dutiful and ſincere aſſurance of your lordſhip's unwearied zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, with which the expreſſion of that neceſſity was accompanied.

"I cannot conclude without expreſſing the ſatisfaction of Lord Liverpool and myſelf at your lordſhip's aſſurance, that the failure of this propoſal is not to be attributed to any ſentiment of perſonal hoſtility.

"I have, &c. &c.
"SPENCER PERCEVAL."

QUARREL BETWEEN MR. CANNING AND LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Caſtlereagh's Letter to Mr. Canning, and Mr. Canning's Anſwer.

"*St. James's-Square, September* 19.

"Sir,

"It is unneceſſary for me to enter into any detailed ſtatement of the circumſtances which preceded the recent reſignations. It is enough for me, with a view to the immediate object of this letter, to ſtate, that it appears a propoſition had been agitated, without any communication with me, for my removal from the war department; and that you, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, having urged a deciſion upon this queſtion, with the alternative of your ſeceding from the government, procured a poſitive promiſe from the Duke of Portland (the execution of which you afterwards conſidered yourſelf entitled to enforce) that ſuch removal ſhould be carried into effect. Notwithſtanding this promiſe, by which I conſider you pronounced it unfit that I ſhould remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my ſituation as a miniſter of the crown was made dependent upon your will and pleaſure, you continued to ſit in the ſame cabinet with me, and to leave me not only in the perſuaſion that I poſſeſſed your confidence and ſupport as a colleague, but you allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, though thus virtually ſuperſeded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterpriſe of the moſt arduous and important nature, with your apparent concurrence, and oſtenſible approbation.

"You were fully aware that if my ſituation in the government had been diſcloſed to me, I could not have ſubmitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me.

"I am aware, it may be ſaid, which I am ready to acknowledge, that when you preſſed for a deciſion for my removal, you alſo preſſed for its diſcloſure, and that it was reſiſted by the Duke of Portland, and ſome members of the government, ſuppoſed to be my friends. But I never can admit that you have a right to make uſe of ſuch a plea, in juſtification of an act affecting my honour, nor that the ſentiments of others could juſtify an acquieſcence in ſuch a deluſion on your part, who had yourſelf felt and ſtated its unfairneſs. Nor can I admit that the head of any adminiſtration, or any ſuppoſed friend, (whatever may be their

their motives) can authoriſe or ſanction any man in ſuch a courſe of long and perſevering deception. For were I to admit ſuch a principle, my honour and character would be from that moment in the diſcretion of perſons wholly unauthoriſed and known to you to be unauthoriſed, to act for me in ſuch a caſe. It was therefore your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impoſſible for me to acquieſce in being placed in a ſituation by you, which no man of honour could knowingly ſubmit to, nor patiently ſuffer himſelf to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character.

"I have no right, as a public man, to reſent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the adminiſtration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a diſtinct right to expect that a propoſition, juſtifiable in itſelf, ſhall not be executed in an unjuſtifiable manner, and at the expence of my honour and reputation. And I conſider that you were bound, at leaſt, to avail yourſelf of the ſame alternative, namely, your own reſignation, to take yourſelf out of the predicament of practiſing ſuch a deceit towards me, which you did exerciſe in demanding a deciſion for my removal.

"Under theſe circumſtances, I muſt require that ſatisfaction from you to which I feel myſelf entitled to lay claim.

"I am, &c.

"CASTLEREAGH."

"*The Right Hon. George Canning.*"

"*Glouceſter-Lodge, Sept.* 20.

"My Lord,

"The tone and purport of your lordſhip's letter, which I have this moment received, of courſe preclude any other anſwer on my part to the miſapprehenſions and miſrepreſentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheerfully give to your lordſhip the ſatisfaction which you require.

"I am, &c.

"GEORGE CANNING."

"*Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, &c.*"

The following Detail of the original Cauſe of the Animoſity between Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Canning, is ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. Cooke, the private Secretary to Lord Caſtlereagh:—

It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Canning, during the Eaſter receſs, did make a repreſentation in a letter to the Duke of Portland, with reſpect to the war department, founded upon differences which had prevailed between him and Lord Caſtlereagh; but it is not true that this letter was ſhown to the cabinet, or that the ſubject was even ſtated to the cabinet, however it might have been ſecretly communicated to ſome of the members. It is alſo true that a ſuggeſtion was made for appointing the Marquis Welleſley to ſucceed Lord Caſtlereagh. It is likewiſe undeniable, that a deciſion upon this point was poſtponed till near the cloſe of the ſeſſion. It is further aſcertained, that towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, when Lord Grenville Leveſon Gower's writ was to be moved for, on account of his coming into

office, and the cabinet, that Mr. Canning called upon the Duke of Portland, as a condition of his remaining in the government, to give him a decision upon the proposition for removing Lord Castlereagh, and appointing the Marquis Wellesley his successor; and the Duke of Portland having given Mr. Canning a specific and positive promise to this effect, Mr. Canning pressed that it should be immediately acted upon, and Lord Castlereagh acquainted with it. Lord Castlereagh, however, was not acquainted with it, and Mr. Canning acquiesced in its being concealed from him.

Undoubtedly, Lord Camden was acquainted with the transactions; but it is not true that his lordship ever undertook to make the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh, nor did he ever make it. It is also true, that Mr. Canning was thoroughly apprised that it was not made known to Lord Castlereagh. And it is further true, that Lord Castlereagh, being kept in profound ignorance of the decision for his removal from office, was permitted, though in fact virtually no longer a minister, and in this state of delusion, to continue to conduct the entire arrangement of the campaign, and to engage in a new expedition of the most extensive, complicated, and important nature, under the full persuasion, not that Mr. Canning had supplanted him in office, and possessed in his pocket a promise for his dismissal, but that he really enjoyed (as during the period he in outward show and daily concurrence experienced) Mr. Canning's sincere, liberal, and *bona fide* support, as a co-operating and approving colleague. It is further known, that Mr. Canning having thus in his pocket Lord Castlereagh's dismissal, and having arranged with the Duke of Portland that it should be carried into execution at the termination of the expedition, he did, on the 3d of September, the day that the account arrived from Lord Chatham that he could not proceed to Antwerp, write to the Duke of Portland, demanding the execution of the promise made to him. What were all the difficulties which were started from time to time against the immediate execution of this promise, it would be extremely difficult to detail; but there cannot be a doubt but the question of the writership, which it has been attempted to connect with this transaction, could have nothing to do with it; as Mr. Canning never contended for Lord Castlereagh's removal from the government, but from the particular office he held, and into which he wished to introduce Lord Wellesley. It appears that the demand of the fulfilment of the promise led to the resignation of the Duke of Portland, and subsequently of Mr. Canning.—And it further appears, that as soon as the whole of this unparalleled conduct was, at this late period, disclosed to Lord Castlereagh, he immediately placed his resignation in his Majesty's hands. On the truth of the above facts the public may rely; and they can no longer be at a loss for the real causes and grounds of the demand made by Lord Castlereagh for satisfaction from Mr. Canning.

Mr. Canning's Answer to Lord Castlereagh's Statement.

The

The following has been uſhered to the World as the Statement of Mr. Canning, on the Subject of the Difference which led to the recent Duel between himſelf and Lord Caſtlereagh.

It is perfectly true, that ſo long ago as Eaſter, Mr. Canning had repreſented to the Duke of Portland the inſufficiency (in his opinion) of the government, as then conſtituted, to carry on the affairs of the country, under all the difficulties of the times; and had requeſted that, unleſs ſome change ſhould be effected in it, he might be permitted to reſign his office. It is equally true, that in the courſe of the diſcuſſion, which aroſe out of this repreſentation, it was propoſed to Mr. Canning, and accepted by him, as the condition of his conſenting to retain the ſeals of the foreign office, that a change ſhould be made in the war department.

But it is not true that the time at which that change was ultimately propoſed to be made, was of Mr. Canning's choice; and it is not true that he was party or conſenting to the concealment of that intended change from Lord Caſtlereagh.

With reſpect to the concealment, Mr. Canning, ſome ſhort time previous to the date of Lord Caſtlereagh's letter, without the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of the exiſtence of any intention on the part of Lord Caſtlereagh to make ſuch an appeal to Mr. Canning as this letter contains, but upon information that ſome miſapprehenſion did exiſt as to Mr. Canning's ſuppoſed concurrence in the reſerve which had been practiſed towards Lord Caſtlereagh, tranſmitted to one of Lord Caſtlereagh's moſt intimate friends, to be communicated whenever he might think proper, the copy of a letter addreſſed by Mr. Canning to the Duke of Portland, in the month of July, in which Mr. Canning requeſts, "in juſtice to himſelf, that it may be remembered, whenever hereafter this concealment ſhall be alleged (as he doubts not that it will) againſt him, as an act of injuſtice towards Lord Caſtlereagh, that it did not originate in his ſuggeſtion; that, ſo far from deſiring it, he conceived, however erroneouſly, Lord Camden to be the ſure channel of communication to Lord Caſtlereagh; and that up to a very late period, he believed ſuch communication to have been actually made."

The copy of this letter, and of the Duke of Portland's anſwer to it, "acknowledging Mr. Canning's repeated remonſtrances againſt the concealment," are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Lord Caſtlereagh's friend.

The communication to Lord Camden, to which this letter refers, was made on the 28th April, with Mr. Canning's knowledge, and at his particular deſire. Lord Camden being the near connexion and moſt confidential friend of Lord Caſtlereagh, it never occurred to Mr. Canning, nor was it credible to him, till he received the moſt poſitive aſſeverations of the fact, that Lord Camden had kept back ſuch a communication from Lord Caſtlereagh.

With reſpect to the period at which the change in the war department was to take place, Mr. Canning was induced, in the firſt inſtance, to conſent to its poſtponement till the riſing of parliament,

partly by the repreſentations made to himſelf, of the inconveniences of any change in the middle of a ſeſſion, but principally from a conſideration of the particular circumſtances under which Lord Caſtlereagh ſtood in the houſe of commons after Eaſter; circumſtances which would have given to his removal at that period of the ſeſſion, a character which it was certainly no part of Mr. Canning's wiſh that it ſhould bear.

Mr. Canning, however, received the moſt poſitive promiſe, that a change in the war department ſhould take place immediately upon the cloſe of the ſeſſion. When that time arrived, the earneſt and repeated entreaties of moſt of Lord Caſtlereagh's friends in the cabinet were employed to prevail upon Mr. Canning to conſent to the poſtponement of the arrangement.

At length, and moſt reluctantly, he did give his conſent to its being poſtponed to the period propoſed by Lord Caſtlereagh's friends, viz. the termination of the expedition then in preparation; but did ſo upon the moſt diſtinct and ſolemn aſſurances, that, whatever might be the iſſue of the expedition, the change ſhould take place at that period; that the ſeals of the war-department ſhould then be offered to Lord Welleſley, (the perſon for whoſe acceſſion to the cabinet Mr. Canning was known to be moſt anxious) and that the interval ſhould be diligently employed by Lord Caſtlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Caſtlereagh's mind to acquieſce in ſuch an arrangement.

It was therefore matter of aſtoniſhment to Mr. Canning, when, at the iſſue of the expedition, he reminded the Duke of Portland that the time was now come for his Grace's writing to Lord Welleſley, to find, that ſo far from the interval having been employed by Lord Caſtlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Caſtlereagh for the change, the ſame reſerve had been continued towards him, againſt which Mr. Canning had before ſo earneſtly remonſtrated. Being informed of this circumſtance by the Duke of Portland, and learning at the ſame time from his Grace that there were other difficulties attending the promiſed arrangement, of which Mr. Canning had not before been appriſed; and that the Duke of Portland had himſelf come to a determination to retire from office, Mr. Canning inſtantly, and before any ſtep whatever had been taken towards carrying the promiſed arrangement into effect, withdrew his claim, and requeſted the Duke of Portland to tender his (Mr. Canning's) reſignation, at the ſame time with his Grace's, to the king. This was on Wedneſday, the 6th of September, previouſly to the levee of that day.

All queſtion of the performance of the promiſe made to Mr. Canning being thus at an end, the reſerve which Lord Caſtlereagh's friends had hitherto ſo perſeveringly practiſed towards Lord Caſtlereagh, appears to have been laid aſide. Lord Caſtlereagh was now made acquainted with the nature of the arrangement which had been intended to have been propoſed to him.

What may have been the reaſons which prevented Lord Caſtlereagh's friends from fulfilling the aſſurances given to Mr. Canning, that Lord Caſtlereagh's mind

ſhould be prepared by their communication for the arrangement intended to be carried into effect; and what the motives for the diſcloſure to Lord Caſtlereagh after that arrangement had ceaſed to be in contemplation, it is not for Mr. Canning to explain.

In Addition to Lord Caſtlereagh's and Mr. Canning's Statements of the Origin of the late Duel, the following has been publiſhed by Lord Camden:—

As it may be inferred from a ſtatement which has appeared in the public papers, that Lord Camden withheld from Lord Caſtlereagh a communication which he had been deſired to make to him, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be underſtood, that, however Mr. Canning might have conceived the communication alluded to, to have been made to Lord Camden, it was never ſtated to Lord Camden, that the communication was made at the deſire of Mr. Canning, and that, ſo far from Lord Camden having been authoriſed to make the communication to Lord Caſtlereagh, he was abſolutely reſtricted from ſo doing.

As it may alſo be inferred, that Lord Camden was expected to prepare Lord Caſtlereagh's mind for any propoſed change, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be underſtood, that Lord Camden never engaged to communicate to Lord Caſtlereagh any circumſtances reſpecting it, before the termination of the expedition.

Mr. Canning's Statement.

"To Earl Camden, &c. &c.

"*Glouceſter Lodge, Nov.* 14, 1809.

"My Lord,

"I had written to your lordſhip immediately after the publication of your lordſhip's ſtatement; but I delayed ſending my letter, in the hope of being able previouſly to ſubmit it to the peruſal of the Duke of Portland.

"In this hope I have been diſappointed by that fatal event which has deprived this country of one of its moſt upright and diſintereſted patriots; the king of one of his moſt faithful, devoted, and affectionate ſubjects; and the world of one of the moſt blameleſs and moſt noble-minded of men.

"Thus ſituated, I have thought it right to reviſe what I had written, and ſcrupulouſly to expunge every reference to the authority of the Duke of Portland, which would now ſtand upon my ſole teſtimony; retaining ſuch only as are ſupported, either by written documents, which I ſhall be happy to communicate to your lordſhip; or by facts which are well known to your lordſhip, or to your colleagues, and in which, for the moſt part, your lordſhip is yourſelf concerned.

"Neither, however, can I content myſelf with this precaution; but muſt proteſt, at the ſame time, in the moſt earneſt manner, againſt any poſſible miſconſtruction, by which any thing in the following letter can be ſtrained to a meaning unfavourable to the motives which actuated the Duke of Portland's conduct.

"It is impoſſible, indeed, not to regret the policy, however well intentioned, which dictated the reſerve

reſerve practiſed towards Lord Caſtlereagh in the beginning of this tranſaction; or that practiſed towards myſelf in its concluſion.

"It is to be regretted, that the Duke of Portland ſhould have impoſed, and that your lordſhip ſhould have accepted, the condition of ſilence, in the firſt communications between you.

"It is alſo to be regretted, that I ſhould not have learnt in July, that your lordſhip was not party to the aſſurances then given to me, on behalf of Lord Caſtlereagh's friends in general; and that another member of the cabinet, comprehended in that deſcription, had (as I have ſince heard) refuſed to concur in them.

"Had I been made acquainted with theſe circumſtances, I ſhould then have reſigned; and my reſignation would, at that time, have taken place without inconvenience or embarraſſment; and without ſtirring thoſe queſtions (no way connected with the cauſes of my retirement) or ſubjecting me to thoſe miſinterpretations of my conduct and motives, which have been produced by the coincidence of my reſignation with that of the Duke of Portland.

"But, however this reſerve may be to be regretted, it is impoſſible to attribute the adoption of it, on the part of the Duke of Portland, to any other motives than to that gentleneſs of nature which eminently diſtinguiſhed him; and which led him to endeavour (above all things) to prevent political differences from growing into perſonal diſſention; and to aim at executing whatever arrangement might be expedient for improving or ſtrengthening the adminiſtration, with the concurrence, if poſſible, of all its exiſting members.

"And no man who knows the affectionate reſpect and attachment, which the manly and generous qualities of the Duke of Portland's mind were calculated to command, and which I invariably bore to him, will ſuſpect me of being willing to eſtabliſh my own vindication, at the expence of the ſlighteſt diſreſpect to his memory, or prejudice to his fame.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
"GEORGE CANNING."

"*To Earl Camden, &c. &c.*

"My Lord,

"The ſtatement, which has been publiſhed in the newſpapers, in your lordſhip's name, has decided a queſtion on which I had before been heſitating, as to the neceſſity of an authentic detail of the tranſactions, (ſo far as I am concerned in them, or am acquainted with them) to which that ſtatement refers.

"For that purpoſe, I think a direct addreſs to your lordſhip more decorous, both towards your lordſhip, and for myſelf, than an anonymous paragraph in a newſpaper.

"It is with the moſt painful reluctance that I recur to a ſubject which, ſo far as it concerns Lord Caſtlereagh and myſelf, had been ſettled in a manner, which is uſually, I believe, conſidered as final.

"Diſcuſſions of the cauſes of diſpute more commonly precede, than follow, the extreme appeal to which

which Lord Caſtlereagh reſorted: and when, after mature conſideration, his lordſhip had determined to reſort to that appeal in the firſt inſtance, I ſhould have thought that ſuch a choice, deliberately made, would have been felt by his friends to be equally concluſive upon them as upon himſelf.

" But your lordſhip needs not to be informed, how aſſiduouſly my character has been aſſailed by writers in the newſpapers, eſpouſing Lord Caſtlereagh's quarrel, and ſuppoſed (I truſt, moſt injuriouſly) to be his lordſhip's particular friends.

" The perverſions and miſrepreſentations of anonymous writers, however, would not have extorted from me any reply. But to them ſucceeded the publication of Lord Caſtlereagh's letter to me of the 19th September.

" I entirely diſbelieve that Lord Caſtlereagh, and I diſtinctly deny that I myſelf, had any knowledge of this publication.

" But, by what means it matters not, the letter is before the world; and though the courſe originally choſen by Lord Caſtlereagh precluded me from offering any explanation to him, the courſe which has ſince been adopted on his behalf (though undoubtedly without his privity) might perhaps have been conſidered as rendering ſuch an explanation due to myſelf. It is, however, only ſince your lordſhip's publication, that I have felt it to be indiſpenſably neceſſary.

" The ſtatement on my behalf, which has alſo found its way, without my conſent, and againſt my wiſh, into the public papers, was written under a ſenſe of delicacy and reſtraint, as to the particulars of the tranſaction, which, from the character of the tranſaction itſelf, muſt always continue to prevail in a great degree; but from which, until Wedneſday, the 11th of October, the day on which I gave up the ſeals, I had not an opportunity of ſoliciting any diſpenſation.

" Of the indulgence which I then moſt humbly ſolicited, I truſt I ſhall be able to avail myſelf ſufficiently for my own vindication, without loſing ſight of thoſe conſiderations of duty and propriety, by which the uſe of ſuch an indulgence muſt neceſſarily be regulated and confined.

" It is ſtated in Lord Caſtlereagh's letter, 'That I had demanded and procured from the Duke of Portland, before the riſing of parliament, a promiſe for Lord Caſtlereagh's removal from the War Department; that, by this promiſe, Lord Caſtlereagh's ſituation, as a miniſter of the crown, was made dependent upon my pleaſure; and that this promiſe I afterwards thought myſelf entitled to enforce;'

" 'That, after, and notwithſtanding this virtual ſuperſeſſion of Lord Caſtlereagh in his office, I allowed him to originate and conduct the expedition to the Scheld;'

" 'And that, during this whole period, I knew that the agitation, and the deciſion of the queſtion for his removal, were concealed from him: and was party to this concealment.'

" Lord Caſtlereagh indeed admits,

" That he 'has no right as a public man, to reſent my demanding, upon public grounds, his removal from his office, or even from the

the adminiſtration, as a condition of my continuing a member of the government.'

" But he contends, that a propoſition, 'juſtifiable in itſelf,' ought not to have been 'executed in an unjuſtifiable manner;' and he makes me reſponſible for the manner in which the 'head of the adminiſtration,' and ſome members of the government, '*ſuppoſed* to be his (Lord Caſtlereagh's) friends;' executed the propoſition which he attributes to me.'

" He is ready to acknowledge, indeed, 'that I preſſed for a diſcloſure, at the ſame time that I preſſed for a deciſion; and that the diſcloſure was reſiſted by the Duke of Portland and his (Lord Caſtlereagh's) *ſuppoſed* friends.'

" But, in this circumſtance, Lord Caſtlereagh profeſſed not to ſee any juſtification of what he conceives to have been my conduct towards him; becauſe, by acquieſcing in the advice or entreaties of his 'ſuppoſed friends,' I admitted 'an authority' on their part, 'which I muſt have known them not to poſſeſs; becauſe, by 'preſſing for diſcloſure,' I ſhewed my own ſenſe of the unfairneſs' of concealment; and becauſe, with that ſenſe, I 'ought' (as he conceives me not to have done) 'to have availed myſelf of the ſame alternative, namely, my own reſignation, to enforce diſcloſure, which I did to enforce deciſion.'

" Without offering a ſingle word in the way of argument, I ſhall by a diſtinct detail of facts in order of their date, ſubſtantiate my contradiction of theſe charges.

" I ſhall only premiſe,

" 1ſt, That I had (as is admitted by Lord Caſtlereagh) an unqueſtionable right to require, on public grounds, a change in the War Department, tendering at the ſame time the alternative of my own reſignation.

" 2dly, (What no man at all acquainted with the courſe of public buſineſs will diſpute) That the regular, effectual, and ſtraight-forward courſe for bringing that alternative to iſſue, was to ſtate it directly to the 'head of the adminiſtration,' the king's chief miniſter, to be laid by that miniſter before the king.

" I proceed to the detail of facts.

" In the beginning of April, (the 2d,) I addreſſed a letter to the Duke of Portland, containing a repreſentation on the ſtate of his adminiſtration, and expreſſing my wiſh and intention, unleſs ſome change were effected in it, to reſign.

" (April 4th to 8th,)—Upon the Duke of Portland's requiring a more detailed explanation as to the motives of my proffered reſignation, I ſtated, among other things, that a change either in my own department, or in Lord Caſtlereagh's, appeared to me to be expedient for the public ſervice—I ſtated my perfect willingneſs that the alternative ſhould be decided for my retirement; and only requeſted that the deciſion might, (if poſſible) take place before the recommencement of buſineſs in parliament after the Eaſter holidays.

" The Duke of Portland requeſted me to ſuſpend the execution of my intention to reſign: wiſhing to have an opportunity of conſulting with ſome of his colleagues, before he determined what advice to lay before the king.

" The

"The Eaſter holidays thus paſſed away. On the 16th of April, ſhortly after his Grace's return to town from Bulſtrode, the Duke of Portland opened the ſubject to one of the members of the cabinet, whoſe name, (not having been hitherto brought forward) I do not think it neceſſary to mention. Your lordſhip is perfectly acquainted with it.

"By the Duke of Portland's deſire, I had a communication with that member of the cabinet, within a very few days after his interview with the Duke of Portland.—He ſtrongly repreſented the difficulty of making any new arrangement during the ſitting of parliament; and urged me to defer the preſſing my own reſignation till the end of the ſeſſion. To this recommendation I did not promiſe to accede: but we agreed (whether upon his ſuggeſtion or upon mine, I am not confident) that, at all events, no ſtep whatever could properly be taken, until after the deciſion of the queſtion upon the writerſhip; which was about this time brought forward in the Houſe of Commons.

"That queſtion was decided on Tueſday, the 25th of April.

"On Friday, the 28th, the Duke of Portland communicated fully with your Lordſhip; and informed me as the reſult of that communication, that your lordſhip thought a change in Lord Caſtlereagh's ſituation in the government deſirable, provided it could be effected honourably for Lord Caſtlereagh, and that it 'could be reconciled to Lord Caſtlereagh's feelings.'

"From this period, I underſtood that your lordſhip was conſtantly conſulted by the Duke of Portland in every ſtep of the tranſaction.—Other members of the cabinet were alſo conſulted by the Duke of Portland; but how many of them, or at what preciſe periods, I neither knew at the time, nor can now undertake to ſay.

"Shortly after your lordſhip's firſt interview with the Duke of Portland, (I am ſure before the 5th of May) that member of the cabinet with whom his grace had firſt communicated, reported to me a ſuggeſtion of your lordſhip's of a change of office for Lord Caſtlereagh, evidently calculated on the principles which your lordſhip had ſtated as indiſpenſible to ſuch a change. Whether this communication to me was in the nature of a direct meſſage from your lordſhip, I do not exactly know. But I underſtood diſtinctly that you knew of its being made to me; and that whatever obſervation I might make upon it, was to be reported to your lordſhip. What I obſerved upon it, was in ſubſtance,—that it was not for me to preſume to ſay what change would be proper; that I had done all that I had thought myſelf either called upon or at liberty to do, in ſtating to the Duke of Portland my opinions, and my intention to reſign; that the Duke of Portland alone could either propoſe any change or obtain the neceſſary authority for carrying it into effect; and I therefore recommended that your lordſhip ſhould ſtate your ſuggeſtion to the Duke of Portland.

"On the 5th of May the Duke of Portland informed me, that he had determined to lay the whole ſubject, on the following Wedneſday, before his Majeſty.

"On Wedneſday the 10th of May, he informed me that he had done ſo; and that his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, that he

he would take the ſubject into his ſerious conſideration.

" On Wedneſday, the 31ſt of May, apprehending it to be poſſible, that my intention might not have been fully explained to his Majeſty, and thinking it my duty to leave no doubt upon it, I humbly repeated to his Majeſty the repreſentations which I had before made to the Duke of Portland, and humbly tendered my reſignation. I received thereupon his Majeſty's gracious commands, to retain my ſituation until his Majeſty ſhould have conſidered the whole ſubject.

" Some time in the courſe of the next week, I think on the 8th of June, the Duke of Portland ſtated to me, that he had received his Majeſty's commands, to propoſe, and to carry into effect at the end of the Seſſion of Parliament, an arrangement for a partial change in the war department.

" The particulars of this arrangement I do not think it proper to detail; feeling it my duty to limit myſelf ſtrictly to what is abſolutely neceſſary for the explanation of my own conduct. It is ſufficient to ſtate, that the object of this arrangement was not the removal of Lord Caſtlereagh, but a new diſtribution of the buſineſs of the war department, whereby that part of it which was connected with political correſpondence, would have been transferred to the foreign office; and the buſineſs of another office, then vacant, would have been transferred to Lord Caſtlereagh. It is only neceſſary to add, that the effect of this new diſtribution would not have been to take out of Lord Caſtlereagh's hands the ſuperintendance of the Expedition to the Scheld.

" On the 13th of June, I wrote to the Duke of Portland, ſignifying to him that, although ſuch an arrangement had never entered into my contemplation, and although I did not think it calculated to remedy all the difficulties which had induced me to bring the ſtate of the adminiſtration under his Grace's conſideration, I was ready, ſo far as I was concerned, to undertake and diſcharge to the beſt of my ability, any duty which his Majeſty might be graciouſly pleaſed to devolve upon me; but I expreſſed at the ſame time, great doubts, whether this arrangement could be expected to be acceptable to Lord Caſtlereagh, or, in all its parts, ſatisfactory to the public feeling.

" On Sunday, the 18th of June, (Parliament being expected to riſe on the 20th or 21ſt) I wrote to the Duke of Portland, to enquire whether this arrangement, or any other, was to take place; ſtating to him that " if things remained as they then were, I was determined not to remain in office."

" (June 18th.)—In anſwer, the Duke of Portland mentioned to me a new plan of arrangement, altogether different from that which he had been authoriſed to carry into effect; and ſtated that he had ſent for your lordſhip and the other member of the cabinet with whom your lordſhip and the Duke of Portland had been in conſtant communication, to co-operate with him in forwarding this new plan, and to urge Lord Caſtlereagh to conſent to it.

" The particulars of this new plan, I do not think it neceſſary to ſtate, as I learnt from the Duke of Portland, either the next day or the day following it, that to this plan Lord Caſtlereagh certainly could

could not be brought to agree. Whether this was known to his grace only from your lordſhip, or through your lordſhip from Lord Caſtlereagh himſelf, I was not appriſed.

"On Wedneſday the 21ſt, the day of the riſing of Parliament, I was aſſured by the Duke of Portland, that the ſpecific arrangement which he had in the firſt inſtance propoſed, viz. the new diſtribution of the buſineſs of the war department, ſhould be carried into effect; —and that his Majeſty had directed him to deſire your lordſhip to communicate his deciſion to Lord Caſtlereagh.

"On Tueſday, June the 27th, finding that no communication had been yet made to Lord Caſtlereagh, I wrote to the Duke of Portland in terms of the ſtrongeſt remonſtrance, both againſt the concealment and the delay; and intimated my determination to recur to my original intention, and to preſs the acceptance of my reſignation.

"Accordingly, on the following day, Wedneſday the 28th of June, I had an audience of the King, in which I humbly and earneſtly repeated to his Majeſty the tender of my reſignation.

"That ſame evening, the Duke of Portland informed me that he had that day ſignified to your lordſhip the King's deſire, that your lordſhip ſhould communicate the intended arrangement to Lord Caſtlereagh; and, that the communication was to be made by your lordſhip as ſoon as the expedition had failed; which, it was expected, would be in leſs than a fortnight from that time.

"But before this fortnight elapſed, viz. on Wedneſday the 5th of July, the Duke of Portland informed me, that in conſideration of the difficulties attending the propoſed arrangement, he and thoſe with whom he conſulted, were of opinion, that another ſhould be ſubſtituted for it, which he truſted, would alſo be more agreeable to me. He told me that hopes were entertained that your lordſhip would determine to offer your reſignation, for the purpoſe of facilitating a general arrangement, in which a complete change in the war department might be effected conſiſtently with Lord Caſtlereagh's feelings. He ſaid, however, that your lordſhip had not yet finally made up your mind upon the ſubject:—but, that you would probably come to a deciſion before the following Wedneſday.

"The Duke of Portland ſtated his intention, in the event of your lordſhip's reſignation, to ſubmit to his Majeſty the nomination of Lord Welleſley to the war department.

"It was well known by the Duke of Portland, that I had been always anxious for Lord Welleſley's acceſſion to the cabinet, but this was the firſt mention to me, in the courſe of this tranſaction, of his introduction into the war department.—But for his ſevere indiſpoſition, Lord Welleſley would, before this time, have been on his way to Spain.

"On Thurſday, the 13th of July, the Duke of Portland informed me, that your lordſhip had, the day before, actually tendered your reſignation; but that your lordſhip had annexed to it the conditions, that no change ſhould take place till after the determination of the expedition to the Scheld; and that it ſhould be left to your lordſhip to chooſe the time of making any communication to Lord Caſtlereagh.

" (July 13th to the 20th.)—I made the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances againſt this new delay, and this indefinite renewal of the concealment from Lord Caſtlereagh. I ſaid that after the repeated poſtponements which had already taken place, and after the reſerve which had already been practiſed towards Lord Caſtlereagh, I could not rely upon the execution of any arrangement which ſhould not be now completely ſettled in all its parts; and, if this were not to be done, I moſt earneſtly intreated that his Majeſty might be adviſed now to accept my reſignation.

" The Duke of Portland moſt anxiouſly deprecated my reſignation, as leading, in his apprehenſion, to the diſſolution of the adminiſtration. He declared himſelf to be authoriſed to aſſure me, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that the arrangement now in contemplation ſhould poſitively take place at the termination of the expedition; that the ſeals of the war department ſhould then be offered to Lord Welleſley—an office (to be vacated by means of your lordſhip's retirement,) being at the ſame time to be offered to Lord Caſtlereagh;—and that in the interval, and without loſs of time, Lord Caſtlereagh's friends ſhould take opportunities of preparing him for the change, and reconciling him to it, by repreſenting to him the great advantages to be derived from it, in the acquiſition of additional ſtrength to the government.

" Not only the Duke of Portland, but other members of the cabinet, Lord Caſtlereagh's friends, ſome directly and ſome through common friends, urged me, in the moſt earneſt manner, to acquieſce in the poſtponement now propoſed. It was repreſented to me, that if inſtead of preſſing for the execution of the arrangement now, time were allowed to Lord Caſtlereagh's friends to prepare him for the change, and to reconcile him to it, the arrangement might ultimately take place in an amicable manner; that every public object might thus be anſwered, without any unneceſſary harſhneſs to the feelings of individuals; and that ſo far from finding freſh impediments raiſed to the execution of the arrangement, when the time arrived, I ſhould find all thoſe, to whoſe repreſentations I yielded, conſidering themſelves pledged equally with the Duke of Portland, to ſee it carried into effect.

" It is due to your lordſhip to ſay, that your lordſhip's name was not, ſo far as I recollect, ſpecifically mentioned to me on this occaſion; but it is equally due to myſelf to declare, that I never for a moment imagined, nor could have believed, that the general deſcription of 'Lord Caſtlereagh's friends,' as ſtated to me without exception or qualification by the Duke of Portland, did not comprehend your lordſhip, whoſe proffered reſignation was the baſis of the whole arrangement, and without whoſe expreſs conſent, therefore, no other perſon could announce the arrangement to Lord Caſtlereagh.

" By theſe repreſentations and aſſurances, at length, (July 20,) moſt reluctantly, and I confeſs againſt my better judgment, I was induced to acquieſce in the propoſed poſtponement of the change; and conſented to remain in office till the termination of the expedition.

" On Saturday, September the 2d,

2d, the result of the expedition to the Scheld being then known, I wrote to the Duke of Portland, at Bulstrode, reminding his grace, that the period fixed for offering the seals of the war department to Lord Wellesley, was arrived.

"On the following Wednesday, the 6th of September, the Duke of Portland informed me, that no steps whatever had been taken by any of Lord Castlereagh's friends, to reconcile him to the change, or to prepare him for it; that the execution of the arrangement would be attended with other resignations, or at least with one other resignation, (of which I had never before received the slightest intimation); and that he had himself determined to retire.

"Upon receiving this intelligence, I immediately disclaimed any wish that the arrangement, however positively I understood it to have been settled, should be carried into effect under circumstances to me so unexpected; and instantly reverted to that 'alternative' which, upon each successive stage of difficulties and delays, I had uniformly pressed,—that of the tender of my own resignation;—which I desired the Duke of Portland to lay that day before the King.

"On the following day, Thursday the 7th of September, I declined attending the cabinet; stating in a letter to the Duke of Portland, (which I left it to his grace to communicate to the cabinet if he should think proper,) that I considered my resignation as in his Majesty's hands; and myself as holding my office only until my successor should be named.

"On Friday the 8th, I heard from the Duke of Portland that Lord Castlereagh had sent in his resignation. I have been informed since, (but whether correctly or not I cannot affirm), that he did so, in consequence of a communication made to him, by your lordship, after the cabinet of the preceding day.

"On Thursday the 14th of September, your lordship called upon me at the foreign office, by your own appointment, for the purpose of explaining the causes which had prevented your making any communication to Lord Castlereagh in the earlier stages of the transaction.

"On Tuesday, September 19th, your lordship, in answer to a letter of mine of the preceding day, explained to me the grounds of your silence to Lord Castlereagh, during the latter period of the transaction.

"On Wednesday morning, September the 20th, I received from Lord Castlereagh the letter, which produced our meeting.

"From this series of facts it appears,

"That, in April, I made a representation to the King's first minister, on the general state of the administration; and that, in the course of the discussions arising out of that representation, I proposed on public grounds, not, as Lord Castlereagh appears to have been informed, his removal from the administration, but the alternative of a change, either in the war or foreign department.

"That on the 10th of May, the Duke of Portland submitted to his Majesty the subject of my representation: and informed me that his Majesty would be pleased to take it into his consideration:

"That, from the 10th of May until the 8th of June, I was wholly

unappriſed of the reſult of that conſideration: but that, for fear of miſapprehenſion, I had, in perſon, during that interval,—viz. on May 31,—humbly repeated my repreſentation, and tendered my reſignation to his Majeſty:

"That, on or about the 8th of June, for the firſt time, an arrangement was ſtated to me, which had for its object a new diſtribution of the buſineſs of the war department, and that, on the 13th, I ſignified my acquieſcence in that arrangement, ſo far as I was concerned:

"That, on the 18th, another arrangement was ſtated to me, to be ſubſtituted for that in which I had acquieſced: but that, on the 21ſt, it was announced to me that the firſt arrangement was finally decided upon; was to be immediately carried into effect; and was to be communicated to Lord Caſtlereagh by your Lordſhip:

"That, on the 27th of June, no ſtep appearing to have been taken, either to execute the intended arrangement, or to appriſe Lord Caſtlereagh of it, I remonſtrated againſt the delay, and againſt the concealment from Lord Caſtlereagh; and that, on the 28th, I again tendered my reſignation; and that on the ſame day your lordſhip received an injunction to communicate the intended arrangement to Lord Caſtlereagh:

"That, on the 5th of July, a new plan was ſtated to me to be in contemplation; a plan originating with your lordſhip, and depending for its execution upon a ſtep to be taken by yourſelf: that this plan was, on the 13th, announced to me as ſettled, and as intended to be ſubſtituted for that which had been firſt propoſed:

"That I at that time renewed my remonſtrances in the ſtrongeſt manner, both againſt the delay and againſt the concealment; but that it was ſtated to me to be an indiſpenſible condition of this plan on your lordſhip's part,—that it ſhould not be acted upon till the termination of the expedition to the Scheld; and that the time of making the communication to Lord Caſtlereagh ſhould be left to your lordſhip's diſcretion:

"That, at length, in compliance with the repreſentations and intreaties of the Duke of Portland, and of others, Lord Caſtlereagh's friends, and upon the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that Lord Caſtlereagh ſhould in the mean time be prepared by his friends for the change, and that the change ſhould poſitively take place at the period fixed by your lordſhip, I conſented to remain in office:

"That on Wedneſday the 6th of September, finding that nothing had been done towards preparing Lord Caſtlereagh for the arrangement; and that the execution of it would be attended with difficulties of which I had not before been appriſed, I deſired the Duke of Portland to lay my reſignation before the king.

"Your lordſhip will therefore perceive,

"That up to the 8th of June, ſo far from being in poſſeſſion of any 'promiſe for Lord Caſtlereagh's removal,' and from his continuance in office being made thereby 'dependant upon my pleaſure;'—no deciſion whatever had, to my knowledge, been taken up to that time; no propoſal had been made to me by the Duke of Portland, in any way affecting Lord Caſtlereagh's

reagh's political ſituation; and no intimation had been given to me, whether my own reſignation would be finally accepted or declined:

"That the arrangement which was in contemplation from the 8th of June to the 5th of July, in no degree affected, and was never intended to affect, 'the conduct of the expedition to the Scheld:'

"That Lord Caſtlereagh's 'removal from the War Department' was firſt determined upon as part of the plan of which your lordſhip's reſignation was the baſis:

"That his 'removal from the adminiſtration' was not at any time 'demanded' by me;

"And, laſtly, that I *did* employ the tender of my own reſignation, not to 'enforce deciſion,' *only* (as Lord Caſtlereagh's Letter ſuppoſes,) but equally to 'enforce diſcloſure;' and that in fact I did ultimately reſign, rather than 'enforce' the intended change, under circumſtances ſo different from thoſe which I had been authoriſed to expect.

"It cannot be expected that I ſhould labour very anxiouſly to refute the charge of my having '*ſuppoſed*' your lordſhip and others '*to be* Lord Caſtlereagh's *friends*;' and having, under that impreſſion, deferred to your opinion and 'authority,' in a matter affecting Lord Caſtlereagh's intereſts and feelings.

"That your lordſhip, in particular, as well from near connection as from an active and anxious partiality, was entitled to conſultation, and to deference on ſuch an occaſion;—is a perſuaſion which I felt in common, as I believe, with every member of the government; and which not even Lord Caſtlereagh's diſclaimer has induced me to renounce.

"I ſhould not have been ſurpriſed, nor ſhould I have thought myſelf entitled to take the ſmalleſt offence, if your lordſhip had, inſtead of concurring in the expediency of a change in Lord Caſtlereagh's department, proteſted againſt it, and had recommended to the Duke of Portland, to adviſe the king to accept my reſignation: and it was perfectly known by the Duke of Portland, and I am confident, not unknown by your lordſhip, that, at any moment from the beginning of theſe diſcuſſions to the end, I was not only ready but deſirous to terminate them by reſigning.

"But when the opinion of the expediency of a change in the war department, had been adopted by ſo many of the immediate friends of Lord Caſtlereagh, upon the condition that it ſhould be reconciled to Lord Caſtlereagh's feelings, and when they and your lordſhip among the firſt, had deviſed and concerted with the king's firſt miniſter the mode of carrying that object into execution, I cannot help thinking that I ſhould have been much, and juſtly, blamed, if I had inſiſted upon taking the communication to Lord Caſtlereagh out of your hands into my own.

"I now come to your lordſhip's Statement. That Statement is as follows—

"'As it may be inferred, from a ſtatement which has appeared in the public papers, that Lord Camden withheld from Lord Caſtlereagh a communication which he had been deſired to make to him, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be underſtood, that however Mr. Can-

ning might have conceived the communication alluded to, to have been made to Lord Camden, it was never ſtated to Lord Camden, that the communication was made at the deſire of Mr. Canning; and, ſo far from Lord Camden having been authoriſed to make the communication to Lord Caſtlereagh, he was abſolutely reſtricted from ſo doing.

" ' As it may alſo be inferred that Lord Camden was expected to prepare Lord Caſtlereagh's mind for any propoſed change, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be underſtood, that Lord Camden never engaged to communicate to Lord Caſtlereagh any circumſtances reſpecting it, before the termination of the expedition.'

Morning Chronicle, Oct. 19th.

" This ſtatement appears to me to have been much miſunderſtood. It has been conſtrued, as if your lordſhip had meant to aver that what you were *reſtricted from doing* and what you *had not engaged to do*, were one and the ſame thing;—whereas your lordſhip's Statement, in point of fact, contains two diſtinct propoſitions, and refers to two ſeparate periods of time.

" The period during which your lordſhip ſtates yourſelf to have been ' *abſolutely reſtricted*' from making a communication to Lord Caſtlereagh, extends from the 28th of April, on which day the firſt communication was made by the Duke of Portland to your lordſhip, to the time at which the propoſed arrangement, for the new diſtribution of the buſineſs of the war department was ſuperſeded by your lordſhip's tender of your reſignation.

" That period during which your lordſhip ſtates yourſelf ' *not to have engaged*' to make a communication to Lord Caſtlereagh, extends from the time of the tender of your lordſhip's reſignation to the termination of the expedition to the Scheld.

" It ought, however, to be obſerved, that during the firſt of theſe two periods,—from the 28th of April to the 12th of July,—the nature of the communication to be made to Lord Caſtlereagh, and the nature of the reſtriction impoſed upon your lordſhip, were entirely changed.

" *Previouſly* to the 8th of June—the communication which your lordſhip would have had to make to Lord Caſtlereagh, was ſimply that I had repreſented the expediency of a change either in his department or in mine; and that *no* deciſion whatever had yet been taken upon this repreſentation.

" With reſpect to *this* communication, it does not appear that the reſtriction upon your lordſhip was abſolute and indefinite.—But I knew nothing of its exiſtence.

" *Subſequently* to the 8th of June, the communication to be made to Lord Caſtlereagh was, that an arrangement was in contemplation for a new diſtribution of the buſineſs of the war department.

" With reſpect to *this* communication, not only was the *reſtriction* upon your lordſhip not indefinitely continued; but your lordſhip actually received on the 28th of June an *injunction to make this communication* to Lord Caſtlereagh at a period diſtinctly ſpecified, viz. the ſailing of the expedition. And this injunction was only ſuperſeded by a voluntary act of your lordſhip's—

your

your tender and your own reſignation on the 12th of July as the baſis of another arrangement.

"During the whole of the period, from the 28th of April to the 12th of July, the concealment practiſed towards Lord Caſtlereagh was either without my knowledge and contrary to my belief, or it was againſt my earneſt remonſtrances.

"It was without my knowledge and contrary to my belief, up to the week in which parliament roſe; and from that time forth it was againſt my earneſt remonſtrances.

"Even when I learnt, in June, that the communication had not been made by your lordſhip to Lord Caſtlereagh, I did not learn that you had been prevented from making it by any abſolute reſtriction.

"It was not till the month of July, in the courſe of the diſcuſſions which took place from the 13th to the 20th of that month, reſpecting the propoſal for poſtponing the new arrangement to be founded on your lordſhip's reſignation, and for leaving to your lordſhip's diſcretion the time of diſcloſure to Lord Caſtlereagh, that I learnt that the ſilence which you had hitherto obſerved towards him, had been impoſed upon your lordſhip by the injunction of the Duke of Portland. I did not till then know with whom the concealment hitherto practiſed had originated; I frankly own that I thought it had originated with your lordſhip; I was anxious above all things that it ſhould not be ever ſuſpected that it had originated with me; or that I had been a conſenting party to it, or even (till a late period) conſcious of its exiſtence.

"In my correſpondence with the Duke of Portland at this period, therefore, at the ſame time that I reſiſted the new delay then propoſed, I diſclaimed any concurrence in the concealment which had been hitherto practiſed—and requeſted 'that it might be remembered hereafter, whenever that concealment ſhould be alleged againſt *me*, as an act of injuſtice to Lord Caſtlereagh, that it did not originate in *my* ſuggeſtion, that ſo far from deſiring it, I had conceived (however erroneouſly) *your lordſhip* to be the ſure channel of communication to Lord Caſtlereagh; and that up to a very late period I had believed ſuch communication to have been actually made.'

"The Duke of Portland, in anſwer, acknowledged my repeated remonſtrances againſt the concealment; ſtating himſelf at the ſame time not to have been aware that I had at any time believed the communication to have been actually made; but aſſuring me 'that he ſhould be at all times ready to avow that the concealment had originated with himſelf, (the Duke of Portland;) that he had *enjoined it* to all thoſe with whom he had communicated,—from motives which he was at all times ready to juſtify; and that he was deſirous of taking whatever blame might have been, or might at any time be, incurred by it, upon himſelf.'

"This, as I have ſaid, was my firſt knowledge of any reſtriction, whatever upon your lordſhip's communication to Lord Caſtlereagh.

"If I am aſked *why* I believed your lordſhip to have *actually made* the communication, I anſwer, becauſe it was natural that you ſhould make it; becauſe the expectation

of your making it was the motive which induced me to desire (and I *did* desire) that the communication should be made to your lordship;—because the manner in which you first received that communication (as reported to me by the Duke of Portland) tended to confirm the belief that your lordship was the fit channel of communication to Lord Castlereagh;—and because I knew not of the existence of any impediment to your pursuing what appeared to me (and does still appear to me) the natural and obvious course to be pursued upon such an occasion.

"If it be objected, that I ought not to have been contented with *presuming* the disclosure to have been made, but ought to have diligently ascertained that it was so;—first, I answer—that no person naturally sets about ascertaining that of which he entertains no doubt:—and, secondly, I answer—that the moment that my suspicion of the fact was excited, I did set about ascertaining the truth; and that upon ascertaining it, I did remonstrate in the strongest manner against the concealment;—and enforced that remonstrance by the tender of my own resignation.

"It was on the 26th or 27th of June (five or six days after parliament rose) that I discovered my suspicion to be founded.—On the 27th I remonstrated.—On the 28th I tendered my resignation.—And in the course of the same day, your lordship (as I have already stated) received an injunction to make the communication as soon as the expedition should have sailed.

"The second of the two periods to which your lordship's Statement refers, begins from the 12th of July, the day of the tender of your lordship's resignation.

"It does not appear, nor does your lordship's Statement aver, that at any time during the second period, the restriction which had been originally imposed upon your lordship was renewed; or that any other existed, except that which your lordship had imposed upon yourself, and which was therefore no longer binding upon your lordship than while you might yourself be willing that it should bind you.

"Of the extent to which this *self-imposed* restriction appears to have gone, I had not any suspicion. I knew indeed that your lordship had stipulated to keep the time of the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh in your own hands; but subsequently to my being made acquainted with that stipulation, I had received the assurances, which I have already described, on behalf of 'Lord Castlereagh's friends;' and had relied upon those assurances.

"It was not till the 6th of September that I learnt that those assurances had not been carried into effect. It was not till the 19th of September that I learnt that your lordship had been no party to them. Then indeed I learnt that your lordship had not only '*not engaged*' to make the communication previously to the 'issue of the expedition being known here'—but that in July you had 'stated to *one* of our colleagues,' (not the Duke of Portland)—'*who was urging an earlier communication*,' that the 'time of communication, so far as you were concerned, was for you to decide; but that no one had a right to say you did not perform that part in the transaction in which you were concerned, *if you did not*

open

open your lips to Lord Caſtlereagh before the iſſue of the expedition was known here.'

" This information I received from your lordſhip, in a letter dated the 19th of September. It was then perfectly new to me.

" I leave your lordſhip to judge what muſt have been my ſurpriſe, when, after receiving from your lordſhip, on the evening of the 19h of September, this frank avowal of the real origin of the concealment maintained, during this latter and moſt important period, towards Lord Caſtlereagh, I received on the following morning Lord Caſtlereagh's letter of the ſame date, making *me* reſponſible for that concealment.

" I have not to trouble your lordſhip with any farther obſervations.

" I have confined myſelf to matters growing out of Lord Caſtlereagh's letter, and out of your lordſhip's ſtatement: on thoſe alone have I any right to claim your lordſhip's attention.

" To this addreſs to your lordſhip I have been compelled to reſort, however reluctantly, to vindicate my private honour. As to any charges againſt my public conduct—this is not the mode to reply to them. If any ſuch ſhall be brought againſt me, at the proper time and in the proper place I ſhall be prepared to meet and to repel them.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" GEORGE CANNING."

" FLOWER, MAYOR.

" *In a Meeting or Aſſembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen, of the ſeveral Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall aſſembled, at the Guildhall of the ſaid City, on Saturday, the 1ſt Day of April*, 1809.

" Reſolved Unanimouſly,

" 1. That it has long been matter of notoriety, and has lately been proved, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that abuſes of a moſt corrupt nature and ruinous tendency have exiſted and ſtill exiſt in various branches of the adminiſtration of public affairs.

" 2. Reſolved unanimouſly—That to detect ſuch abuſes, and expoſe to deteſtation thoſe men who have wickedly connived at or participated in them, requires no ſmall degree of virtue, independence, and patriotiſm, all which have been eminently diſplayed by Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Eſq. in inſtituting and conducting the late inquiry into the conduct of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.

" 3. Reſolved unanimouſly—That the ſaid Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Eſq. is therefore entitled to the thanks and gratitude of this common hall, for his perſevering and independent efforts, which have already produced beneficial effects, and are likely to lead to more advantageous reſults; and they expreſs their confidence that having ſo manfully and ably commenced this arduous taſk, no difficulty or danger will damp his ardour or impede his progreſs in a cauſe ſo honourable to himſelf, and ſo eſſential to the beſt intereſts of his country.

" 4. Reſolved unanimouſly—That upon the ſame principles, and for the ſame reaſons, they do highly approve of the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. (the ſeconder), Lord Viſcount Folkeſtone, Samuel Whitbread, Eſq. Sir Samuel Romilly,

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milly, Knt. General Ferguſſon, and the reſt of the 125 honeſt and independent members, who ſupported Mr. Wardle's propoſition on the 15th of March, 1809, and truſt, that uninfluenced by party or feelings of intereſt, they will ſupport every meaſure calculated to remove abuſes and root out corruption.

" 5. Reſolved unanimouſly—That theſe abuſes form only a part of a wicked and corrupt ſyſtem, which has been long acted upon, and no permanent good can ariſe from the late inveſtigation, unleſs followed up by a general reformation of public abuſes in every department of the ſtate.

" 6. Reſolved unanimouſly—That the corporation of London did, in petitions unanimouſly agreed to, and preſented to both houſes of parliament, during the laſt ſeſſions, ſtate, 'That their burthens had been conſiderably augmented by groſs abuſes in the management and expenditure of the public money, by a profuſion of ſinecure places and penſions, which have not only added to the ſufferings of the people, but created a pernicious influence, corrupting and undermining the free principles of the Britiſh conſtitution."

" 7. Reſolved unanimouſly—That no meaſures calculated to remove theſe oppreſſive and alarming evils have yet been adopted, nor can any rational expectation be formed that ſuch meaſures will be adopted, while the management of the public affairs is in the hands of perſons who are themſelves the greateſt penſioners and reverſioniſts in the kingdom.

" 8. Reſolved unanimouſly—That it has ſince appeared, by the report of the committee of the houſe of commons, that 78 members of that houſe are in the receipt of 178,994*l.* per annum out of the public money, who, with their relations, and the naval and military officers in that houſe, muſt give a moſt preponderating and dangerous influence to a miniſter of the crown.

" 9. Reſolved unanimouſly—That if any doubt could remain as to the baneful effect of ſuch influence, it has been ſufficiently exemplified by the rejection of Mr. Wardle's late propoſition in parliament, againſt the moſt concluſive evidence, and unequivocal ſenſe of the country; and where it appeared that all his majeſty's miniſters—all the placemen—and all the penſioners, then preſent (ſtated to be 82 in number) voted againſt the ſaid propoſition; while, of courſe, in the minority of 125, not one of the miniſters—not one placeman—not one penſioner—and only one naval and one military commander was to be found.

" 10. Reſolved unanimouſly—That other governments have crumbled into ruin—other ſtates have been ſubverted, and their ancient and venerable inſtitutions overthrown, by the folly, profligacy, and vices of their rulers; and, in the opinion of this common hall, unleſs this overwhelming tide of corruption is reſiſted by temperate and timely reformation, it muſt inevitably lead to the ruin and ſubjugation of this country.

" 11. Reſolved unanimouſly—That it will be highly expedient for the livery of London, ſome time during the preſent ſeſſion, to meet for the purpoſe of laying a faithful ſtatement of their grievances

vances before parliament, and pray for redreſs of the ſame.

" 12. Reſolved unanimouſly—That the thanks of this common hall be given to Alderman Combe, one of the repreſentatives of this city in parliament, for the ſupport he gave to Mr. Wardle's motion, and for his uniform independence and incorruptibility in parliament.

" 13. Reſolved—That Sir William Curtis, Bart. Sir Charles Price, Bart. and James Shaw, Eſq. three of the repreſentatives for this city in parliament have, by their recent conduct therein, ſhewn a contempt and diſregard for the opinions and intereſts of their conſtituents, and a baſe ſubſerviency to the will of miniſters; and are, therefore, unworthy the confidence of their fellow-citizens.

" 14. Reſolved—That the lord mayor has, by refuſing to convene a common hall upon the three different requiſitions, by preſuming to dictate the terms and object of the preſent requiſition, by the reluctance he even afterwards evinced, and the trouble and delay he has created, ſhewn a contempt and diſregard for the rights and privileges of the livery, and is unworthy the confidence of his fellow-citizens.

" 15. Reſolved—That the thanks of this common hall be given to Robert Waithman, Eſq. for his manly conduct in the preſent inſtance, and his unremitting zeal upon all occaſions where the intereſts of his fellow-citizens are in queſtion.

" 16. Reſolved unanimouſly—That the foregoing reſolutions be ſigned by the town-clerk, and inſerted in all the morning and evening papers.

" WOODTHORPE."

" ITY OF LONDON, COMMON COUNCIL.

" A common council, holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Thurſday, the 6th day of April, 1809.

" Reſolved unanimouſly: That this court has, on frequent occaſions, evinced its deteſtation of the public abuſes, which have been found to exiſt in various departments of the ſtate, and it cannot but equally condemn the corrupt practices developed by the late inveſtigation before the houſe of parliament.

" Reſolved: That Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Eſq., having, unawed by miniſterial threats, exhibited ſerious charges againſt the late commander-in-chief, which have been clearly ſubſtantiated, and which have, in fact, induced his Royal Highneſs to reſign a ſituation of which he is unworthy, is entitled to the eſteem and gratitude of this court and the country.

" Reſolved unanimouſly: That the thanks of this court and the freedom of this city in a gold box, of the value of 100 guineas, be preſented to Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Eſq. in grateful teſtimony of the high ſenſe they entertain of the zeal, intrepidity, and patriotiſm, which he ſo eminently evinced in that arduous and laudable undertaking.

" Reſolved: That the thanks of this court be preſented to Sir Francis Burdett, Baronet, (ſeconder), Lord Folkeſtone, Samuel Whitbread, Eſq. Sir Samuel Romilly, Knt., General Ferguſſon, Harvey Chriſtian Combe, Eſq. alderman, and one of the repreſentatives of this city in parliament, and the reſt of the 125 independent members

bers who, upon the important queſtion on the conduct of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, attempted to ſtem the torrent of corruption.

"Reſolved: That as a conſiderable number of thoſe who voted in favour of the late commander-in-chief on the 18th of March laſt, hold lucrative appointments at the pleaſure of the crown, a vote of acquittal, under ſuch circumſtances, muſt at all times appear extremely equivocal; but when given, as in the preſent inſtance, in direct contradiction to the evidence produced, which led to a deciſion ſo contrary to the legitimate expectations of the people, affords ground for apprehending that the deciſion has ariſen from that preponderating influence of which this court before has complained.

"Reſolved: That theſe and other public abuſes call loudly for conſtitutional correction and redreſs, and evince the neceſſity of a radical and ſpeedy reform, as eſſential to the ſafety and ſecurity of the juſt prerogative of the crown as to the ancient and unalienable rights of the people.

"Reſolved: That the foregoing reſolutions be ſigned by the town-clerk, and publiſhed in the morning and evening papers.

"WOODTHORPE."

On Thurſday, the 1ſt of Auguſt, a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, at which the following Reſolutions were paſſed:—

"That this Court did, on the 6th of April laſt, expreſs its thanks and gratitude to Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Eſq. for his conduct in bringing forward and ſubſtantiating ſerious charges againſt the late commander in chief, which, notwithſtanding the majority in his favour in the Houſe of Commons, compelled his reſignation. That no circumſtance has ſince tranſpired, which can, in any manner, leſſen the importance of that inveſtigation, impeach his motives, or affect the merits of the caſe. On the contrary, his unwearied exertions, perſeverance, and fortitude, under unexampled threats and difficulties, have developed a ſcene of ſcandalous abuſe and corruption, not only in the army, but in various departments of the ſtate.

"That it has been diſcovered by the ſaid inveſtigation, that theſe abuſes have extended, not only to the diſpoſal of church and Eaſt India patronage, but alſo to the diſpoſal of ſeats in the legiſlature, and charges have been brought forward, and proofs offered, implicating in ſuch corrupt and illegal traffic, Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, the Honourable Spencer Perceval, and the Honourable Henry Welleſley, all members of the Houſe, and then and now holding oſtenſible ſituations in his Majeſty's government, a traffic, which, in the language of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, 'would bring a greater ſcandal upon the parliament and the nation than this country has ever known ſince parliament has had an exiſtence.'

"That the ſaid inveſtigation has alſo led to the diſcovery, that the ſaid Lord Caſtlereagh, one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State, and late Preſident of the Board of Controul, did, in flagrant breach of his duty as a miniſter, abuſe of his patronage, and groſs violation of the conſtitution, place a writerſhip in the hands of Lord Clancarty, a member

member of the ſame Board, for the purpoſe of obtaining for him a ſeat in parliament: which fact, the ſaid Lord Caſtlereagh has himſelf admitted, and, notwithſtanding there appeared a ſmaller majority in his favour, than appeared in favour of the Duke of York, in manifeſt injuſtice to his Royal Highneſs, and groſs inſult to the nation, the ſaid Lord Caſtlereagh ſtill retains his official ſituation.

"That theſe attacks upon the vital principles of the conſtitution have been made without puniſhment or cenſure; and motions for inquiry into ſuch practices have been rejected, upon the alleged frequency and notoriety of them; and parliament has thereby, as well as by paſſing a Bill to prevent the ſale of ſeats in that houſe, recognized and acknowledged the corrupt influence under which it has been called together, and exerciſed its functions.

"That it was ſtated by Mr. Wardle, that there was an office publicly kept open for the ſale of places under government, and although ſuch ſtatement, when made, only excited the deriſion of miniſters, and the houſe, it has ſince appeared that the above ſtatement was correct; and his Majeſty's miniſters have indicted and convicted ſeveral perſons concerned therein, and ſuch practices were declared in the ſaid indictment, to have a tendency to degrade, vilify, and traduce and bring into contempt, the adminiſtration of the country.

"That by various ſtatements which Mr. Wardle has lately ſubmitted to parliament, it appears, that, by a correction of the frauds, abuſes, corruption and peculation, which have been found to exiſt in every branch of the public expenditure, to which inquiry has extended, and a wiſe and honeſt application of our reſources, the people might be relieved from heavy and oppreſſive burthens, if not wholly from that inquiſitorial, and moſt grievous of all impoſts, the tax upon income. That his conduct on this occaſion ſeems to have drawn upon him, in a high degree, the malice and rancour of thoſe who are intereſted in the continuance of theſe abuſes.

"That in the opinion of this court, individuals who devote their exertions towards expoſing and correcting public abuſes, are at all times entitled to the ſupport and protection of the country, particularly at the preſent moment, when there appears an unabating effort on the part of thoſe notoriouſly under the influence of government, or who participate in the exiſting frauds, corruptions, and peculations, to cry down, vilify and traduce every man who has courage and integrity to expoſe ſuch practices, in order to miſlead the public, and divert their attention from theſe great evils"

The following are the Reſolutions voted at the Common-Hall, December 14.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That the enormous waſte of treaſure, and unprofitable loſs of lives, in the late military enterpriſes in which his majeſty's forces have been unfortunately employed, have excited mingled feelings of compaſſion, diſappointment, indignation, and alarm, among all claſſes of his majeſty's ſubjects.

"Reſolved, That the whole military

litary ſtrength and reſources of this kingdom have been drawn forth to an extent unparalleled in its hiſtory, and have been moſt improvidently applied, and fatally conſumed, in unconnected and abortive enterpriſes, attended with no permanent advantage to Great Britain, without effectual relief to her allies, and diſtinguiſhed only by the unprofitable valour diſplayed, and an immenſe ſacrifice of blood and treaſure.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That during theſe unprecedented failures and calamities, our misfortunes have been highly aggravated by the imbecility and diſtraction in the cabinet, where it appears his majeſty's confidential ſervants have been engaged in the moſt deſpicable intrigues and cabals, endeavouring to deceive and ſupplant each other, to the great neglect of their public duty, and ſcandal of the government.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That we are of opinion, that in the preſent arduous ſtruggle, in which we are engaged, the ſafety of the Britiſh empire can alone be preſerved by wiſe and honeſt councils to direct the public force; and that ſuch councils can alone be upheld by the energies of a free and united people.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That ſuch calamitous events imperiouſly call for a rigid and impartial inquiry; and that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying his majeſty to inſtitute ſuch inquiry.

City of London Addreſs, Dec. 20, 1809.

"To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

"The humble, loyal, and dutiful Addreſs and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign;

"We your majeſty's moſt faithful, loyal, and dutiful ſubjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, moſt humbly approach your majeſty's ſacred perſon, in the perfect aſſurance that your majeſty will graciouſly condeſcend to receive the ſuggeſtions of your faithful and loyal citizens, on ſubjects which ſeriouſly and deeply affect their intereſts, in common with the reſt of your majeſty's people.

"We have witneſſed with deep regret the diſaſtrous failure of the late Expedition, as the magnitude of its equipment had raiſed the juſt hopes and expectations of the country to ſome permanent benefit.

"And we cannot avoid expreſſing to your majeſty the ſorrow and indignation with which we are affected, by the unhappy diſſenſions that have prevailed among your majeſty's miniſters, and our fears that ſuch diſſenſions may prove eminently prejudicial to the beſt intereſts of the nation.

"Your majeſty's faithful citizens, actuated by loyal attachment to your ſacred perſon and illuſtrious houſe, and ſolicitous for the honour of your majeſty's arms and the dignity and ſolidity of your majeſty's councils, are deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of an early and ſtrict inquiry into the cauſes of the failure of the late Expedition; therefore pray your majeſty will direct inquiry to be forthwith inſtituted, in order to aſcertain

aſcertain the causes which have occaſioned it.

" Signed by order of Court,

" HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which Addreſs and Petition His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to return the following anſwer:—

" I thank you for your expreſſions of duty and attachment to me and to my family.

" The recent Expedition to the Scheld was directed to ſeveral objects of great importance to the intereſts of my allies, and to the ſecurity of my dominions.

" I regret, that of theſe objects a part only has been accompliſhed.

" I have not judged it to be neceſſary to direct any military inquiry into the conduct of my commanders by ſea or land in this conjoint ſervice.

" It will be for my parliament, in their wiſdom, to aſk for ſuch information, or to take ſuch meaſures upon this ſubject as they ſhall judge moſt conducive to the public good."

General Orders.—Saturday, Dec. 30.

The following regulations have been ſubſtituted for thoſe notified in the general order of the 20th March laſt, which had been found not ſufficiently explanatory of his majeſty's intentions:—

" No officer ſhall be promoted to the rank of a captain until he has been three years a ſubaltern.

" No officer ſhall be promoted to the rank of major until he has been ſeven years in the ſervice, of which he ſhall have been at leaſt two years a captain; and no major ſhall be appointed to the rank of lieut.-col. until he has been nine years in the ſervice.

" No officer ſhall be allowed to fill any ſtaff appointment (that of aid-de-camp excepted) until he has been four years in the ſervice.

" No ſubaltern officer ſhall be conſidered eligible to hold the appointment of aid-de-camp until he has been preſent with his regiment at leaſt one year."

At a General Court of Proprietors of the Weſt-India Dock Company, held at their Houſe in Billiter-ſquare, on Friday the 6th of June, 1809, Thomas Hughan, Eſq. in the Chair; the Chairman read to the Meeting a Report from a Committee of Directors, on the General Conduct of the Company's Concerns, to the end of the Year 1808; which was ordered to be printed for the Uſe of the Proprietors.

REPORT.—*The Committee of Review, in Compliance with the Reſolution of the Court of Directors of the 20th December laſt, directing that they ſhould " Report to the Court the preſent State of Buſineſs at the Docks, and ſuch Circumſtances reſpecting the Company's Concerns during the laſt Seaſon, as may appear to them to require Obſervation," preſent the following Report.*

The ſeaſon juſt elapſed having been one of peculiar difficulty in the conduct of the Company's concerns, and in which the efficacy and reſources of the Eſtabliſhment have been called into action, and put to the teſt, it is matter of ſingular gratification to your Committee to be enabled to ſtate, that the exertions of your officers and ſervants have been ſucceſsful in the diſcharge of their duty; and that the buſineſs of the year, in all its various

various departments, although impeded by circumſtances embarraſſing and unprecedented, has been completed at a period unuſually early. To the details which are neceſſarily connected with this (the more immediate) object of your Committee, they premiſe a few remarks, founded upon thoſe facts and incontrovertible principles to which your Eſtabliſhment owes both its origin and its utility.

However unwilling ſome perſons may be to awaken the recollection, yet it cannot be generally forgotten, what were the exceſſive delays, increaſing difficulties, and glaring abuſes, which not many years ago obſtructed, in an eſpecial manner, the Weſt-India Trade at this port, and called aloud for a remedy. The records exiſt which prove the enormity of the evil, progreſſively affecting the credit of the port, the ſafe collection of the revenue, and the property of individuals connected with the trade, in times otherwiſe proſperous, and ſeriouſly contributing to degrade and corrupt the morals of the people. To theſe cauſes your Eſtabliſhment owes its origin; an effectual reform could only be ſought in a great and coſtly effort. The individuals who formed and who compoſed the Company, undertook, at very conſiderable riſk, to make the effort requiſite for a purpoſe ſo deſirable.

The obſtacles that muſt occur in combating numerous and powerful claſſes of opponents determined by prejudice, or ſtimulated by intereſt, could only be ſurmounted by that union of zeal, perſeverance, and ability, which were on this occaſion combined, and being ſanctioned by a provident policy in the legiſlature, (fortunately for the commercial proſperity of London,) proved ſucceſsful. Theſe opponents although ſilenced were not reconciled. To the origin and character of the Eſtabliſhment itſelf, as oppoſed to individual and petty exactions, may be traced the ſource of much of that ſpirit of diſcontent and hoſtility which it has ſince encountered, and which has purſued its object, by miſrepreſentations, moſt groſs, and yet too frequently credited; but it is a rigid enquiry into their conduct, and an impartial inveſtigation of their principles and proceedings, that will furniſh to the Company the ſureſt means of vindicating themſelves, and demonſtrating, that they have, in all liberal conſtruction, accompliſhed the good purpoſes of the undertaking, and fulfilled their engagements to the public.

By the general view of its merits and demerits, and not by its adaptation to any one particular occurrence, ought every public eſtabliſhment in fairneſs to be tried; but your Committee are confident that the Company need not ſhrink from a more minute ſcrutiny, and enquiry, how far its proviſions and regulations are already compatible with the ſeparate and diſtinct intereſts of different bodies connected with the Weſt India trade; although they may and will on the teſt of experiment, and by the ſuggeſtions of thoſe moſt intereſted, be ultimately ſtill farther perfected.

The ſecurity afforded to property, and the prevention of frauds, are purpoſes which your inſtitution is univerſally admitted to have attained; and in theſe objects the intereſts of the public revenue, of the importers and proprietors

prietors of goods, and of the ſhip owners, are all intimately blended and moſt eſſentially promoted; and yet theſe topics, of the higheſt importance to the ſtate, and to individuals, (when clamour is to be excited againſt your ſyſtem), are ſeldom adverted to; and although it would be no difficult taſk to prove that the duty ſaved to the revenue, and the property preſerved to individuals, by theſe means, amounts annually to many hundred thouſand pounds, yet your Committee abſtain from a ſuperfluous illuſtration of a fact ſo generally acknowledged, and proceed to details which are more connected with ſome late diſcuſſions concerning the conduct of your eſtabliſhment.

If the warehouſing ſyſtem be productive of great practical benefit both to internal and foreign commerce, it muſt not be overlooked, that ſo far as the Weſt India trade is concerned, it could not have been carried into effect without ſome eſtabliſhment equivalent to that which thus originated. It is well known, that during many years of his adminiſtration, the advantages that might reſult from that ſyſtem, both to the revenue and to the trade, had preſented themſelves to the comprehenſive mind of that able miniſter, the late Mr. Pitt, and that he only ſuſpended its adoption until ſome adequate improvement ſhould be made in the port of London, under which it might be ſafely carried into effect. Your eſtabliſhment had hardly begun its operation before the proviſions of that ſyſtem were enacted by the legiſlature, the advantages of which, great as they are, have been neceſſarily attended by ſome additional delay and embarraſſment to buſineſs, which the Company has endeavoured to meet with promptitude, and with the requiſite additions to their eſtabliſhment.

The benefits accruing to the Weſt India body generally, and the degree of accommodation and diſpatch afforded by the Company, your Committee conceive will be beſt illuſtrated by a few conciſe ſtatements, as they are deſirous that on diſputed points an appeal may be made ſolely to the evidence of facts. They will here premiſe, that whatever advantages it ſhall appear have been obtained for the trade, are ſecured to it without any additional expence being incurred; the Company on its formation having undertaken for the term of their charter, to provide all the accommodation which the dock ſyſtem affords, and to perform all the ſervices and labour neceſſary to ſhips and goods at importation, for the charges then current at the port, although ſuch charges had been previouſly and almoſt annually advancing.

In order to ſhew how far the means and reſources of the Company have been properly applied, and the diſpatch given to ſhips, your Committee will firſt call the attention of the Court to an account, ſhewing the number of ſhips employed in the Weſt India trade which have been diſcharged in the docks in the laſt ſix years, with the dates at which the buſineſs of each ſeaſon appears to have been reſpectively completed:

Year.

Year.	No. of Ships.	Finished Landing.
1803	363	14 Jan. 1804
1804	354	29 Dec. 1804
1805	421	22 Jan. 1806
1806	477	2 Feb. 1807
1807	503	24 Dec. 1807
1808	598	593 completed 3 Dec. 1808

by which it will appear, that ſuch has been the increaſe of the Weſt India trade, that 95 ſhips have been unloaded this ſeaſon, in addition to the greateſt number ever before received, and 174 ſhips more than the average number of the preceding five years. In the period between the beginning of July and the beginning of December, a ſpace of five months, when circumſtances of the greateſt difficulty occurred, upwards of 460 ſhips were unloaded, excluſive of ſmaller veſſels and craft, with cargoes conſiſting of 159,804 hhds. and trs. of ſugar.—26,917 puns. and hhds., rum.—31,675 hhds. and trs., 125,480 bags, coffee.—10,855 bales, 487 pockets, &c. cotton.—35 caſks, 2,732 bags, Pimento.—351 caſks, 2,411 bags, ginger.—822 caſks, 7,228 bags, cocoa.—1,797 caſks, wine. Making a total of 11,342 bales, 137,851 bags, 221,401 caſks, and from the 10th October to the 28th November 150 ſhips were entirely unloaded at the quays. This being the preciſe period when it was ſtated to the lords of the treaſury, that owing to the negligence of the directors, only 8 or 9 ſhips were at that time unloaded weekly, and proceeding on that calculation, that 108 ſhips then in the docks would neceſſarily be delayed ſome months, (we muſt preſume not leſs than three), and on ſuch, and other equally unfounded pretexts, was grounded an application for an infringement of the Company's privileges. Whereas the fact is, that theſe 108 ſhips, with the addition of others ſubſequently admitted, were unloaded in the month of November, ſuch only excepted as were delayed by cauſes not dependant on the Company.

The general ſtate of the buſineſs performed by the Company during the laſt year will ſtand thus: 598 ſhips have unloaded, and 106 ſmaller veſſels and craft; of the above number of 598 ſhips, 593 were completed upon the 3d December, 1808.

Thus ſo early as the cloſe of the month of November, the great body of ſhipping in the Weſt India trade were completely cleared of their cargoes; an inſtance of diſpatch ſingular and unexampled, and evidently proving the ſuperiority of your eſtabliſhment, particularly under the embarraſſing circumſtances of an extraordinary accumulation of produce on hand, occaſioned by an almoſt total ſtagnation of export: if theſe advantages be contraſted with the delays, impediments, loſſes, and abuſes, which muſt have ariſen under the former ſyſtem, their value will be incalculable.

During the utmoſt preſſure, and under peculiar circumſtances of the ſeaſon, the Company did undertake to provide at its own expence, and beyond its excluſive means, an extraordinary proviſion of warehouſe room, but it did not become neceſſary to reſort to it, beyond an accommodation for 5747 caſks and 4137 boxes, and 511 barrels

511 barrels of prize or foreign ſugar, and thus may the diſpatch given to the ſhipping in ſuch a ſeaſon, afford the beſt proof of the adequacy of the Company's reſources to the general exigences of the trade; but it may be proper to add the following ſtatement of the quantity of goods actually lodged within your warehouſes at one time, excluſive of the articles on the quays;—102,647 hhds. and trs., 11,612 cheſts and brls. of ſugar.—14,681 puns. and hhds. of rum.—38,239 hhds. and trs., 190,408 bags, coffee.—1,411 bales, 164 pockets, &c., cotton. —24 caſks, 3,168 bags, Pimento. —201 caſks, 1,006 bags, ginger. —1,100 caſks, 13,257 bags, cocoa. —1,786 caſks, wine. Making a total of 11,612 cheſts, &c. 1,575 bales, 207,839 bags, 158,678 caſks. Let this ſtatement be compared with all the accommodation exiſting at the port, for the houſing of Weſt India produce, previous to the formation of the docks, which according to the beſt computation in reſpect to the article of ſugar only, was not capable of containing beyond one third of the quantity, which has been actually depoſited in your warehouſes.

The ſyſtem of providing diſtinctly for the ſhipping of goods to the Weſt Indies, and the ſecurity afforded thereby both to the ſhips and goods, belongs peculiarly to your eſtabliſhment; and, to a ſyſtem ſo recent and dependant upon correſponding regulations of the revenue boards, it cannot reaſonably be reproached that it is yet ſuſceptible of improvement; ſufficient, however, has appeared to ſhew that this part of your eſtabliſhment is one which muſt eventually prove of eſſential benefit to the Weſt India trade of the port.

The regulations of the Company have all been framed in ſtrict conſiſtency with its ſolid and permanent intereſts, by a conſtant and primary regard to the ſecurity of property, the intereſts of the revenue, and the accommodation of the trade, and not in any caſe directed by narrow views of preſent profit, in contradiſtinction to thoſe more eſſential objects.

With the laws and regulations of the revenue departments it is neceſſary that the Company ſhould co-operate, and ſometimes it has been accuſed of diſappointments and delays, originating ſolely in that connection. But in reſpect to that part of the ſyſtem, over which your directors have controul, they are ready, at all times, to adopt ſuggeſtions for improvement, whenever they ſhall be found, upon attentive conſideration, to be compatible with the great objects of the inſtitution.

The principles by which the Court of Directors have uniformly governed their conduct, have been thoſe of ſound diſcretion in the application of the funds of the Company, a liberal conſtruction and performance of its engagements with the public, and a ſcrupulous impartiality in the adminiſtration of buſineſs.

How far theſe objects have been faithfully purſued, and ſucceſsfully accompanied, may beſt be evinced, as to the firſt, by the proſperous ſtate of your finances; as to the ſecond, by the details furniſhed by, and the facts connected with this report; and, as to the laſt, it

may fairly be demanded whether one ſingle inſtance of deviation can be produced.

Proclamation of General Palafox to the People of Arragon.

The country demands great ſacrifices. She calls us to her aſſiſtance; ſhe ſees no other defenders but her children; we are her only ſupport. We ſhould violate our duty to her, and to ourſelves, did we not employ our arms, and riſk our lives and property, in order to ſave her. Noble Arragoneſe! brave ſoldiers! ever ready to ſhed your blood to defend her and your king, it is unneceſſary for me to remind you of ſacred duties which you have never forgotten, but the important charge which you have confided to me, and my anxious deſires to fulfil my duty, and to make a juſt return to your attachment, do not permit me to leave unemployed any means that may contribute to deliver you from thoſe perfidious wretches who, already ſetting themſelves in oppoſition to our determinations, already indifferent to the grand cauſe which we are defending, give utterance to ſentiments little conformable to our tried loyalty. I therefore ordain and command:

1. That all the inhabitants of this city, of every rank and condition, ſhall conſider themſelves bound to devote to its defence their perſons, property, and lives: the rich and great lending a helping hand to the poor, foſtering and aſſiſting them, contributing to cover their nakedneſs, and to enable them to maintain their reſpective poſts; thus performing a ſacred duty, enjoined by natural affection, recommended by the holy religion which we profeſs; and, at the ſame time, remunerating them for the zeal with which they defend their lives, their eſtates, and their common country. Should any man be ſo unnatural as to diſown their obligation, he ſhall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of his offence, and the amount of the fine ſhall be appropriated to the ſubſiſtence of the army.

2. That ſuch towns as do not contribute all in their power to the relief of our preſent neceſſities, ſhall be treated as enemies to our king, whoſe ſovereign rights we defend, and their inhabitants of every rank ſhall be puniſhed as traitors.

3. That every individual of the army of reſerve, and the recruits of Arragon, already enrolled and regimented, who ſhall not join his corps within the ſpace of ſix days thereof, ſhall be treated as a deſerter in time of war, and as ſuch ſhall ſuffer the pains of law.

4. That the alcaides ſhall ſcrupulouſly examine the ſoldiers in their reſpective wards, who may not have ſo joined, and make a return of their names and the corps they belong to; and that the juſtices of the kingdom of Arragon, under the reſponſibility of perſon and property, tranſmit an exact liſt of all the individuals of their juriſdiction, who have ſerved in the army, diſtinguiſhing the cavalry from the infantry, and remarking their ſtate of health and perſonal vigour.

5. That all who profeſs want of confidence in the chiefs of the people or the army, who make

paſquinades,

paſquinades, excite riots or diſturbances, ſhall be immediately apprehended, and carried before the newly-appointed judge of the police, Don Santiago Penicela, who will paſs judgment according to the times and critical circumſtances in which the country is placed, and ſuitable to their crimes; impoſing the puniſhment of death he ſhall conſult me.

6. That all the meaſures adopted ſhall be obeyed with religious reſpect, ſince they all are directed to the good of the country, which will recompenſe in more happy times the ſacrifices we make, and which are ſo pleaſing to God and the celeſtial protectreſs who guards us.

7. That all the houſes ſhall be well ſupplied with ciſterns and veſſels of water, in order to be ready to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing any fire which may occur: and that the Alcaides de Barrio ſhall in particular ſuperintend this important preparation.

8. That the entrance and departure of perſons by the gates ſhall be watched with the greateſt care, recollecting that the enemy even aſſume our dreſs, and reſort to every artifice, becauſe they do not truſt entirely to their force, though greatly ſuperior in numbers.

9. That preciſely three days ſhall be allowed for the departure of all the women, old men arrived at ſixty, and all the boys not able to carry cartridges, with moderate equipages, for whoſe convenience orders have been iſſued to all the towns and villages, to receive them with kindneſs, and to ſupply their wants.

10. That all Frenchmen, who may happen to be within the city, ſhall be preſented to the judge of the police, in order to be removed without the walls. All the women and children of the ſame nation ſhall be removed with their huſbands and fathers; as alſo all the priſoners and deſerters from the enemy's army, to places appointed for their reception.

11. To prevent thoſe perſons whoſe virtue is reſpected by every catholic from being expoſed to inſult, I permit the nuns to proceed to occupy other convents, without the limits of the city and ſuburbs, where they may have an opportunity of devoting themſelves, without interruption, to their holy exerciſes.

Capitulation of Madrid. From the Madrid Gazette, December 7th, 1808. Capitulation propoſed by the Military and Civil Junta of Madrid, to his Imperial and Royal Majeſty the Emperor of the French.

Article 1. The preſervation of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion, without any other being legally tolerated. Ans.—Granted.

2. The liberty and ſecurity of the lives and properties of the citizens and other perſons reſiding in Madrid, as well as of thoſe in public employments: the preſervation of their ſituations, or the option of their retiring from this court, if they ſhould prefer it. Likewiſe, the lives, privileges, and properties of the ſecular and regular eccleſiaſtics of both ſexes, together with the reſpect due to

the churches, all in conformity to our laws and cuſtoms. Ans.—Granted.

3. The lives and properties of all military officers, of rank, are likewiſe to be ſafe. Ans.—Granted.

4. No perſon ſhall be liable to perſecution, on account of their political opinions or writings, any more than thoſe employed in a public capacity, for what they may have done hitherto in the exerciſe of their employments, or in obedience to the former government; nor ſhall the people ſuffer for the efforts which they have made for their defence. Ans.—Granted.

5. No other contributions ſhall be exacted beyond the ordinary ones that have hitherto been paid. Ans.—Granted, till the realm ſhall definitively be organized.

6. Our laws, cuſtoms, and courts of juſtice, ſhall be preſerved in their preſent conſtitution. Ans.—Granted, until the kingdom undergoes its definitive organization.

7. The French troops and their officers ſhall not be quartered in private houſes, but in military lodging houſes and tents, and by no means in convents or monaſteries; the privileges allowed to the reſpective claſſes by the laws being preſerved. Ans.—Granted; it being well underſtood that both the officers and privates muſt have quarters and tents that are furniſhed conformably to the military regulations, unleſs the ſaid buildings be inſufficient.

8. The troops ſhall march out of the town with the honours of war, and be at liberty to retire whitherſoever they chooſe. Ans.—The troops ſhall march out with the honours of war; they ſhall march off by files to day at four o'clock in the afternoon, and leave their arms and cannon; the armed peaſants ſhall alſo leave their arms and artillery; after which the inhabitants ſhall retire to their houſes, and thoſe from without the town, to their villages. All the individuals that have enliſted among the troops of the line, four months ago, ſhall be free from their engagements, and retire to their villages. All the reſt ſhall continue priſoners of war till an exchange takes place, which will commence immediately between equal numbers, and rank for rank.

9. The public debts and engagements of the ſtate ſhall be faithfully and conſtantly diſcharged. Ans.—This being a political object, belongs to the cognizance of the aſſembly of the realm, and depends on the general adminiſtration.

10. Thoſe generals who wiſh to continue in the capital, ſhall preſerve their rank; and ſuch as are deſirous of quitting it, ſhall be at liberty ſo to do. Ans.—Granted: they ſhall remain in their ſtation, although their pay can only continue till the kingdom receives its ultimate organization.

Additional Art. 11. A detachment of guards ſhall this day, at four o'clock, take poſſeſſion of the palace gates. The different gates of the city ſhall, about the ſame time, be delivered up to the French army. The guard-houſe of the body guards and the general hoſpital, ſhall be ſurrendered at the ſame time. At the ſame hour the park

park of artillery and the arſenals, together with the engineers, ſhall be ſurrendered to the French artillery and engineers. The works and entrenchments ſhall be levelled, and the ſtreets repaired. The French officer about to take the command of Madrid, ſhall about mid-day repair, under a military guard, to the houſe of the principal (governor) in order to concert with government, regulations of police, and meaſures for the reeſtabliſhment of good order and public ſecurity in all parts of the town.

We, the underſigned commiſſioners, authorized by full powers for ſettling and ſigning the preſent capitulation, have agreed upon the faithful and entire execution of the above meaſure.

FERNANDO DE LA VERAY PANTOGA.
THOMAS DE MORLA.
ALESSANDRO.

Imperial Camp, Madrid, the 4th of December, 1808.

O'Neil's Report to Palafox reſpecting the Battle of Tudela, 8th December, 1808.

In conſequence of the actual ſituation of this city, threatened with a ſiege by the enemy, it has been until now found impoſſible to lay before the public an official account of the details of the attack and obſtinate battle fought at Tudela on the 23d ult.; a battle equally fatal and glorious to this army, which, ſupported only by its own ſtrength and its own valour, maintained the conteſt for eight hours in the midſt of the moſt dreadful fire. It is impoſſible to convey an adequate idea of the number of heroic achievements performed by the officers and ſoldiers, whilſt one-half of the army was defending their poſts with diſcharges of muſketry, and the other were maintaining the conteſt with the bayonet, until the number of the ſlain on both ſides left ſcarcely room for action, and both the contending armies retired. The captain-general of this excellent army of reſerve has received the following detailed diſpatch from Lieutenant-General Don Juan O'Neil, who commanded the troops in the engagement, from Illucca, whither he retired with Field-Marſhal D. Felippe St. March.

Moſt excellent Seignor—A few hours after my conference with your excellency, at Caparoſo, reſpecting the good condition of the troops under my command, at that moſt important point, full of ardour and enthuſiaſm, from the ſuperiority which they conceived themſelves to poſſeſs over the enemy, who for ſo long a period had not dared to attack us, and from advantages of greater magnitude which they anticipated in the direction of Pampeluna; and when your excellency, convinced of the neceſſity of not permitting a favourable opportunity to paſs, for executing deſigns in which I cordially concurred, proceeded to conſult with the captain-general of the army of the centre; I received a diſpatch from the captain-general of the army of the centre, and the repreſentative of the ſupreme central junta, D. Franciſco Palafox, dated the 21ſt inſt. informing me of the extreme urgency that all my troops ſhould immediately put themſelves in

motion, and proceed by way of Tudela, to the right of the line, which was to be formed upon Caſcante and Tarragona, as far as the heights of Moncayo; and charging me not to loſe a moment, ſince they had given orders for the march of the army of the centre, and were on the point of attacking and defeating the enemy, in order to ſave that army; an object, the attainment of which would be of the greateſt importance for Spain, and totally diſconcert the plans of the enemy. Surpriſed at the novelty of this diſpatch, ſo completely at variance with the plan we had agreed upon at Caparoſo the day before, I ſent to inform your excellency, and before I received your anſwer, your diſpatch, dated at Tudela on the ſame day (the 21ſt) reached me, directing, that in conſequence of what the captain-general of the centre had ſtated to you, I ſhould, the inſtant I received it, march with the whole of my army, and the troops belonging to the centre attached to it, for Tudela, there to fix my head-quarters, it being underſtood that the troops that occupied the poſts of Cintriunego, Calahorra, and the other parts of the Ebro, were already on their march for Borja and Tarragona, and conſequently that any delay might be very injurious, and expoſe the army to be turned in that quarter. On the ſame day, as my troops were juſt ſetting off, I received your excellency's anſwer, confirming your previous order, in conſequence of the army of the centre having already commenced its movement. I cannot deſcribe to your excellency the ſenſation felt by the troops under my command, in conſequence of this retrograde movement, as all of them, previouſly animated by the preceding fortunate movements, found all their hopes fruſtrated, and ſaw themſelves removed from the advanced ſituation that they always occupied in front of the enemy. An event ſo unexpected diſheartened them; and in order to inſpire them with the ſame degree of ardour which they had hitherto manifeſted, and to prevent the fatal conſequences of which I was apprehenſive, I exerted my authority, accompanying it with the moſt energetic perſuaſion, and ſhewing them the order of that evening, according to which the ſafety of the whole army depended upon our retrograde movement, and, in ſhort, telling them that it was the reſult of the expreſs orders of your excellency, and muſt be obeyed. This repreſentation, in ſome degree, tranquillized them, and I proceeded with my troops to Tudela, where your excellency the ſeignor repreſentative, and the captain-general of the army of the centre, were already arrived. At nine in the morning of the following day, (23d) Colonel Don F. Perena ſent to inform me that two columns of the enemy were deploying in front of Ablitas.

In conſequence of this intelligence, and the captain-general of the army of the centre having, the preceding evening, informed me, that the enemy had entered Cintriunego, I ordered the generale to be beaten, appriſing, at the ſame time, the captain-general that, as commander in chief, he might make the neceſſary diſpoſitions. He ordered ſome reinforcements to advance, and ſoon after

cauſed

caused General St. March to do the same on the left, sending various corps of my division to the heights of Santa Barbara, to reinforce that important point, and to support the troops already occupying it belonging to the division of General Rova. As he left me on the high road with the remainder of my troops, I sent to him my aid-de-camp, D. B. Gelabert, to ascertain what I was to do, as the engagement was already begun. His answer was, that I should proceed to the centre of the line, where he was posted. Soon after he ordered the remainder of the troops to join him, and he assigned me the command of the whole of the left wing. When I arrived I found the heights on the left already occupied by the enemy, who threatened to turn us; but having received his order to attack them, and an assurance that the division of General La Pena would advance to my assistance, I determined to execute the attack by echellons of battalions. The battalions of the royal Spanish guards commenced it with such unexampled gallantry, that the enemy instantly abandoned that important post, leaving the field of battle covered with dead bodies. The same success attended the attack in front, by the regiments of the volunteers of Castile and Segorbia. While I was indulging in the satisfaction produced by our success, and considering the battle gained, two orderly officers of cavalry came to desire me, on the part of the captain-general, not to be alarmed by the appearance of a column of infantry, with a considerable body of cavalry, who were advancing on the left, as they were the troops of General La Pena coming from Cascante. Congratulating myself upon this aid, which would have decided the battle in our favour, I rode along my left to direct General St. March to continue the attack in the same order, when that general surprised me by telling me it was necessary we should retreat, as our right had been forced, that the enemy were in Tudela, and that all the troops that occupied the centre of our position had retreated. This intelligence astonished me the more, as the captain-general had sent me no information of this event, a circumstance which appeared to me impossible; but a firing being heard in the rear of the olive plantations, I was convinced of the fact. In this melancholy situation, the division of General La Pena, not having moved, and that which was announced as his division proving to be a corps of the enemy, of about 8,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, I gave directions for retreating in the best possible order; placing the 2d regiment of Valencia in an oblique position to cover the retreat of our troops. The troops were surrounded on all sides, but they gallantly cut their way with the bayonet. I put myself at their head, and left General St. March with the cavalry to protect this daring and only resource that was left to us. The general discharged this trust with the same exactness that he did every other duty confided to him during the action. I can assure your excellency that I never witnessed an occasion in which all the officers and soldiers more completely performed their duty; but of those who were under my orders, I

ought to make particular mention of the third battalion of the royal Spaniſh guards, and the regiments of Caſtile, Segorbia, and Turia. D. M. Velaſco, commander of the artillery of my diviſion; D. A. Ulloa, commander of General St. March's; D. J. Monino; D. R. del Pino, who, though ſurrounded by the enemy, ſpiked a part of the artillery which they could not bring off, are very much entitled to conſideration for having entirely deſtroyed three columns of the enemy.

The enemy's loſs cannot be leſs than 8,000 men, as we may aſſure ourſelves, when they admitted it exceeded 4,000. I have not yet received all the returns of the loſs on our ſide, but I doubt whether it amounts to 2,000 in killed, wounded, and miſſing. I have the ſatisfaction of having ſaved half of the artillery, which was brought off by routes almoſt impracticable, and of having been a near ſpectator of every thing that paſſed to the laſt moment. I can aſſure you, that in this unfortunate event all thoſe under my command have done their duty to their king and country; and that had the captain-general ordered the army of the centre to ſupport us, it would, beyond all doubt, have been the moſt glorious day for his Majeſty's arms of any recorded in the hiſtory of this war.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 13, 1808, to DECEMBER 12, 1809.

Christened	Males....9981	In all, 19612	Buried	Males....8636	In all, 16680
	Females..9631			Females..8044	

Decreaſed in Burials 2932.

Died under Two Years 4937	— Thirty and Forty.. 1472	— Eighty and Ninety 369
Between Two and Five 1916	— Forty and Fifty .. 1748	—Ninety and a Hundred 54
— Five and Ten 754	— Fifty and Sixty .. 1419	A Hundred..... 2
— Ten and Twenty .. 566	— Sixty and Seventy 1235	
— Twenty and Thirty 1145	— Seventy and Eighty 1063	

DISEASES.							
Abortive ſtill born.....	514	Dropſy.....	736	Scurvy.....	4	Bruiſed	5
Abſceſs	49	Evil	2	Small Pox ..	1163	Burnt	30
Aged 1251		Fevers of all kinds	1066	Sore Throat ..	7	Drowned	124
Ague	4	Fiſtula	3	Sores and Ulcers	5	Exceſſive Drinking..	7
Apoplexy and ſudden....	203	Flux.....	9	Spaſm	24	Executed * ..	6
Aſthma and Phthiſic ..	488	French Pox ..	29	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Found Dead..	8
Bile	2	Gout.....	30	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Fractured....	2
Bleeding	24	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury.....	10	Stoppage in the Stomach ..	20	Frighted	1
Burſten and Rupture ..	15	Grief	5	Strangury ..	1	Frozen	1
Cancer.....	55	Jaundice	26	Teeth	308	Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	68
Childbed	123	Jaw Locked..	4	Thruſh	39	Killed themſelves	52
Colds	15	Inflammation	511	Tumour	1	Murdered ..	1
Colick, Gripes, &c.	15	Influenza	3	Water in the Cheſt	11	Overjoy	1
Conſumption	4570	Livergrown..	21	Water in the Head	252	Poiſoned	4
Convulſions ..3463		Lunatic	166	Worms.....	5	Scalded	5
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	591	Meaſles	106	CASUALTIES.		Smothered ..	1
Cramp	2	Miſcarriage ..	2	Bit by a Rattle Snake	1	Starved	1
Croup	81	Mortification	167	Bit by a Mad Dog	1	Suffocated ..	7
Diabetes	1	Palſy	123			Total	326
		Palpitation of the Heart..	1				
		Pleuriſy	19				
		Quinſy.....	3				
		Rheumatiſm..	2				
		Scarlatina..	1				

* There have been executed in the city of London, and county of Surrey, 16; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the bills of mortality.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1809.

1809.	Six's Thermometer without.			Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer *.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January	55	20	37,1	55	20	37,9	55	42	48,8	301,2	28,50	29,52	76	60	69,7	3,332
February	55	34	45,9	55	34	46,5	59	52	55,3	30,46	28,76	29,78	73	54	64,6	1,603
March	62	33	44,7	61	33	44,8	61	51	55,3	30,47	29,18	30,04	70	54	62,4	0,735
April	57	29	43,8	56	31	44,1	58	50	53,5	30,34	29,06	29,77	72	52	61,9	2,975
May	78	36	58,3	78	40	59,6	69	54	62,5	30,34	29,28	29,90	68	47	56,6	0,812
June	78	45	60,2	78	50	61,2	68	58	62,3	30,44	29,30	29,92	66	46	56,6	1,105
July	78	50	62,4	70	51	62,9	68	61	64,4	30,22	29,44	29,84	74	46	60,6	2,763
Auguſt	79	49	61,2	79	51	63,1	69	62	64,4	30,09	29,34	29,75	74	49	61,1	1,427
September	72	40	58,6	72	40	58,7	68	57	62,8	30,16	29,26	29,72	77	52	64,0	2,496
October	62	35	51,8	65	36	52,1	63	53	58,3	30,34	29,85	30,14	77	52	66,3	0,138
November	55	29	41,4	53	47	41,7	58	47	53,1	30,46	29,10	29,93	75	56	67,9	1,092
December	54	32	42,2	52	33	42,6	57	48	52,3	30,24	28,26	29,56	76	63	70,2	2,333
Whole Year			50,6			51,3			57,7						63,5	20,711

* The quickſilver in the baſin of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water ſpring tides at Somerset Houſe.

TABLE,

Shewing the Quantity of Rain that fell in different parts of England and Scotland, in the Year 1809.

	ENGLAND.											SCOTLAND.					
1809.	London.	Chichester.	Chatsworth, Derbyshire.	Horncastle, Lincolnshire.	Ferriby, Kingston upon Hull.	Heath, n. Wakefield, Yorkshire.	Manchester.	Lancaster.	Dalton, Lancashire.	West Brigford, Notts.	Nottingham.	Edinburgh.	Dalkeith.	Bothwell Castle.	Glasgow.	Largs.	Gordon Castle.
January	2,91	8,44	5,22	3,50	1,57	3,98	2,67	4,66	6,58	0,77	1,80	2,76	2,085	1,560	1,435	2,121	1,22
February	1,86	4,31	3,29	2,59	2,94	2,58	1,96	3,11	4,53		1,69	3,16	3,204	2,865	2,820	4,697	1,25
March	0,94		0,44	0,82	0,48	0,43	0,35	0,53	1,13	0,72	0,75	0,21	0,694	0,339	0,360	2,981	0,86
April	3,46	3,95	1,70	2,10	3,05	2,11	0,96	4,59	2,20	2,30	2,15	2,01	1,240	0,785	0,586	1,751	2,23
May	0,86	1,07	1,83	1,59	0,45	2,96	3,42	3,39	3,85		1,80	2,14	2,076	2,935	2,379	2,806	1,44
June	1,20	2,38	2,06	2,24	3,24	2,01	2,45	3,10	4,26	2,45	2,45	3,02	2,525	1,846	2,379	2,956	2,40
July	3,58	3,45	2,00	2,87	2,38	2,28	1,79	4,00	3,45	1,44	1,44	2,39	2,324	1 545	2,245	1,829	2,83
August	2,64	3,70	4,38	4,53	5,88	4,61	3, 5	6,12	7,25	3,75	4,50	5,56	6,502	4,470	5,283	6,298	3,92
September	2,90	3,34	4,13	3,90	3,10	4,29	4,22	4,75	5,57	2,60	3,13	2,94	3,476	2,788	2,825	2,025	2,34
October	0,22	0,60	0,28	0,75	0,56	1,41	0,61	0,87	1,66	0,35	0,31	1,19	0,406	0,950	1,442	2,220	1,21
November	1,38	1,30	1,91	1,70	1,90	2,25	2,14	3,87	2,80	1,33	1,18	0,87	1,445	1,175	0,925	2,410	1,67
December	3,00	5,53	2,67	1,79	2,42	2,74	4,68	,74	7,08	1,84	1,81	3,24	2,575	3,190	3,153	6,535	3,11
Total.	24,95	38,07	29,91	28,38	27,97	31,65	29,10	41,73	50,36	17,55	23,01	29,49	28,552	24,440	25,132	40,624	24,68

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain, exported from, Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended

	Exported.				
England.	Quantities.		Bounties and Drawbacks.		
	Engliſh.	Foreign.			
	Quarters.	Quarters.	£	s.	d.
Wheat -	4,859	none.			
Rye -	none.	419			
Barley -	3,614	895			
Oats -	12,544	1,318			
Beans -	2,694	28			
Peas -	2,424	84			
Malt -	5,357	375	nil.		
	cwts. qrs.	cwts. qrs.			
Wheat Flour -	79,715 1	9,507 1			
Rye Meal -	none.	13 1			
Oatmeal -	6,890 3	none.			
Gritts -	302 1	none.			
Scotland.					
Wheat -	6	none.			
Rye -	none.	289			
Barley -	216	168			
Oats -	2,222	none.			
Beans -	103	none.			
Peas -	70	30			
Malt -	none.	97	nil		
Gritts -	3	none.			
	cwts. qrs.	cwts. qrs.			
Wheat Flour -	3,146 3	72 1			
Biſcuits -	3,311 1	none.			
Barley, hulled	681 0	909 3			
Barley Meal -	none.	29 8			
Oatmeal -	685 2	none.			

The average price of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the Year 1809.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Peas.		Oatmeal.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
11	11¼	7	7	5	10¾	4	1	7	7	7.	6¼	6.	5

and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and 5th of January, 1810.

	Imported.								
England.	Quantities.	Duties.			Bounties.		
	Quarters.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Wheat -	283,948						
Rye -	10,389						
Barley -	22,500						
Oats -	673,056						
Beans -	28,425						
Peas -	32,534						
Indian Corn -	1,253						
Malt -	433	41,827	9	3	nil.		
	cwts. qrs.						
Wheat Flour -	474,034 3						
Rye Meal -	541 1						
Barley Meal -	1 1						
	bolls.						
Oatmeal -	13,745						
Scotland.							
Wheat -	19,504						
Rye	3,057						
Barley -	4,722						
Oats -	406,476						
Beans -	1,541						
Peas -	573						
Malt -	100						
Bear, or Big -	654						
Indian Corn -	8	2,358	12	3	nil.		
	cwts. qrs.						
Wheat Flour -	33,579 3						
Barley, hulled -	1,186 2						
Barley-meal -	29 3						
	bolls.						
Oatmeal -	38,862						

WILLIAM DOWDING,

Receiver of Corn Returns,

London, 21 *February*, 1810.

PRICES OF STOCKS FOR THE YEAR 1809.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	5 pr Ct. Navy.	5 pr Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omnium.	Irish 5prCt	Imp. 3prCt	Lottery Tickets.
January	235	67½	67⅛	83	98¾	—	18 9/16	185	11 pr.		67½	67⅞	13 pr.	¼ pr.	95⅞	66⅜	55*l.* 0*s.*
	243½	65½	65¼	81⅜	97½	—	18	181¼	1 pr.	71¼	65⅜	65	2 pr.	1½ dis.	95	64½	21 18
February	247½	68⅛	67⅜	84	99¼	—	18¾	184½	13 pr.	73½	68	67¼	12 pr.	1 pr.	97½	67	
	243	67¼	65⅜	82⅞	98½	—	18⅝	182½	8 pr.	71½	67	66⅝	8 pr.	par.	96½	66	21 19
March	246¼	68¼	68	84	99¼	—	18 16/32	184¾	12 pr.	73¾	68⅛	67⅜	14 pr.	—	97¾	67⅛	22 4
	245¾	67⅞	67⅛	83½	97¼	—	18 11/16	183¾	5 pr.	72¾	67⅞	67	3 pr.	—	97¼	66½	21 19
April	245½	67⅞	68⅛	83¾	98⅞	—	18 5/16	185½	16 pr.	73⅞	67⅛	68½	13 pr.	—	94½	66¾	22 4
	242½	66⅜	67⅛	81⅝	98⅛	—	18¼	184½	6 pr.	72½	66½	67½	5 pr.	—	94¼		
May	247	67¾	68⅞	83½	99⅝	—	18 7/16	187	18 pr.	74⅛	67⅝	68⅜	13 pr.	1 pr.	95⅛	66⅝	—
	245	66⅞	67⅜	81⅞	93⅜	—	18¼	185¾	12 pr.	73¼	66⅝	67⅜	7 pr.	¼ pr.	94¼	65¼	—
June	260½	68¼	69⅜	83¾	100⅝	—	18 1/16	190½	20 pr.		68⅛	68	12 pr.	¾ pr.	97⅛	66¾	
	247¾	66⅞	68⅛	82⅞	99¾	—	18½	188	15 pr.	73¼	67⅜	67½	2 pr.	1¼ pr.	95½	66¼	21 11
July	261½	68¾	69¼	84⅝	99	—	18⅞	192½	24 pr.	73½	68⅝	68	11 pr.	1½ pr.	97⅞	67⅜	
	260	68¼	67⅝	83¼	98⅜	—	18 1/16	190¼	16 pr.	73	68⅛	67½	4 pr.	1¼ pr.	26⅝	66½	21 11
August	262	69	68½	84½	99⅛	101¼	18⅞	188¼	23 pr.	74⅛	61⅞	68⅛	12 pr.	1¼ pr.		67⅝	21 11
	260¾	68¼	67⅞	84⅛	98⅞		18¾	185	19 pr.	73¼	67⅞	67¾	6 pr.	¾ pr.	98	67⅛	21 17
September	278	68⅞	68⅞	84¼	99⅜	—	18 15/16	188¼	24 pr.	—	68¾	68½	14 pr.	1 pr.	98¼	67¾	
	263	67⅜	68⅛	84⅛	98⅞	—	18⅞	187¼	19 pr.	—	68½	67¾	4 pr.	¾ pr	98⅛	67⅛	21 11
October	271	68¼	69⅛	84⅞	99¼	—	18 9/16	194½	28 pr.	73½	68⅛	60⅛	14 pr.	1½ pr.		67⅝	
	261	67¾	68¼	82¾	101	—	18⅜	187½	19 pr.	73¼	67⅝	68	4 pr.	1½ pr.	97¾	67½	21 17
November	285½	69⅜	70¼	84⅓	102⅜	99¾	18¾	197¼	34 pr.		69⅛	69⅞	16 pr.	2¾ pr.	99	68	
	272	68¼	69⅞	83¼	100⅞	100¾	18½	193¾	23 pr.	74⅝	69	69⅝	8 pr.	1½ pr.	98⅜	67½	22 15
December	278	70	71	84⅝	102	—	18 5/8	195½	27 pr.	—	69½		15 pr.	2¾ pr.	98⅝	68⅞	
	277	69¼	70	80	101	—	18½	195	19 pr.	—	68⅞	99⅝	5 pr.	2¼ pr.	97⅛	68	22 15

Lists of Public Acts, passed in the Third Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—49th of George III.

An act for continuing to his Majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England; for the service of the year 1809.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act to allow a certain proportion of the militia of Great Britain, to enlist voluntarily into the regular forces.

An act to allow a certain proportion of the militia in Ireland voluntarily to enlist into his Majesty's forces.

An act for the relief of prisoners in custody for non-payment of money, pursuant to orders of courts of equity.

An act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from corn or grain, in the united kingdom, for a limited time.

An act to suspend the importation of British or Irish made spirits into Great Britain or Ireland respectively until the 1st of June, 1809.

An act to grant bounties on the importation of flax seed into Ireland from Great Britain, until the 8th day of April 1809; and to amend the laws for the regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland so far as relates to importers of flax seed.

An act to continue so much of an act of the 47th year of his present Majesty, as allows a bounty upon double refined sugar exported, until the 25th of March 1811; and so much of the same act as allows a bounty on raw sugar exported, until the 25th of March 1810.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th of March 1810, certain bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the countervailing duties and bounties on sugar when the duties imposed by an act of the 46th year of his present Majesty will be suspended.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for the more effectually preventing the forging of bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills, and the negociation of forged and counterfeit bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills, of the governor and company of the bank of Ireland.

An act for repealing an act of the parliament of Scotland, relative to child murder; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th March 1810; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of

inden-

indentures of clerks to attornies and ſolicitors, to make and file the ſame on or before the 1ſt day of Hilary Term 1810.

An act to allow the importation of rum and other ſpirits, from the iſland of Bermuda into the province of Lower Canada, without payment of duty, on the ſame terms and conditions as ſuch importation may be made directly from his Majeſty's ſugar colonies in the Weſt Indies.

An act to authorize his Majeſty, during the preſent war, to make regulations reſpecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

An act for continuing until the 25th day of March, 1814, ſeveral acts for the free importation of cochineal and indigo: and until the 25th of March, 1819, an act of the 46th year of his preſent Majeſty, to permit the exportation of wool from the Britiſh plantations in America.

An act for the regulation of his Majeſty's royal marine forces while on ſhore.

An act to make perpetual ſeveral laws relating to the encouragement of the ſilk manufactures; to the allowing the importation of rape ſeed, and other ſeeds uſed for extracting oil, whenever the prices of middling Britiſh rape ſeed ſhall be above a certain limit; to the encouraging the growth of coffee in his Majeſty's plantations in America; and for amending and making perpetual ſeveral laws relating to the preventing the clandeſtine running of goods, and the danger of infection thereby; and to the allowing the importation of ſeal ſkins cured with foreign ſalt free of duty.

An act for granting annuities to diſcharge certain exchequer bills.

An act for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into and from the port of Falmouth, in the iſland of Jamaica.

An act for further continuing until the 25th of March, 1810, an act made in the 39th year of his preſent Majeſty, for prohibiting the exportation from and permitting the importation to Great Britain of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of proviſion without payment of duty.

An act for charging with duty ſpent waſh, re-diſtilled in Great Britain.

An act to permit, until the 25th of March, 1811, the importation of tobacco into Great Britain, from any place whatever.

An act for allowing, until the 25th of March, 1810, the importation of certain fiſh from parts of the coaſt of his Majeſty's North American colonies; and for granting a bounty thereon.

An act for eſtabliſhing courts of judicature in the iſland of Newfoundland and the iſlands adjacent; and for re-annexing part of the coaſt of Labrador and the iſlands lying on the ſaid coaſt to the government of Newfoundland.

An act to enable the clerks of the king's coroner and attorney in the Court of King's Bench to be admitted as attornies.

An act for the appropriation of 20,000*l.* out of the conſolidated fund of Ireland, toward the encouragement of the ſaving of flax ſeed for ſowing in Ireland.

An act to continue until the 25th of March, 1810, certain acts for regulating the drawbacks and bounties

bounties on the exportation of ſugar from Ireland, and for warehouſing in Ireland, rum or ſpirits of the Britiſh ſugar plantations.

An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1810, an act of the 41ſt year of his preſent Majeſty, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland, and for permitting the importation into Ireland, duty free, of corn, and other proviſions.

An act for continuing and making perpetual ſeveral duties of 1*s.* 6*d.* repealed by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, on offices and employments of profit, and on annuities, penſions, and ſtipends, and thereby granted for one year to the 25th of March, 1809.

An act to grant an exciſe duty on ſpirits made or diſtilled from ſugar in Ireland, during the prohibition of diſtillation from corn or grain there, in lieu of the exciſe duty now chargeable thereon, and to allow a drawback on the export thereof to foreign parts.

An act to permit the regiſtry at Malta of ſhips taken as prize.

An act for the more convenient payment of penſions to widows of officers of the navy.

An act to amend an act made in the 45th year of his preſent Majeſty, for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the parliament of Ireland, for erecting and eſtabliſhing public infirmaries, or hoſpitals.

An act for increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to inn-keepers, and others, on quartering ſoldiers.

An act for further continuing until the 25th of July, 1811, an act made in the 33d year of his preſent Majeſty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

An act for making compenſation to the proprietors of ſuch lands and hereditaments as have been purchaſed for better ſecuring his Majeſty's docks, ſhips, and ſtores, at Portſmouth: and for extending the lines and works at Dover; in purſuance of an act made in the 46th year of his preſent Majeſty.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for enabling his Majeſty to eſtabliſh a permanent local militia force, under certain reſtrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act to amend an act made in the 48th year of his preſent Majeſty, to provide that Britiſh ſhips captured by the enemy, becoming the property of Britiſh ſubjects, ſhall not be entitled to the privilege of Britiſh ſhips.

An act for better regulating the public records of Scotland.

An act for regulating the mode in which the average price of brown or Muſcovado ſugar, excluſive of the duty thereon, is to be aſcertained under the proviſions of an act paſſed in the 46th year of his preſent Majeſty.

An act to permit goods brought in as prize, and reſtored by the court of admiralty, or which have been ſeized as droits, and ſo reſtored, to be ſold or transferred within this kingdom, without paying the home conſumption duty.

An act for more conveniently paying of allowances on the compaſſionate liſt of the navy, and of half pay, to officers of the royal marines.

An act to authorize principal officers of the cuſtoms in the Britiſh

tiſh colonies and plantations in America and the Weſt Indies, to examine witneſſes on oath.

An act to permit certain articles, the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, to be laden and ſhipped on board ſhips arriving with Britiſh North American produce, and fiſh taken by ſettlers in the Britiſh North American colonies, at any port of Europe, in order to be exported to the principal ports in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in North America.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for enabling his Majeſty to eſtabliſh a permanent local militia force in Scotland, under certain reſtrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act to authorize his Majeſty to permit, until the 25th of March 1812, any goods and commodities to be imported into and exported from Nova Scotia and New Brunſwick, in any ſhip or veſſel whatſoever.

An act to amend ſo much of an act made in the 37th year of his preſent Majeſty, for granting to his Majeſty certain ſtamp duties, as relates to the limitation according to which the diſcount of newſpapers is regulated.

An act to continue until the 1ſt of Auguſt 1810, and amend certain acts for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments received in ſeveral public offices in Ireland; to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame, and into the mode of receiving, collecting, iſſuing, and accounting for public money in Ireland.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 6,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act for completing the militia of Great Britain.

An act for the relief of certain inſolvent debtors in Ireland.

An act for rectifying miſtakes in the names of the commiſſioners appointed by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for appointing commiſſioners for carrying into execution an act of this ſeſſion of parliament for granting to his majeſty a duty on penſions and offices in England, and an act, made in the 38th year of his preſent majeſty, for granting an aid to his majeſty by a land tax to be raiſed in Great Britain for the ſervice of the year 1798, and for appointing other commiſſioners together with thoſe named in the firſt mentioned act, to put in execution an act of this ſeſſion of parliament for continuing to his majeſty certain duties on malt, ſugar, tobacco, and ſnuff, in Great Britain, and on penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates in England, for the ſervice of the year 1809, alſo the ſaid act made in the 38th year of his preſent majeſty; and for indemnifying ſuch perſons as have acted as commiſſioners for executing the ſaid acts.

An act for completing the militia of Ireland.

An act for improving the quality of beer in Ireland, by further preventing the uſe of unmalted corn, or of any deleterious or unwholeſome ingredients therein, and for the better ſecuring the collection of the malt duties in Ireland.

An act to explain and render more effectual an act, paſſed in the parliament of Ireland in the 36th year of his preſent majeſty's reign,

for the encouragement and relief of friendly ſocieties.

An act to permit the trade between Great Britain and the United States of America to be carried on in ſhips or veſſels belonging to the inhabitants of the ſaid States.

An act for allowing the importation from any port in Europe or Africa, of goods or commodities the growth or produce of any country, until ſix months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

An act for making ſugar and coffee of Martinique and Mariegalante liable to duty on importation as ſugar and coffee not of the Britiſh plantations.

An act to amend ſeveral acts for the prevention of ſmuggling: for better ſecuring the duties on coals, culm, and cinders; and for permitting the exportation of ſalt, pepper, and wine from Guernſey or Jerſey to Sark, in ſmall packages.

An act for repealing the duties on the materials uſed in making ſpread window glaſs and crown glaſs, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof, and for the better collection of the ſaid duties.

An act to amend an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for enabling the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national Debt to grant life annuities.

An act for giving juriſdiction to juſtices of the peace to hear and determine proſecutions for penalties incurred by any offence againſt the laws relating to the revenue of Cuſtoms; and alſo requiring all goods, cuſtomable and not exciſeable, ſeized by any police or peace officer, to be brought to the Cuſtom-Houſe warehouſes in London within a certain period.

An act for the abolition of certain holidays, and for altering and extending the time for keeping open the chief office of exciſe.

An act to amend an act paſſed in the 46th year of his preſent majeſty, for the redemption and ſale of the land tax, and to make further proviſion for exonerating ſmall livings and charitable inſtitutions from the land tax.

An act to explain and amend the law of Baſtardy, ſo far as relates to indemnifying pariſhes in reſpect thereof.

An act to indemnify perſons who have inadvertently printed, publiſhed, or diſperſed papers or books, without a full deſcription of the place of abode of the printers thereof, from penalties incurred under an act of the 39th year of his majeſty's reign.

An act to amend an act paſſed in the 48th year of his preſent majeſty, to enable his majeſty's poſtmaſter-general of Ireland to purchaſe premiſes for the enlargement of the general poſt-office in the city of Dublin.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 14,600,000*l.* by way of Annuities.

An act to continue until the 25th of March, 1811, certain acts of the parliament of Ireland, for the improvement of the city of Dublin, by making wide and convenient paſſages through the ſame, and for regulating the coal trade thereof, and for other purpoſes.

An act to grant to his majeſty duties upon ſpirits made or diſtilled in Ireland, and upon Britiſh ſpirits imported into Ireland, and upon licences to ſell ſpirituous liquors in

Ireland in quantities not leſs than two gallons.

An act to continue until the 5th day of July, 1810, ſeveral acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into and exported from Ireland.

An act to provide for the better collection of the duties and taxes on carriages, ſervants, horſes, and dogs, in Ireland.

An act for veſting in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by advice of the privy council, the power of prohibiting the exportation and carrying coaſtwiſe of gunpowder, ſalt-petre, arms, ammunition, and naval ſtores.

An act to amend the ſeveral acts for ſecuring the duties on paper made in Ireland.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 1,250,000*l.*, by way of annuities and treaſury bills for the ſervice of Ireland.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 500,000*l.*, by treaſury bills for the ſervice of Ireland, for the year 1809.

An act for allowing dealers to roaſt their own coffee on certain conditions.

An act to amend ſeveral laws of exciſe relating to paper, ſilks, and ſalt, and for authorizing the ſeizure of utenſils in caſes where veſſels uſed in exciſe manufactories are ſubject to forfeiture.

An act to amend ſeveral acts paſſed in the laſt and preſent ſeſſions of parliament relating to the local militia.

An act for the amendment of the laws now in force in Ireland, relative to perſons entering into recognizances in criminal caſes, in cuſtody under any fine, or under ſuch recognizance.

An act for amending the Iriſh road acts.

An act for defraying, until the 25th day of March, 1810, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on ſerjeant-majors, ſerjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time ſuch militia ſhall not be embodied; and for making allowances, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the ſaid militia during peace.

An act to make proviſion in certain caſes, for the wives and families of ballotted men, ſubſtitutes, and volunteers ſerving in the militia of Ireland.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia and local militia in Great Britain for the year 1809.

An act for making allowances, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while diſembodied.

An act to revive and continue until the 25th day of March, 1810, and amend ſo much of an act made in the 39th and 40th years of his preſent Majeſty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and ſerjeant-majors of the militia of England, diſembodied under an act of the ſame ſeſſion of parliament.

An act for providing relief for the wives and families of the militia-men in Scotland, when called into actual ſervice.

An act to empower the judges to try civil cauſes in their own counties in England.

An act for charging the ſum of 11,000,000*l.*

11,000,000*l.* raiſed for the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1809, and the ſum of 7,932,100*l.* in Exchequer bills, funded, purſuant to an act of this ſeſſion of parliament, upon the duties granted to his Majeſty during the continuance of the preſent war, and for certain periods after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

An act to enable the commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury to iſſue exchequer bills, on the credit of ſuch aids or ſupplies as have been or ſhall be granted by parliament for the ſervice of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act for granting to his Majeſty a ſum of money, to be raiſed by lotteries.

An act for further regulating the conſtitution of the board of commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts.

An act to provide for a durable allowance of ſuperannuation to the officers of exciſe, under certain reſtrictions.

An act for empowering the board of ordnance to exchange lands at Purfleet in the county of Eſſex, for other lands in the ſaid pariſh.

An act for repealing the ſeveral duties of cuſtoms chargeable in Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act to amend the ſeveral acts for the regulating and ſecuring the collection of the duties on ſpirits diſtilled in Ireland, and for the regulating the ſale of ſuch liquors by retail.

An act to amend the ſeveral acts for ſecuring the collection of the duties on auctions in Ireland.

An act to regulate the fees payable by perſons charged with treaſon, felony, and all other offences, at aſſizes and quarter ſeſſions in Ireland; and for amending an act of the parliament of Ireland, made in the 36th year of his preſent Majeſty, relating thereto.

An act to appoint commiſſioners to enquire and examine, until the 1ſt day of Auguſt, 1811, into the nature and extent of the ſeveral bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining and cultivating them, and the beſt means of effecting the ſame.

An act to amend an act, made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for making proviſion for the building and rebuilding of churches, chapels, and glebe houſes, in Ireland.

An act to amend ſeveral acts, made in the parliament of Ireland, for granting life annuities with benefit of ſurvivorſhip.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1810, an act of this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, to ſuſpend the importation of Britiſh or Iriſh made ſpirits into Great Britain or Ireland reſpectively.

An act for allowing further time for taking goods out of warehouſe, and paying duties thereon.

An act for the more effectual recovery of penalties and forfeitures, incurred in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America.

An act to amend the ſeveral acts reſpecting the payment of wages and prize-money, and allotment of wages to perſons ſerving in his Majeſty's royal navy.

An act to repeal ſeveral acts reſpecting the woollen manufacture; and to amend other acts relating to the ſaid manufacture; and for allowing perſons employed in any branch of the woollen manufacture to ſet up trade in any place in Great Britain.

An act to rectify a miſtake in an act, made in this ſeſſion of parliament, for continuing and making perpetual ſeveral duties of one ſhilling and ſixpence on offices and employments.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1811, an act of the 45th year of his preſent Majeſty, for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public buſineſs in the military departments therein mentioned.

An act to amend an act, paſſed in the 44th year of his preſent Majeſty, to provide for the defence of the realm, with reſpect to the purchaſe of lands and hereditaments for the public ſervice.

An act for better regulating the office of agent general for volunteers and local militia.

An act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of 3,000,000*l.* for the ſervice of Great Britain.

An act for the relief of certain inſolvent debtors in England.

An act to make further proviſion for the execution of the ſeveral acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things, under the management of the commiſſioners of cuſtoms and port duties, and of the commiſſioners of inland exciſe and taxes, in Ireland.

An act for lowering the duty of exciſe on coffee, of the growth of his Majeſty's dominions in Africa.

An act for better ſecuring the independence and purity of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining of ſeats in parliament by corrupt practices.

An act to give to the perſons named by his Majeſty, purſuant to an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice in Scotland, and concerning appeals to the Houſe of Lords," further time for making their report or reports.

An act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament, the ſeveral laws for raiſing and training the militia of Ireland.

An act to alter and amend the laws relating to bankrupts.

An act for preventing frauds and depredations committed on merchants, ſhip-owners, and underwriters, by boatmen and others; and alſo for remedying certain defects relative to the adjuſtment of ſalvage in England, under an act made in the 12th year of Queen Anne.

An act to amend and explain an act, made in the forty-fifth year of his preſent Majeſty, for the encouragement of ſeamen, and for the better and more effectually manning his Majeſty's navy during the preſent war; and for the further encouragement of ſeamen, and for the better and more effectually providing for the intereſt of the Royal Hoſpital for ſeamen at Greenwich, and the Royal Hoſpital for ſoldiers at Chelſea; and to extend the proviſions of the ſaid act to caſes ariſing in conſequence of hoſtilities commenced ſince the paſſing of the ſaid act.

An act for altering, amending, and explaining certain acts relative to the removal of the poor, and for making regulations in certain caſes touching the examination of paupers as to their ſettlement; and for extending to all pariſhes certain rules and orders in work-houſes, under an act of the twenty-ſecond year of his preſent Majeſty, entituled, "An act for the better relief

relief and employment of the poor."

An act to amend an act, made in the thirty-third of his preſent Majeſty, for the encouragement and relief of friendly ſocieties.

An act for the further prevention of the ſale and brokerage of offices.

An act for further augmenting the ſalaries of certain of the judges of the courts in Weſtminſter Hall, and of the chief and ſecond juſtices of Cheſter, and juſtices of the great ſeſſions in Wales.

An act for granting to his Majeſty certain ſums of money out of the conſolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the ſervice of the year 1809; and for further appropriating the ſupplies granted in this ſeſſion of parliament.

An act to prevent the enliſting of local militia men into the regular militia of any other county or ſtewartry than the county or ſtewartry to which they belong.

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTRY, AS IT STOOD

In July, 1809.		*In Dec.* 1809.
CABINET MINISTERS.		
Earl Camden	*Preſident of the Council*.....	Earl Camden.
Lord Eldon	*Lord High Chancellor*	Lord Eldon.
Earl of Weſtmoreland	*Lord Privy Seal*	Earl of Weſtmoreland.
Duke of Portland	*Firſt Lord of the Treaſury (Prime Miniſter)*.....	Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval.
Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval	*Chanc. and Under Treaſurer of the Exchcq. and alſo Chanc. of the Duchy of Lancaſter* ..	
Lord Mulgrave ..	*Firſt Lord of the Admiralty* ..	Lord Mulgrave.
Earl of Chatham	*Maſter Gen. of the Ordnance*	Earl of Chatham.
Earl Bathurſt....	*Preſ. of the Board of Trade* ..	Earl Bathurſt.
Lord Hawkeſbury	*Secretary of State for Home Department*.....	Hon Richard Ryder
Rt. Hon. George Canning	*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*	Marquis Wellefley.
Lord Caſtlereagh	*Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies*	Earl of Liverpool.
NOT OF THE CABINET.		
In July, 1809.		*In Dec.* 1809.
Rt. Hon. R. Saunders Dundas ...	*Preſ. of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India*	Rt. Hon. R. Saunders Dundas.

Rt.

In *July*, 1809.		In *Dec.* 1809.
Rt. Hon. George Roſe	*Vice-Preſident of the Board of Trade, and Treaſurer of the Navy*	Rt. Hon. George Roſe.
Sir James Pulteney, Bt.	*Secretary at War*	Viſcount Palmerſton.
Lord Charles Somerſet	*Joint Paymaſter-General* ...	Lord Charles Somerſet.
Rt. Hon. Charles Long		Rt. Hon. Charles Long.
Earl of Chicheſter	*Joint Poſtmaſter-General* ...	Earl of Chicheſter.
Earl of Sandwich		Earl of Sandwich.
William Huſkiſſon, Eſq.....	*Secretaries of the Treaſury*	Richard Wharton, Eſq.
Hon. Henry Welleſley		Charles Arbuthnot, Eſq.
Sir William Grant	*Maſter of the Rolls*	Sir William Grant.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	*Attorney-General*	Sir Vicary Gibbs.
Sir Thomas Plomer	*Solicitor-General*	Sir Thomas Plomer.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	*Lord Lieutenant*	Duke of Richmond.
Lord Manners	*Lord High Chancellor*	Lord Manners.
Sir Arth. Welleſley	*Chief Secretary*	W. Welleſley Pole.
Rt. Hon. J. Foſter	*Chancellor of the Exchequer*	Rt. Hon. J. Foſter.

TABLE OF THE NUMBER OF BANKRUPTCIES IN ENGLAND,

From December 20, 1808, to December 20, 1809, inclusive.

January	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Auguſt	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
55	118	103	79	109	100	70	70	69	71	132	113

CURRENT PRICES IN THE LONDON MARKETS, FROM JAN. 1, TO DEC. 24, 1809.

1809		Bread per Quartern.	Flour per Sack.	Wheat, sup. per Quarter.	Beef, per Stone of 8lbs.	Mutton, per Stone of 8lbs.	Lamb, per Stone of 8lbs.	Veal, per Stone, of 8lbs.	Pork, per Stone of 8lbs.	Sugar, per Cwt.	Candles, Store * per Doz.	Hops, in Bags.	Coals †. Bigg's Main.	Coals †. Wall's End.
	1809	s. d.	s. s.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	l. s. d.	s. d.	l. s. l. s.	s. d.	s. d.
	Jan. 1	1 2¾	80 a 85	81 10 90 10	4 6 a 5 8	4 6 a 5 8	0 0 a 0 0	7 0 a 8 0	4 0 a 6 6	2 12 3	14 6	3 10 a 4 16	56 0	59 0
Jan. 1 to	8	1 2¾	80 85	81 10 90 10	4 6 5 8	4 6 5 8	0 0 0 0	7 0 8 0	4 0 6 6	2 12 3	14 6	3 10 4 16	56 0	59 0
8 to	15	1 2¾	75 80	81 10 91 1	4 2 5 0	4 2 5 2	0 0 0 0	6 0 7 0	5 0 6 4	2 12 3½	14 6	3 10 4 16	56 0	59 0
15 to	23	1 2	80 85	81 10 90 4	4 0 4 8	3 8 4 10	0 0 0 0	4 8 7 0	5 0 6 4	2 12 4½	14 6	3 10 4 16	56 0	59 0
23 to	30	1 2¼	80 85	81 10 89 10	3 8 5 4	4 0 5 6	0 0 0 0	4 6 7 6	4 8 6 6	2 11 1¼	15 6	3 15 4 0	65 0	71 0
30 to Feb.	6	1 2¾	80 85	81 6 90 6	3 8 5 0	4 0 5 6	0 0 0 0	5 0 7 6	5 0 6 6	2 10 7¼	15 6	3 8 5 0	58 9	62 0
Feb. 6 to	12	1 2¾	80 85	81 6 91 7	4 4 5 6	4 4 5 8	0 0 0 0	6 0 7 8	5 0 6 6	2 11 5¼	16 0	3 15 4 15	63 0	63 6
12 to	19	1 2¾	80 85	81 6 92 4	4 6 5 6	4 4 5 10	0 0 0 0	6 0 7 8	5 0 6 4	2 11 0¼	16 0	3 10 4 16	63 0	63 6
19 to	26	1 2¾	85 90	81 7 92 5	4 4 5 8	4 0 5 10	0 0 0 0	6 0 7 6	5 0 6 6	2 9 0¼	16 0	3 10 4 16	63 0	63 6
26 to Mar.	5	1 3¼	85 90	81 7 93 7	4 4 5 8	4 8 6 4	0 0 0 0	4 10 7 4	4 10 7 0	2 9 1½	16 0	3 10 5 0	49 9	57 6
Mar. 5 to	12	1 3¼	80 85	81 7 94 9	4 6 5 8	4 8 6 6	0 0 0 0	5 4 7 4	5 0 6 8	2 9 9¼	16 0	4 0 5 0	49 9	57 6
12 to	19	1 3	80 85	81 7 94 9	4 6 6 0	4 8 6 6	0 0 0 0	5 0 7 0	4 8 6 6	2 10 3¾	15 0	4 15 5 0	49 9	57 6
19 to	26	1 2¾	75 80	81 7 94 9	4 6 5 8	4 8 6 4	0 0 0 0	5 0 7 0	5 0 7 0	2 9 4¼	15 0	4 15 5 0	49 9	57 6
26 to Apr.	3	1 2¾	80 85	85 3 94 11	4 6 5 8	4 8 6 4	0 0 0 0	5 0 7 0	5 0 7 0	2 9 4¼	15 0	4 15 5 0	49 9	57 6
Apr. 3 to	10	1 2¾	80 85	85 3 94 11	4 8 6 0	4 8 6 6	7 0 9 0	6 0 8 0	5 4 6 4	2 7 10¾	15 0	3 10 5 0	43 9	60 6
10 to	17	1 2¾	80 85	85 3 94 1	4 8 6 4	4 10 6 6	7 0 90	6 0 7 7	5 0 6 6	2 7 0¼	15 0	3 10 4 16	42 0	67 0
17 to	24	1 2¾	80 85	85 3 92 7	4 8 6 4	5 0 6 6	7 0 8 4	6 0 7 6	5 0 6 8	2 4 3¾	15 0	3 2 4 8	40 0	66 0
24 to May	1	1 2¾	80 85	85 3 92 4	4 6 6 6	4 8 6 6	7 0 8 0	6 0 7 4	5 4 7 0	2 4 8¼	15 0	4 0 5 0	48 0	65 0
May 1 to	8	1 2¾	80 85	84 2 93 6	4 8 6 4	4 10 6 6	6 6 8 6	5 0 7 0	4 8 7 0	2 0 0	15 0	3 15 5 0	44 6	59 0
8 to	15	1 2¾	75 80	84 2 93 10	4 8 6 4	4 10 6 6	7 0 8 0	5 0 7 6	4 8 6 8	2 1 1½	15 0	3 10 4 18	45 0	55 0
15 to	21	1 2¼	75 80	84 2 94 2	4 10 6 4	4 10 6 6	7 0 8 0	5 0 7 0	4 8 6 8	2 1 5½	15 0	3 10 4 18	44 6	57 9
21 to	28	1 2	75 80	84 2 92 10	4 8 5 10	4 8 6 10	6 6 7 6	5 0 7 0	4 8 6 8	2 0 1¾	15 0	3 10 4 18	49 9	52 9

28 to June 4	1	2	70	75	84	2	92	10	4	8	5	10	4	8	6	10	6	6	7	6	5	0	7	0	4	8	6	8	2	0	1¾	15	0	3	10	4	18	42	9	52	9
June 4 to 12	1	1½	70	75	82	9	89	5	5	0	6	6	5	0	6	8	7	0	8	4	5	0	7	6	4	8	6	8	1	17	6½	15	0	4	0	5	5	39	6	55	0
12 to 19	1	1¼	70	75	82	9	88	6	4	8	6	0	4	8	5	8	5	0	7	0	4	8	6	6	4	8	6	4	1	15	8	15	0	4	0	5	12	42	0	58	3
19 to 25	1	1¼	70	75	82	3	88	8	4	8	6	0	4	8	5	8	5	0	7	0	5	0	6	6	4	8	6	0	1	16	8	15	0	4	0	5	10	41	0	57	9
25 to July 2	1	1¼	70	75	82	3	87	0	4	8	6	0	4	4	5	0	5	4	7	0	4	8	6	4	4	8	6	0	1	17	9¼	15	0	3	18	5	10	31	6	60	0
July 2 to 10	1	1¼	70	75	82	3	88	1	4	4	5	6	4	8	5	6	4	4	6	0	4	6	6	0	4	10	6	4	1	19	4	15	0	3	5	4	4	51	9	61	0
10 to 17	1	1¼	70	75	82	3	87	9	4	6	5	4	4	8	6	0	5	0	6	6	4	0	6	0	4	8	6	4	1	19	6¼	15	0	4	0	5	15	52	0	63	0
17 to 23	1	1¼	75	80	85	6	88	8	4	0	5	4	4	2	6	0	4	8	6	6	4	8	6	4	4	8	6	4	2	0	10¾	15	0	4	4	5	8	52	9	57	6
23 to 31	1	1¼	75	80	85	6	88	8	4	0	5	4	4	2	6	0	4	8	6	0	4	8	6	4	4	8	6	4	2	0	10¾	15	0	4	4	5	8	52	9	57	6
31 to Aug. 6	1	1¾	80	85	85	6	88	8	4	4	5	4	4	2	5	6	5	0	6	0	4	8	6	8	4	8	6	0	2	1	10¾	15	0	4	4	5	8	52	9	57	6
Aug. 6 to 13	1	2	80	85	85	6	91	5	4	6	5	6	4	2	5	8	5	0	6	0	4	8	7	0	4	8	6	10	2	2	7¾	15	0	4	0	6	4	48	3	61	6
13 to 20	1	2¾	80	85	85	6	93	4	4	0	5	2	4	2	5	4	5	0	6	4	5	0	6	6	5	0	6	10	2	3	3	15	0	4	0	6	4	50	6	60	6
20 to 27	1	2¾	80	85	87	9	94	3	4	0	4	4	4	0	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	0	6	4	7	0	7	4	2	3	3	15	0	4	0	6	4	50	6	60	6
27 to Sept. 3	1	2¾	80	85	87	9	95	9	4	0	5	4	4	0	5	4	4	8	6	0	4	8	6	6	4	8	7	0	2	6	0	15	0	4	0	6	4	51	0	64	0
Sept. 3 to 10	1	2¾	80	85	87	9	98	8	3	4	5	6	4	0	5	6	4	4	6	4	4	4	7	0	6	0	7	0	2	5	10	15	0	4	0	5	5	48	6	61	0
10 to 17	1	2¾	90	95	87	9	100	1	4	2	5	4	4	2	5	8	5	0	6	8	4	10	6	6	4	10	7	4	2	6	11¾	15	0	3	12	5	12	48	6	61	0
17 to 25	1	4	95	100	87	9	101	9	4	4	5	8	4	4	5	10	5	0	6	8	5	0	7	2	5	0	7	6	2	7	7	15	0	3	10	4	14	55	0	68	6
25 to Oct. 1	1	4¾	95	100	93	9	103	10	4	4	5	8	4	4	5	10	4	8	6	0	5	0	7	2	5	0	7	6	2	8	9¾	15	6	3	10	4	14	52	6	67	0
Oct. 1 to 9	1	5	90	95	93	9	108	10	4	0	5	6	4	0	5	8	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	0	5	6	6	10	2	12	0¼	15	6	5	0	7	0	53	0	67	0
9 to 16	1	5	90	95	93	9	109	6	4	2	5	6	4	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	6	0	7	6	5	6	7	4	2	12	9¾	15	6	5	0	7	0	65	0	72	0
16 to 22	1	4¼	90	95	93	9	106	7	4	0	5	2	4	0	5	4	6	0	0	0	5	0	7	6	5	6	7	4	2	11	7¾	15	6	4	0	5	10	63	0	72	6
22 to 30	1	4¼	90	95	91	10	103	10	4	0	5	0	4	0	5	4	5	0	6	0	5	0	8	0	5	8	8	0	2	12	4	15	6	4	0	5	10	53	0	72	6
30 to Nov. 5	1	4¼	90	95	91	10	102	3	4	0	5	5	4	0	5	4	6	0	6	0	6	0	8	0	5	0	8	0	2	10	9	15	0	4	16	6	0	47	0	70	0
Nov. 5 to 13	1	4¼	90	95	91	10	101	11	4	0	5	4	4	0	5	6	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	8	5	6	8	0	2	10	4¼	15	0	4	16	6	6	60	0	70	0
13 to 19	1	4¼	90	95	91	10	101	5	4	0	5	4	4	0	5	8	6	0	6	0	5	0	7	6	5	6	8	0	2	10	4¼	15	0	5	0	6	6	60	0	70	0
19 to 26	1	4¼	90	95	91	10	101	5	4	0	5	4	4	0	5	8	6	0	6	0	5	0	7	6	5	6	8	0	2	9	7½	15	0	5	0	6	6	45	0	72	3
26 to Dec. 4	1	4¼	90	95	85	11	102	3	4	0	5	2	4	4	5	4	0	0	0	0	6	0	7	6	6	0	7	2	2	10	0	15	0	4	15	6	6	65	6	73	6
Dec. 4 to 11	1	4¼	90	95	85	11	102	7	4	0	5	6	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	6	5	0	7	6	2	9	10½	15	0	4	10	5	15	43	6	71	3
11 to 18	1	4½	90	95	85	11	102	10	4	4	5	10	4	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	6	5	0	7	6	2	10	7¼	15	0	5	0	6	0	56	6	74	9
18 to 24	1	4¼	90	95	85	11	102	10	4	4	5	10	4	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	6	5	0	7	6	2	10	7¼	15	0	5	0	6	0	56	6	74	9

* Moulds are generally 1s. per dozen advance on Stores.

† Delivered at 12s. advance on the above Prices.

An Account of the Ordinary Revenue and Extraordinary Resources constituting the Public Income of Great Britain for the Year 1809.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt within the Year.	Rate per Centum for which the Gross Revenue is collected.	Charges of Management.	Drawbacks, Management, &c. being the Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.	Net Produce applicable to National Objects, including balances of 1808.	Rate per Centum for which the Net Produce of the Revenue was collected.
ORDINARY REVENUES *Permanent and Annual Taxes.*	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Customs ..... England	9,746,792 6 1¾	5 19 0	787,483 6 11	2,246,700 9 0½	7347,619 2 1½	7 7 3
——— ..... Scotland	786,197 2 6½	6 14 3	80,067 12 3¼	210,151 3 4½	720,413 7 10½	8 9 1
——— ..... Great Britain	10,532,989 8 8¼	6 0 4	867,550 19 2¼	2,456,851 12 5	8,568,032 10 0	7 9 0
Excise ..... England	17,890,283 17 9¼	3 0 5	703,253 18 10	1,977,106 10 7¾	15,928,471 0 2¼	3 6 5
——— ..... Scotland	1,495,213 2 2	7 11 8	137,818 12 7¾	409,842 5 4¾	1,256,460 3 9½	9 19 9
——— ..... Great Britain	19,385,496 19 11¼	3 7 7	341,072 11 5¾	2,386,948 16 0½	17,184,931 3 11¾	3 15 2
Stamps ..... England	5,124,398 18 3½	2 13 3	139,990 2 9½	293,121 16 7¼	4,989,213 10 5½	2 16 1
——— ..... Scotland	339,026 9 9½	4 10 10	15,477 14 2½	19,989 19 7	320,629 11 5½	4 16 6
——— ..... Great Britain	5,463,425 8 1	2 15 3	155,467 16 11¾	313,111 16 2¼	5,309.843 1 11	2 18 6
Land and Assessed Taxes ..... England	7,978,616 18 11	3 12 2	301,635 12 5½	301,635 12 5½	8,060,610 17 7½	3 14 10
——— ..... Scotland	503,957 2 8¼	2 15 10	19,596 17 11½	19,596 17 11½	681,872 8 9¾	2 17 6
——— ..... Great Britain	8,482,574 1 7¼	3 10 10	321,232 10 5	321,232 10 5	8,742,483 6 5¼	3 13 6
Post-office ..... England	1,463,904 11 10	23 6 8	373,732 11 11	395,908 17 3	1,205,613 13 0	31 0 0
——— ..... Scotland	146,680 11 2	13 7 8	25,412 18 1½	25,412 18 1½	164,455 8 11¾	15 9 0
——— ..... Great Britain	1,610,585 3 0	22 5 7	399,145 10 0½	421,321 15 4½	1,370,062 1 11¾	29 2 8
1s. in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries ..... England	24,750 13 0½	1 5 1	335 9 2	335 9 2	26,375 8 7¾	1 5 5
1s. in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries ..... Scotland	6,501 10 7	4 13 4	337 3 11	337 3 11	6,884 8 8¼	4 17 11
——— ——— Great Britain	31,252 3 7½	1 19 7	672 13 1	672 13 1	33,259 17 4	2 0 5
6d. in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries ..... England	47,472 0 1¼	1 5 4	601 15 4½	601 15 4½	46,870 6 2	1 5 8
6d. in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries ..... Scotland	4,578 0 10½	0 17 5	44 12 1½	44 12 1½	4,613 8 8¾	0 19 1
——— ——— Great Britain	52,050 0 11½	1 4 7	646 7 6	646 7 6	51,483 14 10¾	1 5 1
Hackney Coaches	28,571 5 0	10 5 2	2,964 13 5	2,964 13 5	25,925 7 10½	11 8 8
Hawkers and Pedlars	15,857 0 0	18 0 10	2,861 13 5½	2,861 13 5½	12,995 6 6½	22 0 4
Small Branches of Hereditary Revenue ..	87,148 16 11¾	..	5,140 14 1	5,140 14 1	....	5 4 4

Extraordinary Resources.																				
Cuſtoms	England	3,134,974	18	5	..	....			288,878	2	10	2,846,096	15	7	..
———	Scotland	262,226	16	11¾	..	....			35,561	12	8	226,665	4	3¾	..
———	Great Britain	3,397,201	15	4¾	..	....			324,439	15	6	3,072,761	19	10¾	..
Exciſe	England	5,462,478	0	6	..	2,435	4	0	91,262	16	4¼	5,371,243	3	2½	..
———	Scotland	315,918	12	4¼	..	14,369	1	8	73,012	4	9	266,973	7	11	..
———	Great Britain	5,778,396	12	10¼	..	16,804	5	8	164,275	1	1¼	5,638,216	11	1¾	..
Property Tax	England	11,812,438	14	3	..	241,070	3	6½	241,070	3	6½	11,571,368	10	8½	..
———	Scotland	574,473	19	2	..	11,723	19	2	11,723	19	2	562,750	0	0	..
———	Great Britain	12,386,912	13	5	..	252,794	2	8½	252,794	2	8½	12,134,118	10	8½	..
Arrears of Income duty, &c.		26,891	0	7¾	..	847	2	4¾	847	2	4¾	26,043	18	3	..
Lottery, net profit		458,333	6	8	..	19,000	0	0	22,514	10	11	432,818	15	9	..
Interest of Loans raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland		2,260,436	5	8	..	....			....			2,260,436	5	8	..
On Account of the Commiſſioners for iſſuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada		15,000	0	0	..	....			....			15,000	0	0	..
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices		104,364	7	9¼	..	....			....			104,364	7	9¼	..
Surplus Revenue of the Iſle of Man		9,717	9	9½	..	....			....			9,717	9	9½	..
Intereſt of a Loan granted to Portugal		28,585	1	6	..	....			....			28,585	1	6	..
Impreſt Money repaid by ſundry Public Accountants, &c. &c.		83,968	12	1¼	..	....			....			83,968	12	11¼	..
Other monies paid to the Public		469	0	0	..	....			....			469	0	0	..
TOTAL, independent of Loans		70,240,226	14	6¼	..	2,886,201	0	5	6,677,023	4	7¼	65,227,274	7	9½	..
Loans paid into the Exchequer, including 3,000,000*l.* for the ſervice of Ireland, and 600,000*l.* for the Prince Regent of Portugal		14,675,668	18	6	..	....			....			14,675,668	18	6	..
GRAND TOTAL		84,915,895	13	0¼	..	2,886,201	0	5	6,677,023	4	7¼	79,902,943	6	3½	..

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers, 24th March, 1810.

RICHARD WHARTON.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE YEAR 1809.

Heads of Expenditure.		Sums.		Total.
I. For Intereſt on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed; including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years		£. 19,025,041 11 1¾		
For Charges of Management thereon		....	£. 200,433 16 7¾	
For Intereſt and on Loans raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years		1,530,526 8 0		
For Charges of Management thereon		....	18,128 16 1	
For Intereſt, &c. on Imperial Loans, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years		427,051 16 1		
For Charges of Management thereon		....	4,212 9 7¾	
For Intereſt on Portuguefe Loan		13,422 16 8½		
		20,996,052 11 11¼	222,775 2 4½	
There was alſo applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt	£1,000,000 0 0			
The uſual Grant	200,000 0 0			
Expired Annuities	54,880 14 6 25,000 0 0	79,880 14 6		
Annuities for Lives, expired or unclaimed for three Years		51,277 16 10		
Part of the Annual Appropriation for the Redemption of 12,000,000*l.* part of 14,200,000*l.* Loan of 1807		626,255 10 5		
Intereſt on Capitals transferred for Life Annuities at 3*l.* per Cent.		18,151 5 8		
Returned from Account of Life Annuities, the Nominee having died prior to its having been ſet apart for payment		55 11 3		
Legacy bequeathed by the late Admiral Peter Rainier		11,488 18 3		
Ditto, by James Burgis		134 15 0		
Intereſt on Debt of Great Britain redeemed		4,443,519 11 8		
Ditto ——— Ireland ditto		174,882 6 6		
Ditto ——— Imperial ditto		28,027 3 11		
Annuity at 1*l.* per Cent. on part of Capital created ſince 5th of January, 1793		4,270,776 19 3	10,904,450 13 0	

Whereof was applied towards the reduction of the National Debt		10,904,450 13 0		
Total on Account of Intereſt			20,996,052 11 11¼	
Ditto Charges of Management			222,775 2 4½	
Ditto reduction of the National Debt			10,904,450 13 0	
				31,123,278 7 3¾
II. The Intereſt on Exchequer Bills				1,862,943 15 6¾
III. The Civil Liſt			958,000 0 0	
IV. The other Charges on the Conſolidated Fund, viz.				
Courts of Juſtice			67,424 17 11½	
Mint			14,483 7 6	
Allowances to the Royal Family, Penſions, &c.			295,968 1 8½	
Salaries and Allowances			67,425 8 3½	
Bounties			202,737 4 3	
				1,6060,38 19 8½
V. The Civil Government of Scotland				90,594 15 9
VI. The other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts, viz.				
Bounties for Fiſheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.			601,104 9 10¾	
Penſions on the Hereditary Revenue			27,700 0 0	
Militia and Deserters' Warrants, &c.			160,950 2 3½	
				789,754 12 2¼
VII. The Navy, viz.				
Wages: Wages of Officers and Seamen	£2,450,000 0 0			
Wages: Half-Pay to Sea Officers and Bounty to Chaplains	215,000 0 0			
Wages: Wages to his Majeſty's Dock and Rope Yards	1,016,500 0 0			
		3,681,500 0 0		
General Services: Building of Ships, purchaſe of Stores of every deſcription, repairing of Ships, purchaſe of Ships taken from the Enemy, Head Money, &c.	3,689,908 3 8			
General Services: Bills of Exchange, Impreſts, Salaries, Penſions, Flag-pay, Marines, &c.	2,420,000 0 0			
		6,109,908 3 8	3,791,408 3 8	
Carried forward			9,791,408 3 8	36,472,970 10 0

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE YEAR 1809—*Continued.*

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums. £. s. d.	Sums. £. s. d.	Sums. £. s. d.	Total. £. s. d.
Brought forward	....	9,791,408 3 8	36,472,970 10 0	
The Victualling Department	....	5,537,488 16 0		
The Tranſport do. for Tranſports, Priſoners of War, and ſick and wounded Seamen	3,571,139 18 10			
Miſcellaneous ſervices	336,000 0 0	3,907,139 18 10	19,236,036 18 6	
VIII. The Ordnance	....		4,374,184 8 10	
IX. The Army, viz.				
Ordinary ſervices. For Regulars, Fencibles, Militia, Invalids, and Volunteer Corps	11,156,830 2 11			
Barracks	330,605 8 6			
Staff Officers, and Officers of Garriſon	213,218 17 6			
Half Pay	187,221 10 6			
Widows Penſions, and Compaſſionate Liſt	54,777 0 0			
Chelſea Hoſpital	411,377 9 1			
Exchequer Fees	129,389 4 2			
Pay of Public Offices	107,621 7 3	12,591,040 19 11		
Extraordinary ſervices		5,872,054 0 0	18,463,094 19 11	
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries, viz.				
Ireland		2,921,527 15 6½		
Sweden		300,000 0 0		
Sicily		300,000 0 0		
Portugal		600,000 0 0		
Auſtria		850,000 0 0	4,971,527 15 6½	
XI. Miſcellaneous ſervices:				
At Home		1,172,743 18 6½		
Abroad		286,690 6 0¾	1,459,434 4 7¼	
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland			2,921,527 15 6½	84,977,248 17 4¾
Deduct alſo ſo much repaid for Intereſt, and 1*l.* per Cent. on Portugueſe Loan of 600,000*l.*			28,432 16 8½	2,949,960 12 3
			£*	82,027,288 5 1¾

* This includes the ſum of 431,264*l.* 5*s.* 8¼*d.* for Intereſt, &c. paid on Imperial Loans.

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers, 24th March, 1810.

RICHARD WHARTON.

Appropriation of the Supplies granted in the late Seſſion of Parliament, by the Act 49th Geo. III. c. 128.

	£.	s.	d.
For Naval Services —	19,578,467	0	0
For the Emperor of Auſtria —	3,000,000	0	0
For the Exigencies of Ireland —	300,000	0	0
For his Sicilian Majeſty —	400,000	0	0
For the King of Sweden —	300,000	0	0
For the Prince Regent of Portugal —	600,000	0	0
For the Land Service —	21,144,770	10	0
For Ordnance for ditto —	4,073,662	19	10
To pay off Exchequer Bills of 1808	20,500,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto —	1,500,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto —	5,000,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto —	6,000,000	0	0
Iſſued purſuant to Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons —	22,166	1	9¼
Civil Eſtabliſhment at Sierra Leone, for 1809	17,360	0	0
——— Upper Canada	8,430	0	0
——— New Brunſwick	5,500	0	0
——— Nova Scotia —	10,105	0	0
——— St. John —	3,100	0	0
——— Cape Breton	2,060	0	0
——— Newfoundland	1,985	0	0
——— Bahama Iſlands	3,700	0	0
——— Bermuda ditto	1,030	0	0
——— Dominica —	600	0	0
——— New South Wales	15,134	16	0¾
——— African forts	23,000	0	0
Military College —	16,975	17	4
——— Aſylum —	23,350	9	2
For paying off certain Annuities, under certain Acts of 37th and 42d Geo. II.	47,650	17	9
For paying off ditto —	13,215	19	6
Diſtreſt Laity and Clergy of France	160,382	2	0
Convicts —	55,295	0	0
Proſecution of Coiners —	3,000	0	0
Printing and Stationery for the two Houſes	31,700	0	0
Law Charges —	20,000	0	0
Bow-ſtreet Office —	12,000	0	0
Fees for paſſing Public Accounts —	5,000	0	0
——— Alien Office —	7,497	11	2

	£.	s.	d.
Intereſt on Exchequer Bills	1,500,000	0	0
Portſmouth Docks	13,471	15	0
Scotch Bonds	10,000	0	0
Navigation from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Sea	50,000	0	0
To Officers of the Houſe of Lords and Commons	5,523	0	0
Deficiency of Grants, for printing the Votes, &c.	1,641	19	0
Deficiency of the Grant for Printing and Stationery	8,423	13	2
For printing the Votes, &c. of the Houſe of Commons	22,400	0	0
For printing Vol. 61 of the Journals	4,000	0	0
Re-printing Journals	10,000	0	0
Stationery for the Court and Officers of the Exchequer	2,154	3	11
For the Home Patrole	6,345	16	0
Relief of the Dutch in Davies's Streights	5,165	19	0
Thames Police	1,299	4	0
Examining Eaſt India Accounts	1,333	9	0
Making an Index to the Rolls of Parliament	439	13	0
Bounty on Salt imported into Nevis	98	1	3
Serjeant at Arms	219	14	0
Arrears of Salary, for forming Indexes to the Journals of the Lords	1,623	0	0
Ditto, ſince 5th July, 1808	1,192	14	0
To J. H. Ley	76	13	6
To Officers of the Houſe of Commons	3,409	14	8
To the Secretary of the Military Enquiry	745	8	6
Articles ſent to New South Wales	1,848	9	0
Bills on Account of Convicts	2,315	0	1¾
Vaccine Eſtabliſhment	3,163	8	6
Bills drawn from New South Wales	6,172	12	2
Stores ſupplied at Sydney	114	18	1
Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
Secret Services	175,000	0	0
Poor of St. Martin's	1,328	5	4
To the Rev. T. B. Clark, for Act reſpecting the Reſidence of the Clergy	278	6	6
For the Supplies for Faro	1,550	0	0
Bills from New South Wales, for the year 1809	30,000	0	0
Britiſh Muſeum	7,639	17	2
Proteſtant and Diſſenting Miniſters, and French Refugees	9,709	6	0
Deficiency of ditto, 1808	743	12	0
Contingencies of Secretary of State's Offices	14,000	0	0
Extra Charge for Meſſengers	12,000	0	0
To Sheriffs for Felons' Convictions	6,000	0	0
Military Canal	20,800	0	0
Bounties for Fiſh brought to London	4,000	0	0

Chairman

	£.	s.	d.
Chairman of the Houſe of Lords	2,698	13	0
Serjeant at Arms	1,623	0	0
Surveyor of Scotch Roads	506	1	6
To D. T. Blake, for Trouble on Clergy Reſidence Act	278	6	6
Exchequer Tellers	7,412	12	0
Weſtminſter Improvements	36,042	8	0
Building the Mint	30,500	0	0
Corſican and Toulon Emigrants	6,000	0	0
Dutch Officers retired	16,000	0	0
French Emigrants at Jerſey	4,400	0	0
To Dr. Cartwright, for Mechanical Inventions	10,000	0	0
Building a Naval Aſylum	35,000	0	0
Printing Vols. 36, 37, of Lords' Journals	3,057	1	8
Queen Anne's Bounty	100,000	0	0
New Foreſt Commiſſioners	4,500	0	0
Scotch Military Roads	5,569	0	0
Grand Total,	£.82,976,218	12	0

An Account of the Ordinary Revenue and Extraordinary Resources

	Gross Receipt within the Year. £.	s.	d.	Rate per Centum for which the Gross Revenue was collected. £.	s.	d.
ORDINARY REVENUE.						
Customs	3,011,798	2	8	13	0	11¼
Excise	1,485,876	7	7	17	3	6 7/16
Stamps	703,593	0	10½	6	13	11¼
Post Office	180,670	16	9½	51	13	3½
Poundage Fees	25,611	4	1½		—	
Pells Fees	5,122	4	10¾	—		—
Casualties	4,043	18	6		—	
Total ordinary Revenue £	5,416,715	15	5⅝	—		—
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.						
Gain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain	2,838	4	2		—	
From the Commissioners of the Navy, on account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland, for Seamen's Wages, &c.	46,730	15	0½		—	
From the Paymaster-General, on account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland, for Half-Pay to reduced Officers, and Pensions to Officers' Widows on British Establishment	1,192	17	11¼		—	
From Great Britain, on account of the Profit of Lotteries of 1808	158,738	8	5½		—	
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on account of Advances made by the Treasury for inrolling the Militia	1,410	17	11		—	
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on account of Deficiencies in the Army of Reserve	120	0	0		—	
Other Monies paid to the Public	31,032	15	11¼	—		—
APPROPRIATED DUTIES FOR LOCAL OBJECTS.						
Linen Manufacture	1,749	8	11½		—	
Improvement of Dublin	7,274	15	0		—	
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,769	2	6		—	
Lagan Navigation	838	19	0	—		—
Inns of Court	1,107	3	4		—	
Total, independent of the Loans £	5,671,519	3	8⅜		—	
Loans paid into the Exchequer, in the Year ended the 6th of Jan. 1810	4,261 919	0	10		—	
GRAND TOTAL £	9,933,438	4	6⅝			

Treasury Chambers, February 19th, 1810.

constituting the Public Income of Ireland, for the Year 1809.

Charges of Management.			Drawbacks, Management, &c. being the total Payments out of the Revenue.			Net Produce, applicable to National Objects, including Balances of 1808.			Rate per Centum for which the Net Revenue was collected.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
392,952	18	8½	515,983	12	1¾	2,692,785	19	3¼	15	0	1⅛
255,229	4	9¾	287,426	9	6	1,994,850	16	11⅝	20	14	9⅜
46,784	14	7½	86,348	4	8½	732,120	15	1¼	7	3	6 7/16
93,343	11	2½	110,065	0	4½	97,193	12	11	106	17	9¼
						25,611	4	1¼			
						5,122	4	10¾			
						4,043	18	6			
788,310	9	4¼	999,823	6	8¾	5,551,729	11	9⅛			
						2,838	4	2			
						46,730	15	0½			
						1,192	17	11¼			
						158,738	8	5½			
						21,669	6	7			
						1,375	7	0½			
						34,032	15	11¼			
						1,813	1	10			
						7,343	2	6			
						2,142	15	2			
7	13	9	692	16	5	185	0	0¼			
						1,107	3	4			
788,318	3	1¼	1,000,516	3	1¾	5,827,898	9	9⅜			
						4,261,919	0	10			
788,318	3	1¼	1,000,516	3	1¾	10,089,817	10	7⅜			

G. CAVENDISH.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE *of* IRELAND *for the Year* 1809.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums. £. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
I. For Interest on the Funded Debt of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years: also 1*l.* per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital created by Loans since 1797	3,770,451 1 8		
For Charges of Management thereon	....	19,999 1 11¼	
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt	67,635 8 4		
	3,838,086 10 0		
Whereof was applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt	1,178,132 15 7¾		
Total, on Account of Interest	2,659,953 14 4¼		
Ditto for Charge of Management	19,999 1 11¼		
Ditto on Account of the Reduction of the National Debt	1,178,132 15 7¾	....	3,858,085 11 11½
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills	....	....	29,940 11 0½
III. Issues for purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union, &c.	....	....	583,265 18 0¾
IV. Issues from appropriated Funds for Local purposes	....	....	10,139 0 4
V. Civil List	....	147,083 9 0¼	
V. Pensions	....	87,700 15 0½	
V. Other Permanent Charges	....	198,014 3 1	432,798 7 2¼
VI. Payment in Anticipation of Exchequer Receipts: viz.			
Bounties from Excise	44,881 19 2½		
——— Customs	30,229 11 2	75,111 10 4⅓	
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.	....	93,001 18 5	168,113 8 9½
VII. Ordnance	....	....	680,200 0 7
VIII. Army, Ordinary Service, viz.			
Regulars, Militia, and Volunteer Corps	....	2,529,533 0 6½	
Commissariat Establishment	....	182,950 13 11½	
Barracks	....	420,251 1 9	
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons	....	68,125 2 0¼	
Half Pay, Supernumerary, and retired Officers	....	25,181 3 2¾	
Officers' Widows	....	4,379 6 8	
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham	....	74,590 0 8½	
Public Offices, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expences	....	9,466 14 8¼	
		3,314,477 3 6¾	
Extraordinary Service	....	176,935 2 11½	
		3,491,412 6 6¼	
IX. Miscellaneous Services	....	397,871 13 0	
Lastly, Vote of Credit	....	222,432 17 6⅓	5,392,828 13 7¼
		Total....	9,874.259 14 11¾

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle, March 1st, 1810.

G. CAVENDISH.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and of all Exports from Great Britain, for Three Years, ending the 5th of January, 1810.

	Official value of Imports.		Official value of Exports.	
	From Europe, Africa and America.	From East Indies and China.	British Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign Merchandize.
Year ending 5th January,	£.	£.	£.	£.
1808.....	25,438,149	3,401,509	25,171,422	9,395,149
1809.....	23,780,704	5,848,649	26,691,962	7,862,305
1810.....	30,406,660	*	35,107,439	15,194,324

Note. The actual value of British produce and manufacture exported from Great Britain, according to the average prices current, and to the declarations of the exporters, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1810 ..... £50,242,761

* The account of imports from the East Indies and China cannot yet be given.

Custom House, London,
24th March, 1810.

WILLIAM IRVING,

Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

PUBLIC

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from Ireland, for three Years, ending the 5th of January, 1810.

	Official Value of Imports.			Official Value of					
				Irish Produce and Manufactures exported.			Foreign and Colonial Merchandize exported.		
Year ending 5th	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Jan. 1808 -	6,637,907	16	7¼	5,307,806	16	4	150,370	3	8½
—— 1809 -	7,129,507	11	1¾	5,696,897	5	5¼	235,694	6	11¾
—— 1810 -	7,471,417	5	1	5,408,910	19	9¼	330,933	5	4

Note.—The real value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported in the year ending the 5th January, 1810, computed at the Average Prices Current, amounted to — — £. 11,464,265 8 2¼

Custom House, Dublin,
2d March, 1810.

R. MARSHALL,
Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

The King's Moſt Gracious Speech to Parliament, on the opening of the Seſſion, January 19.

The parliament aſſembled this day, purſuant to his Majeſty's proclamation; when the Lord Chancellor read the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords, and gentlemen,

We have it in command from his majeſty to ſtate to you that his majeſty has called you together, in perfect confidence that you are prepared cordially to ſupport his majeſty in the proſecution of the war, which there is no hope of terminating ſafely and honourably, except through vigorous and perſevering exertion.—We are to acquaint you, that his majeſty has directed to be laid before you, copies of the propoſals for opening a negotiation, which were tranſmitted to his majeſty from Erfurth; and of the correſpondence which thereupon took place with the governments of Ruſſia and of France; together with the declaration iſſued by his majeſty's command on the termination of that correſpondence.—His majeſty is perſuaded, that you will participate in the feelings which were expreſſed by his majeſty when it was required that his majeſty ſhould conſent to commence the negotiation by abandoning the cauſe of Spain, which he had ſo recently and ſolemnly eſpouſed.—We are commanded to inform you, that his majeſty continues to receive from the Spaniſh government the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their determined perſeverance in the cauſe of the legitimate monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain; and to aſſure you, that ſo long as the people of Spain ſhall remain true to themſelves, his majeſty will continue to them his moſt ſtrenuous aſſiſtance and ſupport.—His majeſty has renewed to the Spaniſh nation, in the moment of its difficulties and reverſes, the engagements which he voluntarily contracted at the outſet of its ſtruggle againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of France; and we are commanded to acquaint you, that theſe engagements have been reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance; which treaty, ſo ſoon as the ratifications ſhall have been exchanged, his majeſty will cauſe to be laid before you.—His majeſty commands us to ſtate to you, that while his majeſty contemplated with the livelieſt ſatisfaction the achievements of his forces in the commencement of the campaign in Portugal, and the deliverance of the kingdom of his ally from the preſence and oppreſſions of the French army, his majeſty moſt deeply

deeply regretted the termination of that campaign by an armiſtice and convention, of ſome of the articles of which his majeſty has felt himſelf obliged formally to declare his diſapprobation.—We are to expreſs to you his majeſty's reliance on your diſpoſition to enable his majeſty to continue the aid afforded by his majeſty to the king of Sweden. That monarch derives a peculiar claim to his majeſty's ſupport in the preſent exigency of his affairs, from having concurred with his majeſty in the propriety of rejecting any propoſal for negotiation, to which the government of Spain was not to be admitted as a party.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

We are commanded by his majeſty to inform you, that he has directed the eſtimates of the current year to be laid before you. His majeſty relies upon your zeal and affection to make ſuch farther proviſion of ſupply as the vigorous proſecution of the war may render neceſſary; and he truſts that you may be enabled to find the means of providing ſuch ſupply, without any great or immediate increaſe of the exiſting burthens upon his people.—His majeſty feels aſſured, that it will be highly ſatisfactory to you to learn, that notwithſtanding the meaſures reſorted to by the enemy for the purpoſe of deſtroying the commerce and reſources of his kingdom, the public revenue has continued in a courſe of progreſſive improvement.

My lords and gentlemen.

We are directed to inform you, that the meaſure adopted by parliament in the laſt ſeſſion, for eſtabliſhing a local militia, has been already attended with the happieſt ſucceſs, and promiſes to be extenſively and permanently beneficial to the country. We have received his majeſty's commands moſt eſpecially to recommend to you, that duly weighing the immense intereſts which are at ſtake, in the war now carrying on, you ſhould proceed, with as little delay as poſſible, to conſider of the moſt effectual meaſures for the augmentation of the regular army, in order that his majeſty may be the better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himſelf of the military power of his dominions in the great conteſt in which he is engaged; and to conduct that conteſt, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, to a concluſion compatible with the honour of his majeſty's crown, and with the intereſts of his allies, of Europe, and of the world.

King's Speech in the Houſe of Lords, Wedneſday, June 21ſt, by Commiſſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We are commanded by his majeſty to acquaint you, that his majeſty has great ſatisfaction in being enabled, by the ſtate of the public buſineſs, to releaſe you from your laborious attendance in Parliament.

His majeſty doubts not that on your return into your reſpective counties, you will carry with you a diſpoſition to inculcate, both by inſtruction and example, a ſpirit of attachment to thoſe eſtabliſhed laws and that happy conſtitution, which

which it has ever been his majeſty's anxious wiſh to ſupport and to maintain, and upon which, under Providence, depends the welfare and proſperity of this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

We have it in command from his majeſty to thank you for the liberal proviſion which you have made for the ſervices of the preſent year; and to expreſs the ſatisfaction which his Majeſty derives from your having been enabled to provide for thoſe ſervices without any great and immediate addition to the burthens upon his people.

His Majeſty particularly commands us to acknowledge your prompt attention to his wiſhes, reſpecting an increaſed proviſion for the poorer clergy; an object in the higheſt degree intereſting to his Majeſty's feelings, and deſerving the favourable conſideration of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The atrocious and unparalleled act of violence and treachery by which the Ruler of France attempted to ſurpriſe and to enſlave the Spaniſh Nation, while it has excited in Spain a determined and unconquerable reſiſtance againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the French Government, has, at the ſame time, awakened in other nations of Europe a determination to reſiſt, by a new effort, the continued and increaſing encroachments on their ſafety and independence.

Although the uncertainty of all human events, and the viciſſitudes attendant upon war, forbid too confident an expectation of a ſatisfactory iſſue to the preſent ſtruggle againſt the common enemy of Europe, his Majeſty commands us to congratulate you upon the ſplendid and important ſucceſs which has recently crowned the arms of the Emperor of Auſtria, under the able and diſtinguiſhed conduct of his Imperial Highneſs the Arch-duke Charles.

To the efforts of Europe for its own deliverance, his Majeſty has directed us to aſſure you, that he is determined to continue his moſt ſtrenuous aſſiſtance and ſupport, convinced that you will agree with him in conſidering that every exertion for the re-eſtabliſhment of the independence and ſecurity of other nations, is no leſs conducive to the true intereſts, than it is becoming the character and honour of Great Britain.

Treaty between Great Britain and Spain.—Treaty of Peace, Friendſhip, and Alliance between his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty Ferdinand VII. Signed at London the 14th of Jan. 1809.

In the name of the Moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity. — The events which have taken place in Spain having terminated the ſtate of hoſtility which unfortunately ſubſiſted between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, and united the arms of both againſt the common enemy, it ſeems good that the new relations which have been produced between two nations, now connected by common intereſt, ſhould be regularly eſtabliſhed and confirmed by a formal treaty of peace, friendſhip, and alliance: Wherefore his Majeſty the King of the united kingdom

kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Supreme and Central Junta of Spain and the Indies, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII. have constituted and appointed; that is to say, his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the right hon. George Canning, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the Supreme and Central Junta of Government of Spain and the Indies, acting in the name and on behalf of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Commander of Valaga and Algarga in the military order of Calatrava, rear-admiral of the navy, named by the Supreme and Central Junta of Government of Spain and the Indies, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. to his Britannic Majesty; their plenipotentiaries to conclude and sign a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance; who, having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed to and concluded the following articles:—Article 1. There shall be between his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. King of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, and between all their kingdoms, states, dominions, and subjects, a christian, stable, and inviolable peace, and a perpetual and sincere amity, and a strict alliance during the war against France; together with an entire and lasting oblivion of all acts of hostility done on either side, in the course of the late wars, in which they have been engaged against each other.—2. To obviate all complaints and disputes which might arise on the subject of prizes, captured posterior to the declaration published by his Britannic Majesty on the 4th of July of the last year, it has been mutually agreed, that the vessels and property taken posterior to the date of the said declaration, in any seas or ports of the world, without any exceptions, and without any regard either to time or place, shall be restored by both parties. And as the accidental occupation of any of the ports of the Peninsula by the common enemy, might occasion disputes respecting any vessels, which, in ignorance of such occupation, might direct their course to those ports from any other harbour, either of the Peninsula or the colonies; and as cases may occur in which Spanish inhabitants of the said ports or provinces, so occupied by the enemy, may, with their property, endeavour to escape from his grasp; the high contracting parties have agreed that Spanish vessels not aware of the enemy's occupation of any harbour which they are desirous to enter, or such as may succeed in making their escape from any harbour so occupied, shall not be captured, nor themselves nor their cargo be considered as good prize; but, on the contrary, that they shall meet with every help and assistance from the naval power of his Britannic Majesty.—3. His Britannic Majesty engages to continue to assist, to the utmost of his power, the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and promises not to acknowledge any other king of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, than his

his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge; and the Spanish government, in the name and on the behalf of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. engages never in any case, to cede to France any part of the territories or possessions f the Spanish monarchy, in any part of the world.—4. The high contracting parties agree to make common cause against France; and not to make peace with that power except by common consent.—5. The present treaty shall be ratified by both parties, and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in the space of two months (or sooner if it can be done,) in London.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, in virtue of our respective full powers, the present treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance, and have sealed it with the seals of our arms.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Article I. Separate.—The Spanish Government engages to take the most effectual measures for the preventing of the Spanish squadrons in all the ports of Spain, as well as of the French squadron, taken in the month of June, and now in the harbour of Cadiz, from falling into the power of France. For which purpose his Britannic Majesty engages to co-operate by all means in his power.—The present separate Article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance, signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Article II. Separate.—A treaty shall forthwith be negotiated, stipulating the amount and description of succours to be afforded by his Britannic Majesty, agreeable to the third article of the present treaty. The present separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance, signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, &c.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Additional Article.—The present circumstances not admitting of the regular negotiation of a treaty of commerce between the two countries, with all the care and consideration due to so important a subject, the high contracting parties mutually engage to proceed to such a negotiation as soon as it shall be practicable so to do, affording, in the mean time, mutual facilities to the commerce of the subjects of each other, by temporary regulations founded on principles of reciprocal utility.—The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity, &c. &c.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

TURKEY.

Treaty between Great Britain and the Supreme Porte.

1. From the moment of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, all acts of hoſtility ſhall ceaſe, between England and Turkey, and the priſoners on both ſides, in conſequence of this happy peace, ſhall be at liberty in thirty-one days after the ſignature of this treaty, or ſooner, if poſſible.

2. If there ſhould be any places belonging to the Supreme Porte, in poſſeſſion of Great Britain, they are to be reſtored, and given up to the Sublime Porte, with all their cannon, ammunition, and other effects, in the ſame condition in which they were found when occupied by the Engliſh; and this reſtitution muſt take place within thirty-one days after the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

3. If there ſhall be effects or property appertaining to Engliſh merchants, or ſequeſtrated under the juriſdiction of the Sublime Porte, that ſhall be all returned and reſtored to the proprietors—and in like manner, if there ſhall be effects, property, or veſſels, appertaining to the merchants and ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, under ſequeſtration at Malta, or in the other iſles and ſtates of his Britannic majeſty, they ſhall, in like manner, be entirely returned and reſtored to the proprietors.

4. The articles of the treaty ſtipulated in the Turkiſh year 1086, in the moon Djemaz ul Akber, as alſo the article relative to the commerce of the Black Sea, and the other privileges (midjiazals) equally eſtabliſhed by the acts of ſubſequent periods, ſhall be obſerved and maintained as heretofore, and as if they had not ſuffered any interruption.

5. In conſequence of the good treatment and favour granted by the Sublime Porte to the Engliſh merchants with reſpect to their merchandize and property, and every thing of which they may ſtand in need—and, in like manner, with regard to all objects tending to facilitate the commerce, England ſhall reciprocally grant entire favour, and an amicable treatment to the flags, ſubjects, and merchants of the Sublime Porte, who ſhall hereafter frequent the ſtates of his Britannic Majeſty.

6. The tariff of the cuſtoms, which was latterly fixed at Conſtantinople, at the old rate of three per cent. and eſpecially the article which reſpects internal commerce, ſhall be conſtantly obſerved as they have been regulated. To this England promiſes to conform.

7. The ambaſſador of his Majeſty the king of Great Britain ſhall fully enjoy the honours enjoyed by other nations at the Sublime Porte; and reciprocally the ambaſſadors of the Sublime Porte to the court of London, ſhall fully enjoy all the honours which ſhall be granted to the ambaſſadors of Great Britain.

8. It ſhall be permitted to name Schabinders (Conſuls) at Malta, and in the ſtates of his Britannic majeſty, wherever it may be neceſſary to inſpect the affairs and intereſts of the Turkiſh merchants; and the ſame treatment and privileges which are allowed to Engliſh conſuls reſiding in the Ottoman ſtates, ſhall be rigidly obſerved towards the Schabinders of the Sublime Porte.

9. The Engliſh conſuls and ambaſſadors

baſſadors ſhall, according to cuſtom, employ ſuch drogmans as they may have occaſion for; but as it has been before decreed, by common conſent, the Sublime Porte will not grant the berat of drogman in favour of individuals who do not exerciſe that function in the place of their deſtination. It is agreed, conformably to this principle, that henceforward the berat ſhall not be granted to any perſon of the rank of tradeſman or banker, nor to any one who ſhall keep a ſhop or manufactory in the public market, or who ſhall be concerned in affairs of this kind; and he ſhall not be appointed by the Engl[illegible] conſuls from among the ſubject[illegible] the Sublime Porte.

10. The Engliſh patent of protection ſhall not be granted to any perſon from among the dependents or merchants, ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, nor ſhall there be delivered to them any paſſport from the ambaſſadors or conſuls, without the permiſſion of the Sublime Porte.

11. As it has been at all times forbidden for ſhips of war to enter the canals of Conſtantinople, viz. in the Strait of the Dardanelles, or that of the Black Sea, and as that ancient rule of the Ottoman empire muſt be henceforward obſerved in time of peace, by all powers whatever, the Britiſh court promiſe to conform to this principle.

12. The ratification of this preſent treaty of peace, between the high contracting powers, ſhall be exchanged at Conſtantinople in the ſpace of ninety-one days from the date of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if poſſible.

Supplement to the Correſpondence relative to the Overtures from Erfurth. *—*Note from M. Champagny to Mr. Canning.* (No. XV.)

"The underſigned has laid before the emperor his maſter, the note of his excellency Mr. Canning. If it were true that the evils of war were felt only on the Continent, certainly there would be little hope of attaining peace. The two emperors had flattered themſelves that the object of their meaſure would not have been miſinterpreted in London. Could the Engliſh miniſtry have aſcribed it to weakneſs or neceſſity, when every impartial ſtateſman muſt recognize, in the ſpirit of peace and moderation by which it is dictated, the characteriſtics of power and true greatneſs? France and Ruſſia can carry on the war ſo long as the court of London ſhall not recur to juſt and equitable diſpoſitions; and they are reſolved to do ſo. How is it poſſible for the French government to entertain the propoſal which has been made to it, of admitting to the negotiation the *Spaniſh inſurgents?—What would the Engliſh government have ſaid, had it been propoſed to them to admit the Catholic inſurgents of Ireland?* France, without having any treaties with them, has been in communication with them, has made them promiſes, and has frequently ſent them ſuccours. Could ſuch a propoſal have found place in

* See A. R. 1808. p. 317.

a note

a note, the object of which ought to have been, not to irritate, but to endeavour to effect a mutual conciliation and good understanding? England will find herself under a strange mistake, if, contrary to the experience of the past, she still entertains the idea of contending successfully upon the continent against the armies of France. What hope can she now have, especially as France is irrevocably united with Russia? The undersigned is commanded to repeat the proposal, to admit to the negotiation all the allies of the king of England; whether it be the king who reigns in the Brazils; whether it be the king who reigns in Sweden; or whether it be the king who reigns in Sicily; and to take for the basis of the negotiation the *uti possidetis*. He is commanded to express the hope that, not losing sight of the inevitable results of the force of states, it will be remembered, that between great powers there is no solid peace, but that which is at the same time equal and honourable for all parties. The undersigned requests his excellency Mr. Canning to accept the assurances of his highest consideration.

(Signed) "CHAMPAGNY."

ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

At the Court of the Queen's Palace, the 24th of May, 1809.—Present—The King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas his Majesty was pleased, by his Order in Council of the 26th of April last, to declare certain ports and places of the countries which have been lately styled the kingdom of Holland, to be subject to the restrictions incident to a strict and rigorous blockade, as continued from his Majesty's former Order of the 11th Nov. 1807; and whereas advices have been received of a certain Provisional Agreement entered into by his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in America, with the Government of the United States, whereby it is understood that his Majesty's Orders in Council of the 7th Jan. and of the 11th Nov. 1807, shall be withdrawn so far as respects the United States, on the 10th of June next;

And whereas, although the said Provisional Agreement is not such as was authorised by his Majesty's instructions, or such as his Majesty can approve, it may already have happened, or may happen, that persons being citizens of the said United States may be led by a reliance on the said Provisional Agreement to engage in trade with and to the said ports and places of Holland, contrary to, and in violation of the restrictions imposed by the said Orders of the 7th of Jan. and of the 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the Order of the 26th April last; his Majesty, in order to prevent any inconveniences that may ensue from the circumstance above recited, is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the said several Orders shall be suspended, so far as is necessary for the protection of vessels of the said United States, so sailing under the faith of the said Provisional Agreement, viz. That after the 9th day of June next, no vessel of the United States, which shall have cleared out between the 19th of April last and the 20th of July ensuing,

enſuing, for any of the ports of Holland aforeſaid from any port of the United States, ſhall be moleſted or interrupted in her voyage by the Commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips or privateers.

And it is further ordered, that no veſſels of the United States, which ſhall have cleared out from any port of America previous to the 20th of July next, for any other permitted port, and ſhall, during her voyage have changed her deſtination in conſequence of information of the ſaid Proviſional Agreement, and ſhall be proceeding to any of the ports of Holland aforeſaid, ſhall be moleſted or interrupted by the Commanders of any of his Majeſty's ſhips or privateers, unleſs ſuch veſſel ſhall have been informed of this Order on her voyage, and ſhall have been warned not to proceed to any of the ports of Holland aforeſaid, and ſhall, notwithſtanding ſuch warning, be found attempting to proceed to any ſuch port.

And it is further ordered, that after the ſaid 9th day of June next, no veſſel of the ſaid United States which ſhall have cleared out, or be deſtined to any of the ports of Holland from any other port or place not ſubject to the reſtrictions of the ſaid Order of the 26th of April laſt, after notice of ſuch Proviſional Agreement as aforeſaid, ſhall be moleſted or interrupted in her voyage by the Commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips or privateers, provided ſuch veſſel ſhall have ſo cleared out previous to actual notice of this Order at ſuch place of clearance, or in default of proof of actual notice previous to the like periods of time after the date of this Order, as are fixed for conſtructive notice of his Majeſty's Order of the 11th of Nov. 1807, by the Orders of the 25th Nov. 1807, and of the 18th of May, 1808, at certain places and latitudes therein mentioned, unleſs ſuch veſſel ſhall have been informed of this Order on her voyage, and warned by any of his Majeſty's ſhips or privateers not to proceed to any port of Holland, and ſhall, notwithſtanding ſuch warning, attempt to proceed to any ſuch port.

And his Majeſty is pleaſed further to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the ſaid ſeveral Orders of the 7th of Jan. and 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the ſaid Order of the 26th of April laſt, ſhall alſo be ſuſpended, ſo far as is neceſſary for the protection of veſſels of the ſaid United States which ſhall clear out, to any ports not declared to be under the reſtriction of blockade from any port of Holland between the 9th day of June and the 1ſt day of July next: provided always, that nothing that is contained in the preſent Order ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to protect any veſſels or their cargoes, that may be liable to condemnation or detention for any other cauſe than the violation of the aforeſaid Orders of the 7th of Jan. and the 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the ſaid order of the 26th of April laſt.

Provided alſo, that nothing in this Order contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to protect any veſſel which ſhall attempt to enter any port actually blockaded by any of his Majeſty's ſhips of war.

And the right hon. the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's

Treaſury, his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and the Judges of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, are to give the neceſſary directions herein, as to them may reſpectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTEREL.

Correſpondence between Mr. Erſkine and Mr. Smith.

No. I.

MR. ERSKINE TO MR. SMITH.

Waſhington, April 17, 1809.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I have received his Majeſty's commands to repreſent to the government of the United States, that his Majeſty is animated by the moſt ſincere deſire for an adjuſtment of the differences which have unhappily ſo long prevailed between the two countries, the recapitulation of which might have a tendency to impede, if not prevent an amicable underſtanding.

It having been repreſented to his Majeſty's government, that the Congreſs of the United States in their proceedings at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, had evinced an intention of paſſing certain laws, which would place the relations of Great Britain with the United States upon an equal footing, in all reſpects with the other belligerent powers, I have accordingly received his Majeſty's commands, in the event of ſuch laws taking place, to offer, on the part of his Majeſty, an honourable reparation for the aggreſſion committed by a Britiſh naval officer, in the attack on the United States' frigate Cheſapeake.

Conſidering the act paſſed by the Congreſs of the United States on the 1ſt of March (uſually termed the Non-intercourſe Act), as having produced a ſtate of equality in the relations of the two belligerent powers, with reſpect to the United States, I have to ſubmit, conformably to inſtructions, for the conſideration of the American government, ſuch terms of ſatisfaction and reparation, as his Majeſty is induced to believe will be accepted in the ſame ſpirit of conciliation with which they are propoſed.

In addition to the prompt diſavowal made by his Majeſty, on being apprized of the unauthorized act committed by his naval officer, whoſe recal, as a mark of the King's diſpleaſure, from an highly important and honourable command, immediately enſued, his Majeſty is willing to reſtore the men forcibly taken out of the Cheſapeake, and if acceptable to the American government, to make a ſuitable proviſion for the unfortunate ſufferers on that occaſion.

I have the honour to be, with ſentiments of the higheſt reſpect and conſideration, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

D. M. ERSKINE.

The Hon. Robert Smith, Eſq.
Secretary of State, &c.

No. II.

Department of State, April 17, 1809.

Sir,

I have laid before the Preſident your note, in which you have, in

in the name and by the order of his Britannic Majeſty, declared that his Britannic Majeſty is deſirous of making an honourable reparation for the aggreſſion committed by a Britiſh naval officer in the attack on the United States' frigate, the Cheſapeake; that, in addition to his prompt diſavowal of the act, his Majeſty, as a mark of his diſpleaſure, did immediately recal the offending officer from a highly important and honourable command; and that he is willing to reſtore the men forcibly taken out of the Cheſapeake, and, if acceptable to the American Government, to make a ſuitable proviſion for the unfortunate ſufferers on that occaſion.

The Government of the United States, having at all times entertained a ſincere deſire for an adjuſtment of the differences which have ſo long and ſo unhappily ſubſiſted between the two countries, the Preſident cannot but receive with pleaſure, aſſurances that his Britannic Majeſty is animated by the ſame diſpoſition, and that he is ready, in conformity to this diſpoſition, to make atonement for the inſult and aggreſſion committed by one of his naval officers in the attack on the United States' frigate, the Cheſapeake.

As it appears at the ſame time, that in making this offer, his Britannic Majeſty derives a motive from the equality now exiſting, in the relations of the United States, with the two belligerent powers, the Preſident owes it to the occaſion, and to himſelf, to let it be underſtood, that this equality is a reſult incident to a ſtate of things, growing out of diſtinct conſiderations.

With this explanation, as requiſite as it is frank, I am authoriſed to inform you that the Preſident accepts the note delivered by you in the name and by the order of his Britannic Majeſty, and will conſider the ſame with the engagement contained therein, when fulfilled, as a ſatisfaction for the inſult and injury of which he has complained. But I have it in expreſs charge from the Preſident to ſtate, that while he forbears to inſiſt on a further puniſhment of the offending officer, he is not the leſs ſenſible of the juſtice and utility of ſuch an example, nor the leſs perſuaded that it would beſt comport with what is due from his Britannic Majeſty to his own honour.

I have the honour to be, with the higheſt reſpect and conſideration, Sir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

R. SMITH.

The Hon. David M. Erſkine, Eſq. Envoy Extraordinary, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty.

No. III.

MR. ERSKINE TO MR. SMITH.

Waſhington, April, 18, 1809.

Sir,

I have the honour of informing you that his Majeſty, having been perſuaded that the honourable reparation which he had cauſed to be tendered for the unauthoriſed attack upon the American frigate Cheſapeake would be accepted by the government of the United States in the ſame ſpirit of conci-

liation, with which it was propoſed, has inſtructed me to expreſs his ſatisfaction, ſhould ſuch a happy termination of that affair take place; not only as having removed a painful cauſe of difference, but as affording a fair proſpect of a complete and cordial underſtanding being re-eſtabliſhed between the two countries.

The favourable change in the relations of his Majeſty with the United States, which has been produced by the Act (uſually termed the Non-Intercourſe Act) paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Congreſs, was alſo anticipated by his Majeſty, and has encouraged a further hope, that a reconſideration of the exiſting differences might lead to their ſatisfactory adjuſtment.

On theſe grounds and expectations, I am inſtructed to communicate to the American government, his Majeſty's determination of ſending to the United States, an envoy extraordinary inveſted with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations betwcen the two countries.

In the mean time, with a view to contribute to the attainment of ſo deſirable an object; his Majeſty would be willing to withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, ſo far as reſpects the United States, in the perſuaſion that the Preſident would iſſue a Proclamation for the renewal of the intercourſe with Great Britain, and that whatever difference of opinion ſhould ariſe in the interpretation of the terms of ſuch an agreement, will be removed in the propoſed negociation.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

D. M. ERSKINE.

Hon. Robert Smith, &c. &c.

No. IV.

MR. SMITH TO MR. ERSKINE.

Department of State, April 18, 1809.

Sir,

The note which I had the honour of receiving from you this day, I loſt no time in laying before the Preſident, who, being ſincerely deſirous of a ſatisfactory adjuſtment of the differences unhappily exiſting between Great Britain and the United States, has authoriſed me to aſſure you, that he will meet with a diſpoſition correſpondent with that of his Britannic Majeſty, the determination of his Majeſty to ſend to the United States a Special Envoy, inveſted with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations between the two countries.

I am further authoriſed to aſſure you, that in caſe his Britannic Majeſty ſhould in the mean time withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, ſo far as reſpects the United States, the Preſident will not fail to iſſue a Proclamation by virtue of the authority, and for the purpoſes ſpecified, in the eleventh ſection of the Statute, commonly called the Non-Intercourſe Act.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) R. SMITH.

No. V.

MR. ERSKINE TO MR. SMITH.

Waſhington, April, 19, 1809.

Sir,

In conſequence of the acceptance, by the Preſident, as ſtated in your letter dated the 18th inſt. of the propoſals

propoſals made by me on the part of his Majeſty, in my letter of the ſame day, for the renewal of the intercourſe between the reſpective countries, I am authoriſed to declare that his Majeſty's Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, will have been withdrawn as reſpects the United States on the 10th day of June next.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. M. ERSKINE.

Hon. Robert Smith, &c. &c.

No. VI.

MR. SMITH TO MR. ERSKINE.

Department of State, April 19, 1809.

Sir,

Having laid before the Preſident your note of this day, containing an aſſurance that his Britannic Majeſty will, on the 10th day of June next, have withdrawn his Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, ſo far as reſpects the United States, I have the honour of informing you that the Preſident will accordingly, and in purſuance of the eleventh ſection of the Statute commonly called the Non-Intercourſe Act, iſſue a Proclamation, ſo that the trade of the United States with Great Britain may on the ſame day be renewed, in the manner provided in the ſaid ſection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. SMITH.

PROCLAMATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Whereas it is provided by the 11th Section of the Act of Congreſs, entitled "An Act to interdict the commercial intercourſe between the United States and Great Britain and France and their Dependencies, and for other purpoſes," that "in caſe either France or Great Britain ſhall ſo revoke or modify her edicts, as that they ſhall ceaſe to violate the neutral commerce of the United States," the Preſident is authoriſed to declare the ſame by Proclamation, after which the trade ſuſpended by the ſaid Act, and by an Act laying an embargo on all ſhips and veſſels in the ports and harbours of the United States, and the ſeveral Acts ſupplementary thereto, may be renewed with the nations ſo doing. And whereas the Hon. D. M. Erſkine, his Britannic Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary, has, by the order and in the name of his Sovereign, declared to this Government that the Britiſh Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, will have been withdrawn, as reſpects the United States, on the 10th June next.

Now, therefore, I, James Maddiſon, Preſident of the United States, do hereby proclaim that the Orders in Council aforeſaid, will have been withdrawn on the ſaid 10th of June next; after which day the trade of the United States with Great Britain, as ſuſpended by the Act of Congreſs above-mentioned, and an Act laying an embargo on all ſhips and veſſels in the ports and harbours of the United States, and the ſeveral Acts ſupplementary thereto, may be renewed.

Given under my hand and Seal of the United States at Waſhington, April

19, 1809, and 33d of the Independence of the United States.

JAMES MADDISON.

Imperial Decree, dated Vienna, 17th May, 1809, proclaimed in all the public ſquares and market-places of the city.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c. taking into conſideration, that when Charlemagne, emperor of the French, and our ſublime predeceſſor, endowed the biſhops of Rome with various lands, they were given as fiefs to maintain the peace of his ſubjects, and that Rome did not therefore ceaſe to form a part of his empire: conſidering further, that ſince that time the union of ſpiritual and temporal power has been, and ſtill is, the ſource of diſſention; that the popes have but too frequently availed themſelves of the one, to ſupport their pretenſions to the other; and that with ſpiritual concerns, which are in their nature immutable, have been confounded worldly affairs, which change with the circumſtances and politics of the times; conſidering finally, that it is in vain to attempt to reconcile with the temporal pretenſions of the pope, all that we have concerted for the ſecurity of our army, the repoſe and proſperity of the nations over which we reign, and the dignity and inviolability of our empire,

We have decreed, and do decree as follow:

Art. 1. The papal territory is united with the French empire. 2. The city of Rome, illuſtrious for the recollections it recalls, and for the monuments which it contains, is declared to be a free and imperial city. Its government and adminiſtration ſhall be fixed by a particular decree. 3. The monuments of Roman greatneſs ſhall be maintained and preſerved, at the expence of our treaſury. 4. The public debt is declared to be the debt of the empire. 5. The revenue of the pope ſhall be fixed at two millions of francs, free from all charges and contributions. 6. The property and palaces of his holineſs ſhall be ſubject to no impoſition, juriſdiction, or viſitation, and ſhall beſides enjoy eſpecial prerogatives. 7. An extraordinary conſulta ſhall, on the 1ſt of June, take poſſeſſion, in our name, of the papal dominions, and adopt meaſures that on the 1ſt of January, 1810, the conſtitutional government take effect.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Letter of the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs of France, M. Champagny, to General Armſtrong, Miniſter of the United States at Paris.

"*Altenburgh, Aug.* 22.

"Sir,

"His Majeſty, underſtanding that you are about to diſpatch a ſhip to the United States, commands me to make known to you the unalterable principles which have and will regulate his conduct in the great queſtion reſpecting Neutrals.

"France admits the principle, that the flag protects trade. The trading veſſel which carries the licence of its government may be conſidered as a moving colony. To inſult ſuch a veſſel by ſearch, purſuit, or any act of arbitrary power,

power, is a violation of the fundamental law of colonization, and is an attack upon the government of the ſame. The ſeas belong to every nation, without exception; they are the common property, and the domain of all mankind.

"Conſiſtently with this doctrine, merchant veſſels belonging to individuals may paſs by inheritance to perſons who never expoſed themſelves to be made priſoners of war. In all her conqueſts, France has conſidered ſacred private property depoſited in the warehouſes of the vanquiſhed State, and ſuch have had the complete diſpoſal of matters of trade; and at this moment convoys by land of merchandize, and eſpecially cottons, are paſſing through the French army and Auſtria, to proceed to the deſtination commerce directs. If France had ſeized the monopoly of the ſeas, ſhe would have accumulated in her territory all the products of the earth, and ſhe would have obtained unmeaſurable wealth.

"Undoubtedly, if England had the dominion on land which ſhe has acquired on the ocean, her acquiſitions would have been equally enormous. She would, as in the times of barbariſm, have ſold the conquered, and diſtributed them as ſlaves throughout her land. The avarice of trade would have abſorbed every thing, and the government of an enlightened nation which has brought the arts of civilization to perfection, would have given the earlieſt inſtances of the return of the ſavage ages. That government is fully impreſſed with the injuſtice of its naval code. But what has that government to do with juſtice, which only inquires for profit?

"When France ſhall have eſtabliſhed her naval power, which, with the extent of her coaſts and her population will be ſoon accompliſhed, then will the Emperor reduce theſe principles to practice, and apply his mandate to render it univerſal. The right, or rather uſurpation, of blockading rivers and coaſts by proclamation is palpably contrary to reaſon and equity. A right cannot poſſibly ſpring from the will of an intereſted party, but muſt always be founded on the natural relations of things. A place is not properly blockaded unleſs it is beſieged by land and water. It is blockaded to prevent the introduction of aſſiſtance, by which the ſurrender of the place might be protracted; and then we have only the right to prevent neutral ſhips from entering the port, when the place is thus circumſtanced, and the poſſeſſion of it is matter of doubt between the beſiegers and beſieged. On this is grounded the right to prevent neutrals from entering the place.

"The ſovereignty and independence of its flag, like the ſovereignty and independence of its territory, is the property of every neutral. A ſtate may transfer itſelf to another ſtate; it may deſtroy the archives of its independence, and paſs from Prince to Prince, but the right of ſovereignty is indiviſible and unalienable; no one can renounce it.

"England has placed France in a ſtate of blockade. The Emperor has, in his decree of Berlin, declared the Britiſh Iſlands in a ſtate of blockade. The firſt of theſe regulations

lations forbid neutral veſſels to proceed to France; the ſecond prohibited their entering Engliſh harbours.

"England has, by her Orders of Council of the 11th of November, 1807, levied an impoſt on neutral ſhips, and obliged them to enter its ports before they ſail to France. By the decree of the 17th of December of the ſame year, the Emperor has decreed, that all ſuch ſhips be denationalized which had entered Engliſh ports, or ſubmitted to be ſearched.

"In order to ward off the inconveniences with which this ſtate of things threatened her commerce, America laid an embargo in all her harbours; and although France had done nothing more than uſed the right of retaliation, its wants, and thoſe of its colonies, ſuffered much from this meaſure; yet did the Emperor magnanimouſly connive at the proceeding, in order rather to endure the privation of commerce than to acknowledge the authority of the uſurpers of the ſea.

"The embargo was raiſed, and a ſyſtem of non-intercourſe was ſubſtituted for it. The powers on the Continent in alliance with England having the ſame object in view, made a common cauſe with her, that they might derive the ſame advantages. The harbours of Holland, of the Elbe, of the Weſer, of Italy, and of Spain, were to enjoy thoſe benefits from which France was to be excluded; and the one and the other were to be opened or cloſed to commerce as circumſtances rendered expedient, ſo as France was bereft of it.

"Thus, Sir, in point of principle, France recognizes the freedom of neutral commerce, and the independence of the maritime powers, which ſhe reſpected up to the moment when the maritime tyranny of England, that reſpects nothing, and the arbitrary proceedings of its government, compelled her to adopt meaſures of retaliation, to which ſhe reſorted with regret. Let England revoke her blockade of France, and France will recal her declaration of blockade againſt England. Let England revoke her Cabinet Orders of the 11th November, 1807, and the Milan Decree will expire of itſelf. The American commerce will then recover its complete freedom, and be aſſured of finding in the harbours of France favour and protection. But it belongs to the United States to attain this happy object by their firmneſs. Can a nation, reſolved to remain free, heſitate between certain momentary intereſts, and the great cauſe of maintaining her independence, her honour, her ſovereignty, and her dignity?

(Signed) "M. CHAMPAGNY."

Report made to his Majeſty the Emperor and King, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, by his Excellency Count de Huneburgh, Miniſter of War, Sept. 15. 1809.

Sire,

If the numerous victories of your Majeſty, and the extraordinary ſucceſſes of your armies, be at the ſame time the work of your genius, the reſult of the moſt ſcientific military combinations, of your inherent intrepidity, and of the courage of ſo many brave men, theſe victories and ſucceſſes are no

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leſs owing to our admirable foreſight. It is this which has inſpired your Majeſty with the idea of aſſembling at firſt, in the interior of the empire, whatever might be the complexion of affairs, the youth of France who are ſucceſſively called to ſerve their country, and of making them conſtantly pay their contribution to the ſafety of the State, at the ſame time that they accuſtom themſelves to arms.

The temporary dereliction of this ſyſtem would be productive of ſome danger to the empire, and it would be placing rather too great a reliance upon the future, however flattering appearances might be at preſent, to ſuffer the *depôts* in the interior of France to want the regular ſupply of recruits, whenever a part of the young ſoldiers who fill them, ſhould be called into actual ſervice.

A ſhort glance at the ſtate of your Majeſty's armies will be ſufficient to ſhew, that the levy, which I feel it my duty to propoſe, is ſufficient at preſent.

Maſter of Vienna, and of more than half the Auſtrian Monarchy, your Majeſty is at the head of the moſt formidable army that France ever had beyond the Rhine; and to judge of what it is capable of effecting, it is only neceſſary to mention, that it was hardly formed when it conquered Auſtria, in the fields of Thaun, of Aberſberg, and of Eckmuhl. Whether the negociations of Altenburgh terminate in peace, or whether the war continue, your Majeſty has in your *depôts* troops enough, fit to take the field, to recruit your army in Germany.

In the month of January your Majeſty purſued the Engliſh army in Gallicia. While you were engaged in it, your Majeſty was informed that the Court of Vienna intended to break its engagements. Though ſuch an event ſeemed to call the principal part of your forces into Germany, your Majeſty nevertheleſs thought proper to leave your veteran army in Spain; not that the whole of that army was actually neceſſary to complete the ſubjugation of the Spaniſh rebels, but to deprive England of the poſſibility of prolonging that rebellion, of which ſhe is the cauſe. That power, ſeeing in the new ſyſtem eſtabliſhed in Spain, the preſage of her own ruin, did not, however, deſpair of overturning it; and her efforts upon this occaſion have greatly ſurpaſſed all that we have ſeen her make upon ſimilar occaſions.

General Moore had not been able to bring off from Gallicia the half of his troops. The immenſe loſſes which his army ſuſtained, did not diſſuade the Engliſh government from ſending a freſh army, conſiſting of 40,000 men, to Liſbon. It penetrated to the centre of Spain, and rallied round it the various corps of inſurgents.—The banks of the Alberche and the Tagus witneſſed their flight and their confuſion. Compelled to retreat to the further ſide of that river, and purſued at the point of the bayonet, they totally evacuated Spain, and the Portugueſe ſaw them return in diſorder to their territory.

At the ſame period, an army of equal force ſuddenly made its appearance at the entrance of the Scheldt, with the intention of burning the dock-yards at Antwerp; there our enemies were

covered

covered with confuſion. At their approach, Fluſhing was provided with a numerous garriſon; 12,000 picked troops marched from St. Omer, under the orders of Senator General Rampon; and eight demi-brigades of reſerve, which were at Boulogne, Louvaine, and Paris, proceeded poſt, to the points that were menaced.

Theſe troops were of themſelves ſufficient for the defence of Antwerp. That place, which is covered by a ſtrong rampart, and the advanced works which your Majeſty cauſed to be conſtructed four years ago, is ſtill further protected by extenſive inundations; and on the left bank of the Scheldt, the fort of La Tete de Flandre, which is itſelf ſurrounded by an inundation of 2,000 toiſes, ſecures the communication of Antwerp with our fortreſſes in the north.

The Engliſh expedition was formed upon the ſuppoſition, that Antwerp was only an open city, whereas that fortreſs could not be taken but after a long ſiege. Independent of the troops of the line, your Majeſty ſaw, at the firſt ſignal, 150,000 national guards ready to march, and at their head the majors of your infantry, officers of the fifth battalions, and veteran officers; you found in their ranks a number of old ſoldiers.

Numerous detachments of cavalry of the line were preceded by the *gens-d'armeries* of France. The Engliſh were not aware that this branch of force alone could, at a moment's notice, aſſemble at any given point 60 ſquadrons, compoſed of men that had ſeen ſixteen years of ſervice, all equally experienced, and equally well diſciplined and well armed as thoſe brave cuiraſſiers, who, under your Majeſty's orders, have brought to ſo high a pitch the glory of the French cavalry.

As if by enchantment, the diſpoſitions preſcribed by your Majeſty, cauſed to appear, at the ſame inſtant, on the banks of the Scheldt, and at the rendezvous of the reſerve at Liſle and Maeſtricht, four different armies, under the command of Marſhal the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and Marſhals the Dukes of Cornegliano, Valmy, and Iſtria.

The ſudden developement of ſuch a force, and the national impulſe which continued to multiply its numbers, ſtruck the enemy with conſternation. Their enterprize, calculated upon falſe data, completely failed.

Europe has witneſſed the realization of that which your Majeſty's penetration anticipated, when you pronounced that this expedition originated in ignorance and inexperience; and when, ſparing of French blood, and directing that a plan merely defenſive ſhould be followed, you wrote to me:—'We are happy to find the Engliſh crowding into the marſhes of Zealand; let them be merely kept in check, and their army will be ſpeedily deſtroyed by the bad air, and the epidemic fevers of that country."

Whilſt our troops were diſtributed in comfortable cantonments in the environs of Antwerp, or ſtationed in that fortreſs, the Engliſh army, encamped in the midſt of marſhes, and deſtitute of water fit for drinking, loſt upwards of one-third of its ſoldiers. But the facility which the Engliſh have of going by ſea from one quarter to another, may lead us to expect that

that all that will have eſcaped the diſaſters of this expedition, will be ſent to reinforce their army in Portugal.

Sire, the various fields of battle in which your armies have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, are too remote from each other, to admit of your marching without inconvenience to the ſoldier, one of your armies, from one ſcene of action to the other; and your Majeſty, ſo highly ſatisfied with the zeal of the troops you command beyond the Danube, is anxious to ſpare them from the fatigues of the war in Spain. Beſides, the French armies beyond the Pyrenees, now conſiſt of 300 battalions and 150 ſquadrons. It is therefore ſufficient, without ſending any additional corps thither, to keep up at their full eſtabliſhment thoſe already there.—Thirty thouſand men, collected at Bayonne, afford the means of accompliſhing this object, and of repulſing any force which the Engliſh may cauſe to advance.

In this ſtate of things, I conceived that it correſponded with your Majeſty's views to limit the levy, neceſſary at this moment, to the contingent indiſpenſably requiſite for replacing, in the battalions of the interior, the drafts which are daily made from them. The returns which will be laid before your Majeſty, will inform you, that of the conſcription for the years 1806, 7, 8, 9, and 10, there ſtill remain more than 80,000, who, though balloted, have not yet been called into actual ſervice. This immenſe reinforcement might march againſt your enemies, ſhould that meaſure be rendered neceſſary by any imminent danger to the ſtate. I propoſe to your Majeſty to call out only 36,000, and to declare all thoſe claſſes entirely free from any future call.

By this means, your armies, Sire, will be maintained at their preſent reſpectable eſtabliſhment, and a conſiderable number of your ſubjects will be definitely releaſed from the conſcription. Your Majeſty will alſo have at your diſpoſal, the 25,000 men, afforded by the claſs of 1811, upon whom I ſhall not propoſe to your Majeſty to make any call, unleſs events ſhould diſappoint your hopes and pacific intentions.

Your Majeſty's armies are equally formidable from their numbers as from their courage. But who could adviſe France not to proportion her efforts to thoſe of her enemies? In giving ſuch advice, the reſult of the moſt imprudent ſecurity, it would be neceſſary to forget that Auſtria, very lately, had on foot 700,000 men; and that to create this gigantic force, that power did not heſitate to expoſe her population to almoſt total deſtruction, and to attack the very baſis of her proſperity. We muſt equally forget, that England has taken part in the continental war, by landing, at the ſame moment, three different armies, on the coaſts of Naples, Holland, and Portugal.

The agitation of thoſe who are jealous of France has been redoubled, becauſe they are conſcious that the preſent criſis has for ever fixed her greatneſs. Their efforts will be impotent, becauſe France has been enabled to reach the higheſt pinnacle of ſucceſs and of glory, without making any of thoſe ruinous ſacrifices which deſtroy her enemies. In fact, notwithſtanding the

the ſucceſſive calls, up to the preſent moment, made upon the different claſſes of conſcripts, ſcarcely have one-fourth of thoſe who compoſed them taken the field.

In conſidering the ſituation of your Majeſty's armies, and the reſults of the Engliſh expeditions, can we, without a degree of ſatisfaction, behold England, in imitation of Auſtria, making efforts diſproportionate to her means, and the wants of her navy? What can ſhe expect from this conteſt upon land, and man to man, with France, that ſhall not redound to her own injury and diſgrace?

Sire, the French people will have to thank your Majeſty for the inexpreſſible advantage and glory of a peace, conquered without maritime expeditions, from an enemy who, by his ſituation, thought himſelf free from all attack. Every ſerious attempt upon the continent, on the part of the Engliſh, is a ſtep towards a general peace.

The Engliſh miniſters, who preceded the members of the preſent government, a more able ſet of men than the latter, were well convinced of this truth, and took good care not to commit themſelves in an unequal conteſt. It did not eſcape their obſervation, that, to carry on a long war, it was neceſſary that it ſhould preſs lightly upon the people who had to ſupport it.

Within the laſt twelve months, the war has coſt England more blood than ſhe had previouſly ſhed from the period when ſhe broke the peace of Amiens: committed in the battles of Spain and Portugal, whence her duty and her intereſt forbid her to recede, ſhe will ſee thoſe countries become the tomb of her braveſt warriors.—Sorrow for their loſs will at length produce in the minds of the Engliſh people a well-founded abhorrence of thoſe cruel men, whoſe ambition and frantic hatred dared to pronounce the expreſſion of eternal war. It will excite in that people the wiſh for a general peace, which every man of good ſenſe may predict to be near at hand, if the Engliſh perſiſt in a continental conteſt.

I am, with reſpect, &c.

The Miniſter at War,

COUNT DE HUNEBURGH.

Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, at the Opening of the Meeting of the Legiſlative Body, December 3, 1809.

Gentlemen Deputies of Departments to the Legiſlative Body.—Since your laſt ſeſſion I have reduced Arragon and Caſtile to ſubmiſſion, and driven from Madrid the fallacious government formed by England. I was marching upon Cadiz and Liſbon, when I was under the neceſſity of treading back my ſteps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have ſeen the riſe and termination of this fourth Punic war. Accuſtomed to the devotedneſs and courage of my armies, I muſt nevertheleſs, under theſe circumſtances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my ſoldiers of Germany have given me.

The genius of France conducted the Engliſh army—it has terminated its projects in the peſtilential marſhes of Walcheren. In that important period, I remained 400 leagues diſtant, certain of the

new

new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would display. My hopes have not been deceived.

I owe particular thanks to the citizens of the departments of the Pas de Calais and the north.—Frenchmen! every one that ſhall oppoſe you ſhall be conquered and reduced to ſubmiſſion. Your grandeur ſhall be increaſed by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and proſperity. You have the force and energy of the Hercules of the ancients.

I have united Tuſcany to the empire. The Tuſcans were worthy of it by the mildneſs of their character, by the attachment their anceſtors have always ſhewn us, and by the ſervices they have rendered to European civilization.

Hiſtory pointed out to me the conduct I ought to purſue towards Rome: the popes, become ſovereigns of part of Italy, have conſtantly ſhewn themſelves enemies of every preponderating power in the peninſula—they have employed their ſpiritual power to injure it.

It was then demonſtrated to me, that the ſpiritual influence exerciſed in my ſtates by a foreign ſovereign, was contrary to the independence of France, to the dignity and ſafety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the neceſſity of the ſpiritual influence of the deſcendants of the firſt of the paſtors, I could not conciliate theſe grand intereſts but by annulling the donative of the French emperors, my predeceſſors, and by uniting the Roman ſtates to France.

By the treaty of Vienna, all the kings and ſovereigns of my allies, who have given me ſo many proofs of the conſtancy of their friendſhip, have acquired, and ſhall acquire, a freſh increaſe of territory.

The Illyrian provinces ſtretch the frontiers of my great empire to the Save. Contiguous to the empire of Conſtantinople, I ſhall find myſelf in a ſituation to watch over the firſt intereſts of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraws herſelf from the fatal influence of England; I ſhall know how to puniſh her, if ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be governed by cunning and perfidious counſels.

I have wiſhed to give to the Swiſs nation a new proof of my eſteem, by annexing to my titles that of their mediator, and thus putting an end to all the uneaſineſs endeavoured to be ſpread among that brave people.

Holland, placed between England and France, is equally bruiſed by them. Yet ſhe is the *debouché* of the principal arteries of my empire.

Changes will become neceſſary: the ſafety of my frontiers, and the well underſtood intereſts of the two countries, imperiouſly require them.

Sweden has loſt, by her alliance with England, after a diſaſtrous war, the fineſt and moſt important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wiſe prince that governs her now had aſcended the throne ſome years ſooner! This example proves anew to kings that the alliance of England is the ſureſt preſage of ruin.

My ally and friend, the Emperor of Ruſſia, has united to his vaſt empire, Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a diſtrict of Gallicia.

I am

I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that empire. My ſentiments for its illuſtrious ſovereign are in uniſon with my policy.

When I ſhall ſhow myſelf beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid ſhame, defeat, and death.—The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil; of moderation, order, and morality, over civil war, anarchy, and the bad paſſions. My friendſhip and protection will, I hope, reſtore tranquillity and happineſs to the people of the Spains.

Gentlemen, Deputies of Departments to the Legiſlative Body—I have directed my miniſter of the interior to lay before you the hiſtory of the legiſlation, of the adminiſtration, and of the finances of the year juſt expired; you will ſee that all the ideas I had conceived for the amelioration of my people, have been followed with the greateſt activity; that in Paris, as in the moſt diſtant parts of my empire, the war has not produced any delay in the public works. The members of my council of ſtate will ſubmit to you different projects of law, and eſpecially the law upon the finances; you will ſee it in their proſperous condition. I demand, of my people no new ſacrifice, though circumſtances have obliged me to double my military means.

The following Decree will aſſiſt in explaining the Deſigns of Buonaparte, with regard to one extenſive Branch of the Hanſeatic League. Imperial Edict.

"*Hamburgh, Nov.* 17.

"It is hereby publicly notified, that all colonial produce is prohibited to be imported into, or exported from, our city of Hamburgh, from the date hereof.—Should it be attempted, in diſobedience to this decree, to convey any ſuch produce to or from our ſaid city, either by land or water, the carriages or ſhips ſo employed, and the merchandize ſo tranſmitted, ſhall be put under confiſcation.—The miniſter of finances is ordered to carry this decree into execution.

"Given at the Royal Palace of Fontainebleau, this 29th day of October, &c."

(Signed and counterſigned as uſual.)

The immediate occaſion of this decree was the ſmuggling practiſed at Hamburgh. The ingenuity of trade is infinite, and its reſources are inexhauſtible. Thoſe who are acquainted with this truth, will hear with incredulity that five or ſix hundred women were engaged by the merchants of Hamburgh daily, to convey into the city each of them fourteen pounds of coffee, and other produce, concealed beneath their garments, by which expedient an immenſe quantity found its way into the warehouſes of the dealers.

Divorce of the Empreſs Joſephine, Dec. 17, 1809.

By deſire of his Majeſty the Emperor, all the members of the ſenate aſſembled yeſterday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, in full dreſs, in the hall of their uſual ſittings. The ſitting of the ſenate yeſterday, at which the Kings of Weſtphalia

Weſtphalia and Naples, Grand Admiral the Prince Viceroy of Italy, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Prince Vice-Grand Conſtable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector, aſſiſted, and at which the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire preſided, will form, on account of the importance of the ſubjects which were diſcuſſed, an epoch in the annals of France.

On that day was preſented to the ſenators, a projet of a ſenatus conſultum, reſpecting a diſſolution of the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empreſs Joſephine. This diſſolution of marriage, required by the two high parties, and approved of by a family counſel, at which all the princes and princeſſes of the imperial family, preſent at Paris, aſſiſted, received, the ſame day, the aſſent of the ſenate, after having been the object of examination of a ſpecial commiſſion named for this purpoſe. After having read the contents of the imperial decree, which enacts the convocation of the ſenate; and of that which directs that it ſhall be preſided by the Prince Arch-Chancellor, and that the Princes of the Imperial Family, hereafter named, ſhould be preſent in the ſenate, the official journal gives an account of this memorable ſitting in the following terms—[Here follows a ſpeech from the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Preſident, and the Duke of Parma]—The Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely laid before the ſenate the projet of the ſenatus conſultum, and explained the motives of it, which are, that they mutually ſacrifice their conjugal happineſs to the welfare and intereſts of their country.—[Here follows a ſpeech from the Prince Viceroy of Italy; after which, the Count Garnier, annual preſident, propoſed to refer the projet of the ſenatus conſultum to the examination of a ſpecial commiſſion of nine members, which was named, and made its report during its ſitting.]—At half paſt four, the ſenate reſumed its ſitting, and Count Lacepede, one of the members of the ſpecial commiſſion, made the report, which terminated in propoſing the adoption of the projet of the ſenatus conſultum; and alſo the adoption of two addreſſes—one to the emperor, and the other to the empreſs.

Extract from the Regiſter of the Conſervative Senate, of Saturday, the 16th December, 1809.

The conſervative ſenate, aſſembled to the number of members preſcribed by Art. the 90th of the act of the conſtitution, and dated the 13th December, 1799, having ſeen the act drawn up the 15th of the preſent month, by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, of which the following is the ſubſtance:

"In the year 1809, and the 15th day of December, at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jaques Regis Cambaceres, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exerciſing the functions preſcribed to us by Tit. 2, of Art. 14, of the ſtatute of the imperial family, and in conſequence of orders addreſſed to us by his Majeſty, the emperor and king, in his private letter, dated that day, of the following tenor:

"My couſin:—Our deſire is, that

that you repair this day, at nine o'clock in the evening, to our grand cabinet of the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by the civil secretary of ſtate of our imperial family, to receive from us and from the empreſs, our dear conſort, a communication of great importance: for this purpoſe, we have ordered that this preſent private letter ſhould be ſent to you. We pray God to have you my couſin in his holy and bleſſed keeping.—Paris, 15th December, 1809."

On the back is written, 'To our couſin the Prince Arch-Chancellor, Duke of Parma.'

We accordingly proceeded to the hall of the throne of the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by Michel Louis Etienne Regnault, (de St. Jean d'Angely) count of the empire, miniſter of ſtate, and ſecretary of ſtate to the imperial family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the grand cabinet of the emperor, where we found his Majeſty the emperor and king with her Majeſty the empreſs, attended by their Majeſties, the kings of Holland, Weſtphalia, and Naples; his imperial highneſs the Prince Viceroy; the queens of Holland, Weſtphalia, Naples, and Spain; Madame, and her imperial highneſs the Princeſs Paulina.

His Majeſty the emperor and king condeſcended to addreſs us in theſe terms:

"'My couſin Prince Arch-Chancellor—I diſpatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpoſe of communicating to you the reſolution which I, and the empreſs, my deareſt conſort, have taken. It gives me pleaſure, that the kings, queens, and princeſſes, my brothers and ſiſters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my ſon-in-law, become my adopted ſon, as well as my mother, ſhould witneſs what I am going to communicate to you.

"'The politics of my monarchy, the intereſt and the wants of my people, which have conſtantly guided all my actions, require, that after me I ſhould leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne, on which providence has placed me; notwithſtanding, for ſeveral years paſt, I have loſt the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved conſort, the empreſs Joſephine. This it is, which induces me to ſacrifice the ſweeteſt affections of my heart to attend to nothing but the good of the ſtate, and to wiſh the diſſolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and ſentiments, the children which it may pleaſe Providence to give me. God knows how much ſuch a reſolution has coſt my heart; but there is no ſacrifice beyond my courage, when it is proved to me to be neceſſary to the welfare of France. I ſhould add, that, far from ever having had reaſon to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be ſatisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved conſort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wiſh ſhe ſhould preſerve the rank and title of empreſs; but, above all, that ſhe ſhould never doubt my ſentiments,

and that ſhe ſhould ever regard me as her beſt and deareſt friend.'

"His Majeſty the emperor and king having ended, her Majeſty the empreſs queen ſpoke as follows:

"'By the permiſſion of our dear and auguſt conſort, I ought to declare, that not preſerving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the intereſts of France, I am pleaſed to give him the greateſt proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I poſſeſs all from his bounty; it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of this throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myſelf grateful in conſenting to the diſſolution of a marriage which heretofore was an obſtacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happineſs of being one day governed by the deſcendant of a great man, evidently raiſed up by providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-eſtabliſh the altar, the throne, and ſocial order. But the diſſolution of my marriage will in no degree change the ſentiments of my heart; the emperor will ever have in me his beſt friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy, and by intereſt ſo great, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the ſacrifice which we make for the good of the country.'

"After which their Imperial Majeſties have demanded an act of their reſpective declarations, as well as of their mutual conſent contained in them, and which their Majeſties gave to the diſſolution of their marriage; as alſo of the power which their Majeſties conferred on us to follow up, as need ſhall require, the effect of their will, we, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in obedience to the orders and requiſitions of their Majeſties, have given the aforeſaid act, and have in conſequence executed the preſent *proces verbal*, to ſerve and avail according to law, to which *proces verbal* their Majeſties have affixed their ſignature, and which, after having been ſigned by the kings, queens, princes, and princeſſes, preſent, has been ſigned by us, and counterſigned by the ſecretary of ſtate of the imperial family, who wrote with his own hand.

"Done at the palace of the Thuilleries, the day, hour, and the year aforeſaid. (Signed)

NAPOLEON.
JOSEPHINE.
MADAME.
LOUIS.
JEROME NAPOLEON.
JOACHIM NAPOLEON.
EUGENE NAPOLEON.
JULIE.
HORTENSE.
CATHERINE.
PAULINA.
CAROLINE.
CAMBACERES, Prince Arch-Chancellor.
Count REGNAULT (de St. Jean d'Angely.)"

Having ſeen the projet of the ſenatus conſultum, drawn up in the form preſcribed by the 57th article of the act of the conſtitutions of Auguſt 4, 1802; after having heard the motives of the ſaid projet, the orators of the council of ſtate, and report of the ſpecial

commiſſion appointed in the ſitting of this day; the adoption having been diſcuſſed by the number of members preſcribed by the 56th article of the act of the conſtitution of Auguſt 4, 1802;

DECREES,

Art. I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empreſs Joſephine is diſſolved.

II. The Empreſs Joſephine ſhall preſerve the title and rank of Empreſs Queen crowned.

III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the ſtate.

IV. All the aſſignments which may be made by the emperor, in favour of the Empreſs Joſephine, on the funds of the civil liſt, ſhall be obligatory on his ſucceſſors.

V. The preſent ſenatus conſultum ſhall be tranſmitted by a meſſage to his Imperial and Royal Majeſty.

The two addreſſes propoſed by the commiſſion were afterwards put to the vote, and adopted.

CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

Sitting of the 16th Dec. 1809.

At eleven o'clock in the morning, the members of the ſenate aſſembled in full dreſs, in their palace, in virtue of the act of convocation:

His Serene Highneſs the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire was received with the uſual honours. His Majeſty the King of Weſtphalia, his Majeſty the King of Naples, Grand Admiral, his Imperial Highneſs the Prince Viceroy of Italy, Arch-Chancellor of State, and their Serene Highneſſes the Prince Vice-Conſtable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector, were preſent. The ſitting was opened by reading the act of deſignation.

The Prince Arch-Chancellor of State had the parole to take the oath of ſenator. His Imperial Highneſs, previous to that ceremony, expreſſed himſelf as follows:—

"Prince, Senators—From the time when the goodneſs of his Majeſty the emperor has called me to ſit among you, teſtimonies of his confidence have kept me continually from Paris, and I have, this day, for the firſt time, the pleaſure to appear in the midſt of you. I am happy in being able to ſay, that among the benefits which his Majeſty has inceſſantly ſhowered upon me, I have been particularly ſenſible to the honour which was granted me, of forming a part of the firſt public body in the empire. Accept, ſenators, this expreſſion of my feelings, and my aſſurance of the happineſs I experience in pronouncing, in the midſt of you, this oath, which is to me that of duty, of love, and of gratitude. I ſwear obedience to the conſtitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor."

The Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, preſident, replied as follows to the ſpeech of the Prince Viceroy:

"Prince—When his Majeſty the emperor and king conferred on you the high dignity, whereof you have juſt exerciſed one of the moſt eſſential prerogatives, the ſenate applauded this act of juſtice.—They congratulated themſelves on counting among their members a prince,

prince, whoſe brilliant qualities excited ſuch juſt hopes. Now that theſe hopes are realiſed by the glory of your laſt campaigns, and by the wiſdom of your adminiſtration, the ſenate experiences great ſatisfaction in ſeeing you in its boſom, to concur in the important deliberation it is about to enter upon. You ſhew yourſelf truly the adoptive ſon of the hero who governs us; in like him ſilencing private affection, before the intereſts of nations. Your firſt ſteps within theſe walls could not be more worthily ſignalized, than by this great teſtimony of patriotiſm, of devotion, and of fidelity. I rejoice in being the organ of the ſentiments of the ſenate towards your Imperial Highneſs, and in expreſſing to you their wiſhes for your proſperity."

The orators of the council of ſtate, Counts Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely), and Defermont, Miniſters of ſtate, members of the council of ſtate, being introduced, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, preſident, ſpoke as follows:

"Gentlemen—The projet, which will, in this ſitting, be ſubmitted to the deliberation of the ſenate, contains an arrangement which embraces our deareſt intereſts. It is dictated by that imperious voice, which appriſes ſovereigns and nations, that, to ſecure the ſafety of ſtates, we muſt liſten to the counſels of a wiſe foreſight, inceſſantly recal to mind the paſt, examine the preſent, and extend our views to the future. It is under ſuch high conſiderations, that in theſe ever memorable circumſtances, his Majeſty the emperor has cauſed all perſonal conſiderations to diſappear, and ſilenced all his private affections. The noble and affecting conduct of her Majeſty, the empreſs, is a glorious teſtimony of her diſintereſted affection for the emperor, and ſecures to her an eternal right to the gratitude of the nation."

Count Regnault (St. Jean d'Angely) ſubmitted a projet of a ſenatus conſultum, diſſolving the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empreſs Joſephine. The orator explained the motives of this projet as follows:

"My Lord, Senators—The ſolemn act fully ſet forth in the ſenatus conſultum now read, contains all its motives. What words could we addreſs to the ſenate of France, but would be far below the affecting ſounds received from the mouth of theſe two auguſt conſorts, of whom your deliberations will conſecrate the generous reſolutions? Their hearts have coincided in making the nobleſt ſacrifices to the greateſt of intereſts. They have coincided to make policy and ſentiment ſpeak language the moſt true, the moſt perſuaſive, the moſt adapted to move and to convince. As ſovereigns and as conſorts, the emperor and empreſs have done all, have ſaid all.—There only remains for us to love, to bleſs, and to admire them.

"'Tis henceforth for the French nation to make themſelves heard. Their memory is faithful as their heart. They will unite in their grateful thoughts the hope of the future with the remembrance of the paſt; and never will monarch have received more reſpect, admiration, gratitude, and love, than Napoleon, immolating the moſt ſacred of his affections to the wants

of his ſubjects; than Joſephine immolating her tenderneſs for the beſt of huſbands, through devotion for the beſt of kings, through attachment to the beſt of nations. Accept, gentlemen, in the name of all France, in the ſight of aſtoniſhed Europe, this ſacrifice, the greateſt ever made on earth, and, full of the profound emotion which you feel, haſten to carry to the foot of the throne, in the tribute of your ſentiments, of the ſentiments of all Frenchmen, the only price that can be worthy of the fortitude of our ſovereigns, the only conſolation that can be worthy of their hearts."

The Prince Viceroy (the ſon of Joſephine) ſpoke as follows:

"Prince, Senators—You have heard the projet of the ſenatus conſultum ſubmitted to your deliberation. I feel it my duty, under theſe circumſtances, to manifeſt the ſentiments by which my family are animated.

"My mother, my ſiſter, and myſelf, owe all to the emperor. He has truly been to us a father. He will find in us at all times devoted children and obedient ſubjects.

"It is important to the happineſs of France, that the founder of the fourth dynaſty ſhould, in his old age, be ſurrounded by direct deſcendants, who may prove a ſecurity to all, and a pledge of the glory of our country.

"When my mother was crowned, before the whole nation, by the hands of her auguſt conſort, ſhe contracted an obligation to ſacrifice all her affections to the intereſts of France. She has fulfilled, with fortitude, nobleneſs, and dignity, this firſt of duties. Her ſoul has often been moved at beholding expoſed to painful ſtruggles, the heart of a man accuſtomed to conquer fortune, and advance with a firm ſtep to the accompliſhment of his great deſigns. The tears which this reſolution has coſt the emperor, ſuffice for the honour *(a la gloire)* of my mother.

"In the ſituation ſhe will now fill, ſhe will be no ſtranger, by her wiſhes and her feelings, to the new proſperities which await us: with a ſatisfaction mingled with pride, ſhe will behold the happineſs her ſacrifices will produce to her country and to her emperor."

Decrees of the Emperor Napoleon.—In our Imperial Camp of Madrid, December 4, 1808.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c.

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. Dating from the publication of the preſent decree, the feudal rights are aboliſhed in Spain.

2. All perſonal dues, all excluſive rights of fiſhery, or other rights of the ſame nature on the coaſts, rivers, and banks of rivers, all bannalities of mills are ſuppreſſed.

Each ſhall be permitted, by conforming to the laws, to give a free impulſe to his induſtry.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

In our Imperial Camp of Madrid, December 4.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c.

Conſidering that one of the eſtabliſhments which are moſt injurious to the proſperity of Spain is that

that of the barriers exiſting between the provinces:

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. From the 1ſt of January next, the barriers exiſting from province to province ſhall be ſuppreſſed.

2. The cuſtom-houſes ſhall be removed, and eſtabliſhed on the frontiers.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Proclamation of the Government of Portugal, dated 11th December, 1808.

The defence of the country being the firſt duty which honour, reaſon, and even nature itſelf impoſe on all men, when a barbarous nation, deſpiſing the moſt ſacred rights acknowledged in the world, aims at enſlaving a country, plundering its property, deſtroying its religion, violating its temples, and committing the greateſt atrocities that the perverſity of manners or inhumanity can invent. Portugal, unfortunately, is threatened with all theſe evils, and its inhabitants have no means to avoid the horrors to which they are expoſed, but by having recourſe to arms, to repel by force the odious and wicked deſigns of their enemies.

We have therefore reſolved, that the whole Portugueſe nation ſhall be armed in the manner which to each inhabitant may be practicable, that all the males, without exception of perſon or claſs, ſhall provide themſelves with a pike, twelve or thirteen palms, ſix or ſeven feet in length, and ſuch other arms as their circumſtances may permit.

That all the cities, towns, and conſiderable villages, ſhall be fortified by blockading the entrances and principal ſtreets with two, three, or more croſs-beams, in order that all the inhabitants may be enabled to defend themſelves vigorouſly when the enemy ſhall preſent himſelf.

That all the officers in Liſbon, and adminiſtrators of diſtricts, ſhall, within the ſpace of eight days from the date of this decree, deliver in to the military governor general of their reſpective provinces, a liſt of ſuch perſons as from their activity, ability, good conduct, and the reſpect they are held in by the people, are qualified to take a command, always preferring in ſimilar circumſtances, thoſe who are already military officers, and pointing out ſuch of the ſaid officers as by their age, incumbrances, or other circumſtances, ought no longer to fill the poſts they occupy.

That all the generals charged with the military government of provinces ſhall divide their government into diſtricts, and appoint an officer of known activity and probity, whether of the troops of the line or militia, whom the chief and other officers ſhall obey in conſequence of the ſaid appointment, who ſhall viſit the different villages of their diſtrict, examine the ſtate of the ſeveral companies, and from the perſons recommended to them appoint ſuch for officers as they ſhall judge deſerving and capable, who ſhall immediately begin to exerciſe their companies, which ſhall aſſemble on all Sundays and ſaints' days in their re-

ſpective diſtricts, in order to render themſelves expert in the uſe of the arms they have, and in military evolutions; comprehending all the males from fifteen to ſixty.

Laſtly, we have reſolved, that every perſon who ſhall not take up arms, but refuſe to concur with the nation in general to the defence of our country, ſhall incur and ſuffer the puniſhment of death; and the ſame puniſhment ſhall await all thoſe who ſhall furniſh any ſuccour or aid to the enemy, by ſupplying them with proviſions, or aſſiſting them in any other mode.

In like manner, any village which ſhall not defend itſelf againſt the aſſailants of the kingdom, but permit their entrance without making every poſſible reſiſtance, ſhall be burnt and levelled with the ground.

And we hereby order all generals, military governors of provinces, the intendant-general of police, and all corregidors, auditors, and in general all officers military and civil, to aid and aſſiſt in carrying into effect the proviſions of this royal decree, which ſhall be affixed up in all the public places, all the cities, towns, and villages of this kingdom, in order that it may be known to every inhabitant.

Decree of the Supreme Junta.

His Majeſty, conſidering that the French, in the unjuſt and barbarous war which they wage againſt Spain, pay no regard to any principle of the law of nations, that they ſhameleſsly violate the moſt ſolemn treaties, as has been verified with reſpect to the capitulation of Madrid, ſince, contrary to the ſtipulations therein made, they impriſon, perſecute, and baniſh peaceable citizens and reſpectable magiſtrates, impoſing, at the ſame time, the moſt diſgraceful puniſhments on other unfortunate perſons on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions and moſt frivolous pretexts;

Seeing that they continue every where to defile the ſanctity of temples, the purity of domeſtic honour, and to trample on the rights of humanity; that acts of the moſt atrocious kind, and which make human nature ſhudder, are daily heard of, ſuch as the death of a nun, who threw herſelf into a well to avoid the brutality of a Frenchman; the cruel murder of a mother, whoſe breaſts were cut off in the act of giving ſuck to her ſon, by thoſe monſters, who afterwards ſabred her infant; and a number of other caſes equally horrible; atrocities painful to write, dreadful to read, and degrading to endure; finally, his Majeſty being convinced, that ſtill to obſerve the laws of natural equity with thoſe who reſpect no law whatever, would not be moderation and juſtice, but the moſt culpable indifference and the baſeſt meanneſs, has reſolved to repreſs and puniſh thoſe crimes. Calling, therefore, all Europe to witneſs the awful neceſſity which has compelled him to reſort to the means of retaliation, by returning on a ſanguinary banditti violence for violence, he hereby decrees:

1. That no quarter ſhall be given to any French ſoldier, officer, or general, who may be made priſoner

priſoner in any town or diſtrict, in which acts contrary to the laws of war have been committed by the enemy, but that ſuch perſons ſhall be immediately put to the ſword, as an example to their companions and a ſatisfaction to outraged humanity.

2. That the preſent decree ſhall be printed, proclaimed, and diſtributed in the Spaniſh armies in order to its due execution. You are alſo required to make arrangements for the fulfilment of the ſame.

The Marquis of ASTORGA,
Vice Preſident.
MARTIN DE GARAY.

Done in the Royal Al-cazar of Seville, February 7, 1809.

Copies of three Decrees in Favour of the Commerce of Great Britain.

1. In conſequence of the urgent inſtances of the miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty, the Supreme Central and Governing Junta of the kingdom, and in the royal name of his Majeſty Ferdinand the VIIth. commands, that in this cuſtom-houſe, and in all the privileged cuſtom-houſes of this province, Engliſh goods ſhall be admitted without any limitation or reſtriction, and that the duty ſhall be paid for the ſame at the rates only at which they were charged before the war in 1804.

By order of his Majeſty, this notification is made to your excellency, both for information and obſervance of the ſame.

May God preſerve you many years.

(Signed) SAAVEDRA.

Seville, February 28, 1809.

2. In order, that in the exiſting circumſtances, all impediments may be as much as poſſible removed, which interrupt the intercourſe with Engliſh ſhips, and induced by repeated applications of the miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty, the ſame Supreme Central and Governing Junta, &c. &c. have determined to permit all Engliſh goods diſembarked in our ports, which may not be ſold in the country, to be re-exported on the payment only of two per cent. and no further duties are, in ſuch caſe, to be required.

By order of his Majeſty, this notification is made, &c. &c. *(ut ante.)*

(Signed) SAAVEDRA.

3. The near alliance which ſubſiſts between this court and that of London, and in conſequence of the aſſiſtance the latter has given us, which deſerves to be returned by our warmeſt attachment and moſt profound reſpect, his Majeſty has condeſcended to allow to the ſhips of Great Britain to convey to the ports of Spain the articles of bacallao (dried cod fiſh) the ſame duties being payable thereon which were required before the war of 1779. Such cargoes ſo received may be ſent to our ſettlements in South America, in the national veſſels.

By order of his Majeſty this notification is made, &c. &c. *(ut ante.)*

(Signed) SAAVEDRA.

Proclamation of Marſhal Augereau, Duke of Caſtiglione, &c. to the Inhabitants of Catalonia, dated Perpignan, July 2.

Spaniards! Catalonians! I am come in the midſt of you. His Majeſty, the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, has given me the command of his armies in Catalonia.

Spaniards, I know you and love you. Seduced by perfidious inſinuations, unhappy victims and blind inſtruments of a cabinet, the enemy of France and humanity, many and many of your brethren are obſtinate in prolonging a war, the iſſue of which could never be doubtful. They deny and reject the benefits and favours which an auguſt ſovereign provides for, and is anxious to ſhower upon them: an hero whom heaven created, in its beneficence, for the felicity and glory of Spain and the world.

Spaniards, the hero of France loves and eſteems you; his virtuous heart requires and needs your felicity. God, who granted to Napoleon his invincible valour, gave him, at the ſame time, his goodneſs and tender humanity.

Napoleon ſighs over your afflictions; he has a paternal heart, and as ſuch ſuffers over the terrible blows which are inflicted upon you, and which will be inflicted ſtill more upon you, by his formidable armies, if you delay long in liſtening to the voice of truth, and continue in your fatal blindneſs.

Lay aſide uſeleſs hopes; a falſe love and a criminal honour, which, arming againſt a king who is truly paternal, the auguſt brother of the great Napoleon, irritates Heaven againſt you, which gave him to you in his mercy. Abandon vain illuſions. God protects France; a god walks with Napoleon, covers and ſhades him with his wings, and enchains victory to his triumphal car.

Brave Spaniards, ſubmit. Europe is ſubmitting and ſurrendering herſelf.

Spaniards, I know you, and you have to know me. I have long eſteemed you; and when you ſubmit you will find in me a true friend. Yourſelves and your property ſhall be ſacred for me.

Errors and faults ſhall meet with indulgence: moderation, loyalty, and fidelity, may be ſecure of our aid; but let perfidy fear and tremble. But obſtinate rebels, the evil-minded, who blow up the flames of diſſenſion, ſhall meet with no pardon. The lightning is ready to fall on their heads.

Erring citizens, return to your hearths; artiſans, reſume your labours and uſeful purſuits; good villagers, quit the ſword; take once more the plough in your hand; come and cultivate in peace and repoſe the inheritance of your fathers; haſten to fertiliſe thoſe fields which have been too long deſerted; and you, ye faithful Spaniards, come and receive the happy fruits and rewards of your fidelity. Join your voice to ours; call to thoſe unhappy wretches, your brethren, who are led aſtray; tell them that we love them, that Napoleon will forget their errors and their faults; and that your felicity will be the conſtant object of his concern as your parent; tell theſe wandering brethren, that they will ever find me ready to carry their cries to the foot of that monarch's throne, who is the friend of truth; that they may depend on the protection of our arms, which, formidable againſt rebels and the ill-diſpoſed, however

ever numerous, will ever be the defenders of the faithful citizen; and that we will avenge offences committed againſt them; but tell them, at the ſame time, and above all things, that mercy has its limits, and that, at length, the day of vengeance will come. A powerful army is diſperſed throughout your territory; a formidable army is coming, and woe to him that ſhall dare to reſiſt me; for I ſhall then hearken only to a juſt indignation, a moſt juſt rage, and none of you will eſcape a terrible vengeance.

Saragoſſa is yet ſmoaking; and you, ye towns of Catalonia, who pleaſe, or dare, to follow its example, behold its aſhes, its ruins—tremble.

AUGEREAU.

Royal Decree, dated Seville, Sept. 1.

His Majeſty would neither fulfil his own wiſhes, nor the hopes of his people, if, at the ſame time, when he labours to free the country from the oppreſſion of its tyrant, he did not make every exertion to correct the vices which exiſt in the interior adminiſtration, and to raiſe this magnanimous and generous nation to the high degree of ſplendour and power to which it is entitled by the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, the benignity of its climate, the extenſion of its coaſts, and the poſſeſſion of its rich colonies. Among the obſtacles which have conſtantly oppoſed the progreſs of agricultural induſtry and commerce, the firſt place is held by the contributions called Alcabalas, Cientas, and Millones, impoſts, which obſtructing the interior circulation, and preſſing unequally on the productions of the land, on manufactures, and, in general, on all objects of commerce, not only have baniſhed from our unfortunate country that liberty, without which there can be neither arts, cultivation, nor commerce, not only have rendered odious the fiſcal adminiſtration, and even induſtry itſelf, but, which is more, inflicting on it incurable wounds, have ever been only a feeble reſource for ſupplying the neceſſities of the ſtate. Obſervation and experience have ſhewn their prejudicial effects; the people have cried out for a remedy; the decline of our manufactures, and the mercantile ſyſtem unanimouſly embraced by all the nations of Europe. But though the government knew theſe defects and reformed them partially, theſe reforms were a new vice, which only ſtill more embroiled the ſyſtem. At length the time is arrived when good principles ſhall triumph over ignorance, and the nation which has appeared great and majeſtic in the eyes of all Europe by its valour and its virtue, ſhall be ſo alſo by the liberality of its principles, and the goodneſs of its interior adminiſtration. The Supreme Junta of government of the kingdom is well convinced, that the riches of individuals are the riches of the ſtate, and that no nation can be rich without encouraging its agriculture, commerce, and induſtry, and that induſtry in general does not increaſe but remove the obſtacles which may obſtruct both the fiſcal and civil laws. From theſe conſiderations the Supreme Junta cannot omit occupying itſelf with this work, beginning with the moſt

moſt urgent reform, which is, that of the contribution, and providing in the place of thoſe aboliſhed, others upon ſuch things as can more properly be required to contribute, diſtributing them equally among the contributors, exacting them in the time and manner leaſt offenſive, and collecting them with the leaſt expence poſſible. Thus the contributions, which are always an evil, ſhall fall only on thoſe who can contribute, ſhall be applied to their true objects, and not to the maintenance of an innumerable multitude of tax-gatherers, who are unproductive conſumers, and ſo many hands loſt to induſtry. In conſequence therefore of theſe principles, the King our Lord Don Ferdinand VII. and in his royal name, the Supreme Junta of the government of the kingdom, decrees as follows:

Art. 1. The contributions known by the name of Alcabalas, Cenſo, and Millones, ſhall be aboliſhed, as ſoon as thoſe which are appointed to ſupply their place ſhall be appropriated and eſtabliſhed.

2. The department of finance is charged to propoſe to his Majeſty the contributions which ſhall ſupply the place of thoſe aboliſhed.

3. The preſent decree ſhall be printed, publiſhed, and circulated in the uſual form, from the royal palace of Seville, Auguſt 7, 1809.

Marquis of ASTORGA,
Preſident.
DON MARTIN DE GARAY.

Manifeſto, fixing the Days when the General Cortes of the Spaniſh Monarchy are to be convoked and held; dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, October 28, 1809.

Spaniards! By a combination of events as ſingular as fortunate, it has ſeemed good to Providence, that in this terrible criſis you ſhall not advance a ſtep towards independence without likewiſe advancing one towards liberty. A fooliſh and feeble tyranny, in order to rivet your fetters and aggravate your chains, prepared the way for French deſpotiſm, which, with the terrible apparatus of its arms and victories, endeavoured to ſubject you to a yoke of iron. It at firſt exhibited itſelf, like every new tyranny, under a flattering form, and its political impoſtors preſumed they ſhould gain your favour by promiſing you reforms in the adminiſtration, and announcing, in a conſtitution framed at their pleaſure, the empire of the laws.

A barbarous and abſurd contradiction, worthy certainly of their inſolence. Would they have us believe that the moral edifice of the fortune of a nation can be ſecurely founded on uſurpation, iniquity, and treachery? But the Spaniſh people, who were the firſt of modern nations to recognize the true principles of the ſocial equilibrium, that people who enjoyed before any other the prerogatives and advantages of civil liberty, and knew to oppoſe to arbitrary power the eternal barrier directed by juſtice, will borrow from no other nation maxims of prudence and political precaution; and tell thoſe impudent legiſlators, that they will not acknowledge as laws the artifices of intriguers, nor the mandates of tyrants. Animated by the generous inſtinct, and inflamed with the indignation excited by the perfidy with which you

you are invaded, you ran to arms, without fearing the terrible viciſſitudes of ſo unequal a combat, and fortune, ſubdued by your enthuſiaſm, rendered you homage, and beſtowed on you victory in reward for your valour. The immediate effect of theſe firſt advantages was the re-compoſition of the ſtate, at that time divided into as many factions as provinces. Our enemies thought that they had ſown among us the deadly germ of anarchy, and did not advert that Spaniſh judgment and circumſpection were always ſuperior to French machiaveliſm. Without diſpute, without violence, a ſupreme authority was eſtabliſhed; and the people, after having aſtoniſhed the world with the ſpectacle of their ſublime exaltation and their victories, filled it with admiration and reſpect by their moderation and diſcretion.

The central Junta was inſtalled, and its firſt care was to announce to you, that if the expulſion of the enemy was the firſt object of its attention, the inferior and permanent felicity of the ſtate was the principal in importance: to leave it plunged into the flood of abuſes, prepared for its own ruin by arbitrary power, would have been in the eyes of our preſent government, a crime as enormous as to deliver you into the hands of Buonaparte; therefore, when the turbulence of war permitted, it cauſed to reſound in your ears the name of your Cortes, which to us have ever been the bulwark of civil liberty, and the throne of national Majeſty, a name heretofore pronounced with myſtery by the learned, with diſtruſt by politicians, and with horror by tyrants, but which henceforth ſignify in Spain the indeſtructible baſe of the monarchy, the moſt ſecure ſupports of the rights of Ferdinand VII. and of his family, a right for the people, and for the government an obligation.

That moral reſiſtance, as general as ſublime, which has reduced our enemies to confuſion and deſpair in the midſt of their victories, muſt not receive leſs reward. Thoſe battles which are loſt, thoſe armies which are deſtroyed, not without producing new battles, creating new armies, and again diſplaying the ſtandard of loyalty on the aſhes and ruins which the enemies abandon; thoſe ſoldiers who, diſperſed in one action, return to offer themſelves for another; that populace which deſpoiled of almoſt all they poſſeſſed returned to their homes to ſhare the wretched remains of their property with the defenders of their country; that concert of lamentable and deſpairing groans and patriotic ſongs; that ſtruggle, in fine, of ferocity and barbarity on the one hand, and of reſiſtance and invincible conſtancy on the other, preſent a whole as terrible as magnificent, which Europe contemplates with aſtoniſhment, and which hiſtory will one day record in letters of gold for the admiration and example of poſterity. A people ſo magnanimous and generous ought only to be governed by laws which are truly ſuch, and which ſhall bear the great character of public conſent and common utility, a character which they can only receive by emanating from the auguſt aſſembly which has been announced to you. The Junta had propoſed that it

ſhould

ſhould be held during the whole of the enſuing year, or ſooner, if circumſtances ſhould permit. But in the time which has intervened ſince the reſolution, a variety of public events have agitated the minds of the people, and the difference of opinion, relative to the organization of the government, and the re-eſtabliſhment of our fundamental laws, has recalled the attention of the Junta to theſe important objects with which it has latterly been profoundly occupied. It has been recommended, on the one hand, that the preſent government ſhould be converted into a regency of three or five perſons: and this opinion has been repreſented as ſupported by one of our ancient laws, applicable to our preſent ſituation. But the ſituation in which the kingdom was, when the French threw off the maſk of friendſhip, to execute their treacherous uſurpation, is ſingular in our hiſtory, and cannot have been foreſeen in our inſtitutions. Neither the infancy, nor the inſanity, nor even the captivity of the prince, in the uſual way in which theſe evils occur, can be compared with our preſent caſe, and the deplorable ſituation to which it has reduced us. A political poſition entirely new requires political forms and principles likewiſe entirely new. To expel the French, to reſtore to his liberty and his throne our adored king, and to eſtabliſh ſolid and permanent baſes of good government, are the maxims which gave the impulſe to our revolution, are thoſe which ſupport and direct it; and that government will be the beſt which ſhall moſt promote and fulfil theſe three wiſhes of the Spaniſh nation. Does the regency of which that law ſpeaks promiſe us this ſecurity? What inconveniences, what dangers, how many diviſions, how many parties, how many ambitious pretenſions, within and without the kingdom; how much, and how juſt, diſcontent in our Americas, now called to have a ſhare in the preſent government? What would become of our Cortes, our liberty, the cheering proſpects of future welfare and glory which now preſent themſelves? What would become of the object moſt valuable and dear to the Spaniſh nation—the preſervation of the rights of Ferdinand? The advocates for this inſtitution ought to ſhudder at the immenſe danger to which they expoſed themſelves, and to bear in mind, that by it they afforded to the tyrant a new opportunity of buying and ſelling them. Let us bow with reverence to the venerable antiquity of the law; but let us profit by the experience of ages. Let us open our annals, and trace the hiſtory of our regencies. What ſhall we find? a picture equally melancholy and frightful, of deſolation, of civil war, of rapine, and of human depravity, in unfortunate Caſtile.

Doubtleſs, in great ſtates, power is more beneficially exerciſed by few than by many. Secrecy in deliberation, unity in concert, activity in meaſures, and celerity in execution, are indiſpenſable requiſites for the favourable iſſue of the acts of government, and are properties of a concentrated authority only. The Supreme Junta has, therefore, juſt concentrated its own with that prudent circumſpection which neither expoſes the

ſtate

ſtate to the oſcillations conſequent upon every change of government, nor materially affects the unity of the body which is entruſted with it. Henceforth a ſection compoſed of the removable members, will be ſpecially inveſted with the neceſſary authority to direct thoſe meaſures of the executive power, which from their nature require ſecrecy, energy, and diſpatch. Another opinion hoſtile to the regency, equally contradicts whatever innovation may be attempted to be made in the political form which the government has at preſent, and objects to the intended Cortes as an inſufficient repreſentation, if they are conſtituted according to the ancient formalities, as ill-timed and perhaps hazardous, in reſpect to preſent circumſtances; in ſhort, as uſeleſs, ſince it ſuppoſes that the ſuperior Juntas, erected immediately by the people, are their real repreſentatives. But the Junta had expreſsly declared to the nation, that its firſt attention in the great object would be occupied with the number, mode, and claſs with which the meeting of this auguſt aſſembly in the preſent ſituation of affairs ſhould be carried into effect; and after this declaration it is quite ſuperfluous, not to ſay malicious, to ſuſpect that future Cortes are to be confined to the rigid and excluſive forms of our ancient ones. Yes, Spaniards, you are going to have your Cortes, and the national repreſentation will in them be as perfect and full as it can and ought to be in an aſſembly of ſuch high importance and eminent dignity. You are going to have Cortes, and to have them immediately, becauſe the urgent ſituation in which the nation is placed, imperiouſly demands it, and at what time, gracious God, can it adopt this meaſure better than at preſent? When an obſtinate war has exhauſted all the ordinary means; when the egotiſm of ſome and the ambition of others debilitate and paralyſe the efforts of the government, by their oppoſition or indifference; when they ſeek to eradicate the eſſential principle of the monarchy, which is in union; when the hydra of federaliſm, ſo happily ſilenced the preceding year, by the creation of the central power, dares again to raiſe its poiſonous head, and endeavours to precipitate us into the diſſolution of anarchy; when the ſubtilty of our enemies is watching the moment when our diviſions diſunite us, to deſtroy the ſtate, and to erect their throne on the ruin which our diſtractions afford them. This is the time—this, to collect in one point the national dignity and honour, and when the Spaniſh people may will and decree the extraordinary ſurplus which a powerful nation ever has within it for its ſalvation. It alone can encounter and put them in motion; it alone can encourage the timidity of ſome and reſtrain the ambition of others; it alone will ſuppreſs importunate vanity, puerile pretenſions, and inſuriated paſſions, which, unleſs prevented, go to tear in pieces the government. It will, in fine, give to Europe a freſh example of its religion, its circumſpection, and its diſcretion, in the juſt and moderate uſe which it is about to make of the glorious liberty in which it is conſtituted. Thus it is that the Supreme Junta, which immediately recognized

recognized this national repreſentation as a right, and proclaimed it as a reward, now invokes and implores it as the moſt neceſſary and efficacious remedy; and has, therefore, reſolved that the general Cortes of the monarchy, announced in the decree of the 22d May, ſhall be convoked on the 1ſt day of January in the next year, in order to enter on their auguſt functions the 1ſt day of March following. When that happy day has arrived, the Junta ſhall ſay to the repreſentatives of the nation:

Ye are met together, O Fathers of your Country! and re-eſtabliſhed in all the plenitude of your rights, after a lapſe of three centuries, when deſpotiſm and arbitrary power diſſolved you, in order to ſubject this nation to all the evils of ſervitude. The aggreſſion which we have ſuffered, and the war which we maintain, are the fruits of the moſt ſhameful oppreſſion and the moſt unjuſt tyranny. The provincial Juntas, who were able to reſiſt and repulſe the enemy in the firſt impetus of his invaſion, inveſted the Supreme Junta with the ſovereign authority, which they exerciſed for a time, to give unity to the ſtate and concentrate its power. Called to the exerciſe of this authority, not by ambition or intrigue, but by the unanimous voice of the provinces of the kingdom, the individuals of the Supreme Junta ſhewed themſelves worthy of the high confidence repoſed in them, by employing all their vigilance and exertions for the preſervation and poſterity of the ſtate. The magnitude of our efforts will be apparent from the conſideration of the enormity of the evil which preceded. When the power was placed in our hands, our armies, half-formed, were unprovided and deſtitute of every thing, our treaſury was empty, and our reſources uncertain and diſtant. The deſpot of France, availing himſelf of the tranquillity in which the North then was, poured upon the Peninſula the military power under his command, the moſt formidable that has been known in the world. His veteran legions, better provided, and above all more numerous, ruſhed on every ſide, though much to their coſt, againſt our armies, deſtitute of the ſame expertneſs and confidence. A new inundation of barbarians, who carried deſolation through all the provinces of which they took poſſeſſion, was the conſequence of theſe reverſes, and the ill-cloſed wounds of our unfortunate country began painfully to open and pour with blood in torrents. The ſtate thus loſt half its ſtrength; and when the Junta, bound to ſave the honour, the independence, and the unity of the nation from the impetuous invaſion of the tyrant, took refuge in Andaluſia, a diviſion of 30,000 men repaired to the walls of Saragoſſa, to bury themſelves in its ruins. The army of the centre being thus deprived of a great part of its ſtrength, did not give to its operations that activity and energy which muſt have had very different reſults from thoſe of the battle of Ucles. The avenues of the Sierra Morena and the banks of the Tagus were only defended by ill armed handfuls of men, to whom could ſcarcely be given the name of armies. The Junta, however, by

by means of activity and ſacrifices, rendered them ſo: routed and diſperſed in the two battles of Ciudad Real and Medellin, inſtead of deſpairing of the country, they redoubled their efforts, and in a few days collected and oppoſed to the enemy 70,000 infantry, and 12,000 cavalry.

Theſe forces have ſince fought, it is true, with ill ſucceſs, but always with gallantry and glory. The creation, the reparation, and the ſubſiſtence of theſe armies have more than abſorbed the conſiderable ſupplies which have been ſent us by our brethren in America. We have maintained in the free provinces unity, order, and juſtice, and in thoſe occupied by the enemy we have exerted our endeavours to preſerve, though ſecretly, the fire of patriotiſm and the bonds of loyalty. We have vindicated the national honour and independence in the moſt complicated and difficult diplomatic negociations; and we have made head againſt adverſity, without ſuffering ourſelves to deſpair, ever truſting that we ſhould overcome it by our conſtancy. We have, without doubt, committed errors, and we would willingly, were it poſſible, redeem it with our blood: but in the confuſion of events, among the mountains of difficulties which ſurrounded us, who could be certain of always being in the right? Could we be reſponſible becauſe one body of troops wanted valour, and another confidence; becauſe one general has leſs prudence, and another leſs good fortune? Much, Spaniards, is to be attributed to our inexperience, much to circumſtances, but nothing to our intention. That ever has been to deliver our unfortunate king from ſlavery, and preſerve to him a throne for which the Spaniſh people have made ſuch ſacrifices, and to maintain it free, independent, and happy. We have, from the time of our inſtitution, promiſed him a country; we have decreed the abolition of arbitrary power, from the time we announced the re-eſtabliſhment of our Cortes. Such is, Spaniards, the uſe we have made of the unlimited power and authority confided to us; and when your wiſdom ſhall have eſtabliſhed the baſis and form of government moſt proper for the independence and good of the ſtate, we will reſign the authority into the hands you ſhall point out, contented with the glory of having given to the Spaniards the dignity of a nation legitimately conſtituted. May this ſolemn and magnificent aſſembly be productive of efficacious means, energy, and fortune; may it be an immenſe inextinguiſhable volcano, from which may flow torrents of patriotiſm to revivify every part of this vaſt monarchy, to inflame all minds with that ſublime enthuſiaſm which produces the ſafety and glory of nations, and the deſpair of tyrants; and yourſelves, noble fathers of the country, to the elevation of your high duties, and Spain exalted with you to an equally brilliant deſtiny, ſhall ſee returned into her boſom for her happineſs, Ferdinand VIIth and his unfortunate family; ſhall ſee her ſons enter on the path of proſperity and glory which they ought henceforth to purſue, and receive the crown of the ſublime and almoſt

moſt divine efforts which they are making.

Marquis of ASTORGA,
Preſident.
PEDRO DE RIVERO,
Secretary-General.

Proclamation of the Junta, dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, Nov. 21, 1809.

Spaniards!—Our enemies announce, as poſitively certain, a peace in Germany, and the circumſtances which accompany this notice give it a character of truth which leaves little room for doubt. They already threaten us with the powerful reinforcements which they ſuppoſe to be marching to complete our ruin; already, probably elated with the favourable aſpect with which their affairs in the north have aſſumed, they inſolently exhort us to ſubmit to the clemency of the conqueror, and tamely bow our necks to the yoke. No, ſervants of Buonaparté! [the addreſs afterwards continues,] placed as we are by your baſeneſs, between ignominy and death, what choice would you wiſh a brave nation to make, but to defend itſelf to the laſt extremity? Continue to rob, murder, and deſtroy, as you have done for theſe twenty months paſt; increaſe that inceſſantly eternal hatred and thirſt for vengeance which we muſt ever feel towards you. Shall we fall at the feet of the crowned ſlave whom Buonaparté has ſent us for a king, becauſe he burns our temples, diſtributes our virgins and matrons among his odious ſatellites, and ſends our youth as a tribute to the French Minotaur? Think not, Spaniards, that the Junta addreſſes you thus to excite your valour by the arts of language—What occaſion is there for words, when things ſpeak ſo plainly for themſelves? Your houſes are demoliſhed, your temples polluted, your fields ravaged, your families diſperſed, or hurried to the grave. Shall we conſent to the total deſtruction of our holy religion in which we were born, and which we have ſo ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve? Our country is laid waſte, and we are inſulted, and treated as a vile herd of cattle, which are bought and ſold, and ſlaughtered when our maſter pleaſes. Remember, Spaniards, the vile and treacherous manner in which this uſurper tore from us our king. He called himſelf his ally, his protector, his friend; he pretended to give him the kiſs of peace, but his embraces are the folds of the ſerpent, which twine round the innocent victim, and drag him to his cavern. Such perfidy is unknown to civilized nations, and ſcarcely practiſed among the moſt barbarous. The ſovereign we idolize is condemned to groan in ſolitude, ſurrounded by guards and ſpies. Amidſt his ſufferings, he can only ſilently implore the valour of his beloved Spaniards for liberty or vengeance. There can be no peace while theſe things ſubſiſt. That Spain may be free, is the univerſal wiſh of the nation. That Spain may be free, or that it may become an immenſe deſart, one vaſt ſepulchre, where the accumulated carcaſes of French and Spaniards ſhall exhibit to future ages our glory and their ignominy. But this wretched fate is not to be feared by brave men. Victory, ſooner or later, muſt be the reward of

of fortitude and conſtancy. What but theſe defended the ſmall republics of Greece from the barbarous invaſion of Xerxes? What protected the capitol when aſſailed by the Gauls? What preſerved it from the arms of Hannibal? What, in more modern times, reſcued the Swiſs from German tyranny, and gave independence to Holland? What, in fine, inſpires at preſent the Tyroleſe with ſuch heroic reſolution, that, though ſurrounded on every ſide by enemies, and abandoned by their protectors, they take refuge in their rocks, and on the ſummits of their mountains, and hurl defiance and defeat on the battalions of the conqueror of Dantzic. The God of armies, for whom we ſuffer, will give us ſucceſs, and conduct us through all the dangers that ſurround us to the throne of independence. Spaniards, the Junta announces this to you frankly, that you may not for a moment be ignorant of the danger which threatens your country; it announces it to you with confidence that you will ſhew yourſelves worthy of the cauſe which you defend, and of the admiration of the univerſe. [The addreſs goes on to exhort the Spaniſh nation to ſubmit to every privation, and to make every ſacrifice to ſave the ſtate.] When the ſtorm rages, the moſt valuable treaſures muſt be thrown into the ſea to ſave the veſſel from ſinking. Periſh the man whoſe ſelfiſhneſs can render him wanting in his duty, or induce him to conceal what is neceſſary to be diſtributed among his brethren, for the common defence! Periſh a thouſand times the wretch who can prefer his own intereſt to the deliverance of his country! All ſuch the ſtate will ſeverely puniſh. Our enemies omit no means which can be employed for our deſtruction, and ſhall we neglect any which can conduce to our preſervation? There are provinces which have driven out the enemy from among them; and ſhall not thoſe, who have not yet ſuffered from ſuch a ſcourge, ſacrifice every thing to preſerve themſelves from it? Our brave ſoldiers endure the rigours of winter, and the ſcorching heats of ſummer, and nobly encounter all the dangers of battle; and ſhall we, remaining quietly at our homes, forgetful of their incalculable fatigues, think only of preſerving our wiſhes, and refuſe to reſign even the leaſt of our luxurious enjoyments? The victory muſt be ours, if we continue and conclude the great enterprize we have undertaken with the ſame enthuſiaſm with which we began it. The coloſſal maſs of force and reſiſtance which we muſt oppoſe to our enemy, muſt be compoſed of the forces of all, of the ſacrifices of all; and then what will it import, that he pours upon us anew the legions with which he has been ſucceſsful in Germany, or the ſwarm of conſcripts he endeavours to drag from France? The experience we have obtained in two campaigns, and our very deſperation, will conſign theſe hordes of banditti to the ſame fate which the former have ſuffered. If ſome of the monarchs of the North have conſented to become the ſlaves of this new Tamerlane, and at the expenſe of ages of infamy have purchaſed a moment's reſpite till their turn ſhall come to be devoured, we are reſolved to periſh or triumph. The alliance we have contracted with

the Britiſh nation continues, and will continue. That nation has laviſhed for us its blood and its treaſures, and is entitled to our gratitude, and that of future ages. —[The addreſs thus concludes]— Here was drawn, never to be ſheathed, the ſword of eternal hatred to the execrable tyrant; here was raiſed, never to be lowered, the ſtandard of independence and juſtice. Haſten to it all ye who wiſh not to live under the abominable yoke, ye who cannot enter into a league with iniquity, and ye who are indignant at the cowardly deſertion of deluded princes, haſten to us. Here the valiant ſhall find opportunities of acquiring true honour; the wiſe and virtuous obtain reſpect, and the oppreſſed find an aſylum—our cauſe is the ſame, the ſame be our danger, the ſame our reward. Come hither, and in deſpite of all the arts, and all the power of this inhuman deſpot, you ſhall witneſs how we will render dim his ſtar, and be ourſelves the creators of our own deſtiny.

(Signed) THE ARCHBISHOP OF LAODICEA, Preſident.
PEDRO DE RIVER, Secretary.

Proteſt againſt Buonaparte.— Pius VII. Pontiff.

The dark deſigns, conceived by the enemies of the Apoſtolic See, have at length been accompliſhed.

After the violent and unjuſt ſpoliation of the faireſt and moſt conſiderable portion of our dominions, we behold ourſelves, under unworthy pretexts, and with ſo much the greater injuſtice, entirely ſtripped of our temporal Sovereignty, to which our ſpiritual independence is intimately united. In the midſt of this cruel perſecution we are comforted by the reflection, that we encounter ſuch a heavy misfortune, not for any offence given to the emperor or to France, which has always been the object of our affectionate paternal ſolicitude, nor for any intrigue of worldly policy, but from an unwillingneſs to betray our duties.

To pleaſe men and to diſpleaſe God is not allowed to any one profeſſing the Catholic Religion, and much leſs can it be permitted to its Head and Promulgator.

As we, beſides, owe it to God and the Church, to hand down our rights uninjured and untouched, we proteſt againſt this new violent ſpoliation, and declare it null and void.

We reject, with the firmeſt reſolution, any allowance which the Emperor of the French may intend to aſſign us, and to the individuals compoſing our College.

We ſhould all cover ourſelves with ignominy in the face of the church, if we ſuffered our ſubſiſtence to depend on the power of him who uſurps her authority.

We commit ourſelves entirely to Providence, and to the affection of the faithful, and we ſhall be contented piouſly to terminate the bitter career of our ſorrowful days.

We adore with profound humility God's inſcrutable decrees; we invoke his commiſeration upon our good ſubjects, who will ever be our joy and our crown; and after having in this hardeſt of trials done what our duties required of us, we exhort them to preſerve always untouched the religion and the faith, and to unite themſelves to us, for the purpoſe of conjuring with ſighs and

and tears, both in the closet and before the altar, the Supreme Father of Light, that he may vouchsafe to change the base designs of our persecutors.

Given at our Apostolic Palace, del Quirinale, this 10th of June, 1809. *(Locus Signi)*

PIUS PAPA VII.

Excommunication of Buonaparte. Pius VII. Pontiff.

By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, we declare you, and all your co-operators in the act of violence which you are executing, to have incurred the same excommunication, which we in our apostolic letters, contemporaneously affixing in the usual places of this city, declare to have been incurred by all those who, on the violent invasion of this city on the second of February of last year, were guilty of the acts of violence, against which we have protested, as well really in so many declarations, that by our order have been issued by our successive Secretaries of State, as also in two consistorial collocations of the 16th of March, and the 11th July, 1808, in common with all their agents, abettors, advisers, and whoever else have been accessary to, or himself been engaged in, the execution of those attempts.

Given at Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, June 10th, in the tenth year of our Pontificate. *(Locus Signi)*

PIUS PAPA VII.

Proclamation of the Archduke Charles, dated Vienna, April 6, 1809.

The protection of our country calls us to new exploits. As long as it was possible to preserve peace by means of sacrifices, and as long as these sacrifices were consistent with the honour of the throne, with the security of the state, and with the welfare of the people, the heart of our bountiful sovereign suppressed every painful feeling in silence; but when all endeavours to preserve happy independence from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror prove fruitless, when nations are falling around us, and when lawful sovereigns are torn from the hearts of their subjects; when in fine the danger of universal subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria, and their peaceable fortunate inhabitants; then does our country demand its deliverance from us, and we stand forth in its defence.

On you, my dear brother soldiers, are fixed the eyes of the universe, and of all those who still feel for national honours and national prosperity. You shall not share the disgrace of becoming the tools of oppression. You shall not carry on the endless wars of ambition under distant climes. Your blood shall never flow for foreign fleets and foreign covetousness; not on you shall the curse alight to annihilate innocent nations, and over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country to pave the way for a foreigner to the usurped throne. A happier lot awaits you: the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners. Your victories will loose its fetters, and your brothers in Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance. You are engaged

in a juſt cauſe, otherwiſe I ſhould not appear at your head.

On the fields of Ulm and Marengo, whereof the enemy ſo often remind us with oſtentatious pride, on thoſe fields will we renew the glorious deeds of Wurtsburgh and Oſtrach, of Liptingen (Stockach) and Zurich; of Verona, of the Trebbia and Novi. We will conquer a laſting peace for our country; but the great aim is not to be attained without great virtues. Unconditional ſubordination, ſtrict diſcipline, perſevering courage, and unſhaken ſteadineſs in danger, are the companions of true fortitude. Only a union of will, and a joint co-operation of the whole, lead to victory.

My ſovereign and brother has inveſted me with extenſive powers to reward and to puniſh. I will be every where in the midſt of you, and you ſhall receive the firſt thanks of your country from your general on the field of battle. The patriotiſm of many of the Auſtrian nobility has anticipated your wants: this is a pledge in the fulleſt meaſure, of the public gratitude: but puniſhment ſhall alſo, with inflexible rigour, fall on every breach of duty: merit ſhall meet with reward, and offence with animadverſion, without diſtinction of perſon or rank; branded with diſgrace ſhall the worthleſs perſon be caſt out to whom life is dearer than his and our honour. Adorned with the marks of public eſteem, will I preſent to your ſovereign, to the world, thoſe brave men who have deſerved well of their country, and whoſe names I will ever carry in my heart.

There remains one conſideration which I muſt put you in mind of: the ſoldier is only formidable to the enemy in arms; civil virtues muſt not be ſtrangers to him: out of the field of battle, towards the unarmed citizens and peaſants, he is moderate, compaſſionate, and humane: he knows the evils of war, and ſtrives to lighten them; I will puniſh every wanton exceſs with ſo much greater ſeverity, as it is not the intention of our monarch to oppreſs neighbouring countries, but to deliver them from their oppreſſors, and to form with their princes a powerful bond in order to bring about a laſting peace, and to maintain the general welfare and ſecurity. Soon will foreign troops, in ſtrict union with us, attack the common enemy. Then, brave companions in arms! honour and ſupport them as your brothers; not vain glorious high words, but manly deeds, do honour to the warrior: by intrepidity before the enemy you muſt ſhew yourſelves to be the firſt ſoldiers.

Thus then ſhall I one day lead you back to your own country, followed by the reſpect of the enemy, and by the gratitude of foreign nations, after having ſecured by your arms an honourable peace, when the ſatisfaction of our monarch, the approbation of the world, the rewards of valour, the bleſſings of your fellow-citizens, and the conſciouſneſs of deſerved repoſe await you.

CHARLES,
Archduke, Generaliſſimo.

Proclamation diſperſed by the Archduke John, on his Entrance into Italy:—

"ITALIANS!—Give ear to the voice

voice of truth and reaſon. Theſe tell you that you are the ſlaves of France; that for her you waſte your gold and your blood . . . . . The kingdom of Italy is a mere dream, a vain name. The conſcription, the burthens, the oppreſſions of every kind, the nothingneſs of your political exiſtence; theſe alone are realities.

"Reaſon alſo tells you, that in ſuch a ſtate of degradation, you can neither be eſteemed, remain at peace, nor be Italians. Do you wiſh to be once more Italians? Unite, then, your hearts, and your power to the generous arms of the Emperor Francis. At this moment he cauſes a powerful body to deſcend into Italy. He ſends them, not to gratify an idle thirſt of conqueſt, but to defend himſelf, and ſecure the independence of all the nations of Europe, which are threatened by a ſucceſſion of attacks that allow no doubt of the inevitable ſlavery prepared for them.

"If God protect the virtuous exertions of the Emperor Francis, and his mighty allies, Italy ſhall be again happy, and once more reſpected in Europe. The head of the church will poſſeſs again his freedom and his dominions; and a conſtitution founded on nature and true policy, ſhall bleſs the Italian ſoil, and render it impenetrable to any foreign power.

"It is Francis who promiſes you ſo happy and glorious an exiſtence. Europe knows it; the word of this prince is ſacred—is as immutable as pure; Heaven ſpeaks through his lips. Awake then, Italians. Rouſe yourſelves. Of whatever party you have been or now are, fear nothing, for you are Italians. We come not to inveſtigate—to puniſh; we come to aid—to deliver you. Will you remain in the ſtate of confuſion in which you are ſunken? Will you behave otherwiſe than the Spaniards, that people of heroes, whoſe words and actions are in harmony?

"Do you love leſs than they, your holy religion, your honour, and the name of your nation? Do you abhor leſs than they, baſe ſervitude, becauſe you are ſeduced into its ſnares by fraudulent ſpeeches? though the treatment you have experienced has been moſt oppoſite to thoſe ſpeeches. Italians! truth and reaſon ſay to you, that ſo favourable an occaſion never offered itſelf, of throwing off the yoke caſt upon Italy. They tell you, that if you do not liſten to them, you incur the danger ariſing from a victorious army, which ſubdues without conſideration a people without a name and without rights; that, on the contrary, if you cling to your deliverers, and conquer with them, Italy will re-aſſume its ſtation among the great nations of the earth, and may become again what it once was, the firſt.

"Italians!—a better fate is in your hands; in hands which brought the torch of illumination into every quarter of the globe, and reſtored to Europe, when ſunk in barbarity, the ſciences, arts, and morals.

"Ye Milaneſe, Tuſcans, Venetians, Piedmonteſe, be mindful of the period of your ancient being. The days of peace and proſperity may return to you fairer than ever, if your conduct render you worthy the bleſſed change.

"Italians!—Have but the will, and you will be Italians again as glorious as your anceſtors, as happy

and contented as you ever were in the faireſt epoch of your hiſtory.

"JOHN, Archduke of Auſtria."

Treaty of Peace between France and Auſtria, October 15, 1809.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the conſtitution of the empire, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the league of the Rhine, &c. Having ſeen and conſidered the treaty concluded, determined, and ſigned at Vienna, on the 14th of the month, by the Sieur Nompere de Champagny, our miniſter for foreign affairs, in virtue of the full powers to that end given him by us, and the prince John of Lichtenſtein, marſhal of the armies of his majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, equally provided with full powers—which treaty is of the following tenor;—

His majeſty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the league of the Rhine, mediator of the league of Switzerland; and his majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, being equally animated with the deſire of putting an end to the war which has ariſen between them, have reſolved to negociate forthwith a definitive treaty of peace, and for that purpoſe have appointed as their plenipotentiaries namely;—his majeſty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the league of the Rhine, the Sieur Jean Baptiſte Nompere count de Champagny, duke of Cadore, grand eagle bearer of the legion of honour, commander of the order of the iron crown, knight of the order of St. Andrew of Ruſſia, grand dignitary of that of the two Sicilies, grand croſs of the orders of the black and red eagles of Pruſſia, of the order of St. Joſeph of Wurtzburg, of the order of fidelity of Baden, of the order of Heſſe Darmſtadt, his ſaid majeſty's miniſter for foreign affairs; and his majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, the ſieur prince John of Lichtenſtein, knight of the order of the golden fleece, grand croſs of the order of Maria Thereſa, chamberlain, marſhal of the armies of his ſaid majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, and proprietary commander of a regiment of horſe in his ſervice.

Who having previouſly exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles;—

Art. I. There ſhall, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, be peace and friendſhip between his majeſty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the league of the Rhine: and his majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, their heirs and ſucceſſors, their ſtates and ſubjects reſpectively, for ever.

II. The preſent peace is alſo declared to be common to his majeſty the king of Spain, his majeſty the king of Holland, his majeſty the king of Naples, his majeſty the king of Bavaria, his majeſty the king of Wirtemburg, his majeſty the king of Saxony, and his majeſty the king of Weſtphalia, his moſt eminent highneſs the prince primate, their royal highneſſes the grand duke of Baden, the grand duke of Berg, the grand duke of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, the grand duke of Wurtzburgh, and all the princes and members of the league of the Rhine, the allies, in the preſent war, of his majeſty the

emperor

emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the league of the Rhine.

III. His majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, cedes, as well for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as for the princes of his houſe, their heirs and reſpective ſucceſſors, the principalities, lordſhips, domains, and territories, herein-after mentioned, and alſo all titles which may accrue from the poſſeſſion of the ſame; and all properties, whether manorial or held by them under an eſpecial title, lying within the ſaid territories.

1. He cedes and transfers to his majeſty the emperor of the French, to form a part of the league of the Rhine, and to be placed at his diſpoſition for the intereſt of the ſovereigns of the league:—The territories of Saltzburgh and Berchtolsgaden; that part of Upper Auſtria, ſituate on the further ſide of a line running from the Danube, at the village of Straas, therein comprehending Weiſſenkirch, Wenerſdorff, Michelbach, Greiſt, Muckenhoffen, Helſt and Jedina; thence in the direction of Schwandſtadt on the Aller, and thence aſcending the town of Schwandſtadt along the bank of that river, and the lake of the ſame name, to the point where the lake touches upon the territory of Saltzburg.

His majeſty the emperor of Auſtria ſhall only retain in property the woods belonging to the Salz-Cammer-Gut, and forming part of the manor of Mondſee, with liberty to cut and carry thence the bruſh-wood, but without enjoying any right of Sovereignty upon that territory.

2. He alſo cedes to his majeſty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, the county of Goritia, the manor of Montefalcone, the government and city of Trieſte, Carniola, with its dependencies on the Gulf of Trieſte, the Circle of Willach, in Carinthia, and all the territories lying on the right bank of the Saave, from the point where that river leaves Carniola, along its courſe to where it touches the frontiers of Boſnia; namely a part of provincial Croatia, ſix diſtricts of military Croatia, Fiume, and the Hungarian Littorale, Auſtrian Iſtria, or the diſtrict of Caſtua, the iſlands depending on the ceded territories, and all other territories, howſoever named, upon the right bank of the Saave; the middle ſtream of the ſaid river ſerving as the boundary between the two States.

Laſtly, the lordſhip of Radzuns lying in the Graubunderland.

3. He cedes and makes over to his majeſty the king of Saxony, the territory of Bohemia depending upon, and included in the territory of the kingdom of Saxony, namely, the pariſhes and villages of Gunterſdorff, Taubantranke, Gerlochſheim, Lenkerſdorf, Schirgiſwald, Winkel, &c.

4. He cedes and makes over to the king of Saxony, to be united to the duchy of Warſaw, the whole of Weſter or New Gallicia, a diſtrict round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Viſtula, to be hereafter aſcertained, and the Circle of Zamoſc in eaſtern Gallicia.

The diſtrict round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Viſtula, ſhall in the direction of Podgorze, have for its circumference the diſtance from Podgorze to Weiliczka. The line of demarcation ſhall paſs

through Wieliczka, and to the weſtward touch upon Scawina, and to the eaſtward upon the Beek, which falls into the Viſtula at Brzdegy.

Wieliczka and the whole of the territory of the Salt-pits ſhall belong in common to the emperor of Auſtria, and the king of Saxony. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered therein in the name of the municipal power; there ſhall be quartered there only the troops neceſſary for the ſupport of the Police, and they ſhall conſiſt of equal numbers of thoſe of both nations. The Auſtrian ſalt from Wieliczka, in its conveyance over the Viſtula, and through the Duchy of Warſaw, ſhall not be ſubject to any toll-duties. Corn of all kinds, raiſed in Auſtrian Gallicia, may alſo be freely exported acroſs the Viſtula.

His majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, and his majeſty the king of Saxony, may form ſuch an arrangement with regard to theſe boundaries, as that the Sau, from the point where it touches upon the Circle of Zamoſc, to its confluence with the Viſtula, ſhall ſerve as the line of demarcation between both ſtates.

5. He cedes and makes over to his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia, in the eaſternmoſt part of Gallicia, a tract of territory containing a population of 400,000 ſouls, the city of Brodi being, nevertheleſs, not therein included. This territory ſhall be amicably aſcertained by Commiſſioners on the part of both empires.

IV. The Teutonic Order having been aboliſhed in the States of the league of the Rhine, his majeſty the emperor of Auſtria, in the name of his Imperial Highneſs the Archduke Anthony, abdicates the Grand Maſterſhip of that Order in his States, and recognizes the diſpoſitions taken with regard to the property of the Order, locally ſituated out of the Auſtrian territory. Penſions ſhall be aſſigned to thoſe who have been on the civil eſtabliſhment of the Order.

V. The debts funded upon the territory of the ceded provinces and allowed by the States of the ſaid provinces, or accruing from expences incurred for their Adminiſtrations, ſhall alone follow the fate of thoſe provinces.

VI. The provinces which are to be reſtored to his Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria, ſhall be adminiſtered for his behoof by the Auſtrian Conſtituted Authorities, from the day of exchanging the Ratification of the preſent; and the Imperial Domains, whereſoever ſituated, from the 1ſt of November next. It is nevertheleſs underſtood, that the French army in this country ſhall take for their uſe whatever articles cannot be ſupplied by their magazines for the ſubſiſtence of the troops and the wants of the hoſpitals; and alſo whatever ſhall be neceſſary for the conveyance of their ſick, and the evacuation of the magazines.

An arrangement ſhall be made between the High Contracting Parties reſpecting all war contributions, of whatever denomination, previouſly impoſed on the Auſtrian provinces occupied by the French and allied troops; in conſequence of which arrangement the levying of the ſaid contributions ſhall ceaſe from the day of the exchange of the Ratifications.

VII. His Majeſty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages

gages to give no obſtruction to the importation or exportation of merchandize into and from Auſtria, by way of the port of Fiume; this, nevertheleſs, not being conſtrued to include Engliſh goods or manufactures. The tranſit duties on the goods thus imported or exported, ſhall be lower than upon thoſe of all other nations, the kingdom of Italy excepted. An inquiry ſhall be inſtituted, to aſcertain whether any advantages can be allowed to the Auſtrian trade, in the other ports ceded by this Treaty.

VIII. The titles of domains, archives, plans and maps of the countries, towns, and fortreſſes ceded, ſhall be given up within two months after the period of the Ratification.

IX. His Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, engages to diſcharge the yearly intereſt, arrears, and capitals, inveſted in ſecurities of the Government, States, Bank, Lottery, or other public eſtabliſhments, by subjects, companies, or corporate bodies in France, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Grand Duchy of Berg.

Meaſures ſhall alſo be taken to completely liquidate the ſum due to Mont St. Thereſa, now Mont Napoleon, at Milan.

X. His Majeſty, the Emperor of the French engages to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg, who have taken a part in the inſurrection; ſo that they ſhall not be proſecuted either in perſon or property.

His Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria equally engages to grant a full and complete pardon to thoſe inhabitants of the territories of Gallicia, of which he returns into poſſeſſion, whether civil or military, public officers, or private individuals, who have taken part in the levying of troops, or the formation of judicial or municipal adminiſtrations; or in any other proceeding whatſoever during the war, which inhabitants ſhall not be proſecuted in their perſons or property.

They ſhall have permiſſion, during a period of ſix years, to diſpoſe of their properties, of whatever deſcription they may be; to ſell their eſtates, even thoſe that have been conſidered inalienable, ſuch as *fidei commiſſa* and *majoratus*; to leave the country, and to carry with them the produce of theſe ſales, in ſpecie, or effects of any other deſcription, without paying any duty for the ſame, or experiencing any difficulty or obſtruction.

The ſame permiſſion, and for the ſame period, ſhall be reciprocally allowed to the inhabitants and landholders in the territories ceded by the preſent treaty.

The inhabitants of the Duchy of Warſaw, poſſeſſing landed eſtates in Auſtrian Gallicia, whether public officers or private individuals, ſhall enjoy the revenues thereof, without paying any duty thereon, or experiencing any obſtruction.

XI. Within ſix weeks, from the exchange of the preſent treaty, poſts ſhall be erected, to mark the boundaries of Cracow, upon the right bank of the Viſtula. For this purpoſe there ſhall be nominated Auſtrian, French, and Saxon Commiſſioners.

The ſame meaſures ſhall be adopted within the ſame period upon the frontiers of Upper Auſtria, Saltzburgh, Willach, and Carniola,

Carniola, as far as the Saave. The Thalweg (ſtream) of the Saave, ſhall determine what iſlands of that river ſhall belong to each power. For this purpoſe French and Auſtrian Commiſſaries ſhall be nominated.

XII. A military Convention ſhall be forthwith entered into to regulate the reſpective periods within which the various provinces reſtored to his Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria ſhall be evacuated. The ſaid Convention ſhall be adjuſted on the baſis, that Moravia ſhall be evacuated in fourteen days; that part of Gallicia which remains in poſſeſſion of Auſtria, the city and diſtrict of Vienna, in one month; Lower Auſtria in two months; and the remaining diſtricts and territories not ceded by this treaty ſhall be evacuated by the French troops, and thoſe of their allies, in two months and a half, or earlier if poſſible, from the exchange of the ratifications.

This convention ſhall regulate all that relates to the evacuation of the hoſpitals and magazines of the French army, and the entrance of the Auſtrian troops into the territories evacuated by the French or their allies; and alſo the evacuation of that part of Croatia ceded by the preſent Treaty to his Majeſty the Emperor of the French.

XIII. The priſoners of war taken by France and her Allies from Auſtria, and by Auſtria from France and her Allies, that have not yet been releaſed, ſhall be given up within fourteen days after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent Treaty.

XIV. His Majeſty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, guarantees the inviolability of the poſſeſſions of his Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the ſtate in which they ſhall be, in conſequence of the preſent Treaty.

XV. His Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria recognizes all the alterations which have taken place, or may ſubſequently take place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

XVI. His Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria, deſirous to co-operate in the reſtoration of a maritime peace, accedes to the prohibitory ſyſtem with reſpect to England, adopted by France and Ruſſia, during the preſent Maritime War. His Imperial Majeſty ſhall break off all intercourſe with Great Britain, and, with reſpect to the Engliſh government, place himſelf in the ſituation he ſtood in previous to the preſent war.

XVII. His Majeſty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majeſty the Emperor of Auſtria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall obſerve, with reſpect to each other, the ſame ceremonial in regard to rank and other points of etiquette, as before the preſent war.

XVIII. The Ratifications of the preſent Treaty ſhall be exchanged within ſix days, or ſooner, if poſſible.

Done and ſigned at Vienna, October 14, 1809. (Signed)
J. B. Nompere de Champagny.
John Prince of Lichtenstein.

We have ratified, and hereby ratify the above Treaty, in all and every of the articles therein contained; declare the ſame to be adopted, confirmed and eſtabliſhed; and engage that the ſame ſhall be maintained inviolable.

In

In confirmation whereof we have hereto fixed our ſignature, with our own hand, being counterſigned and ſealed with our Imperial Seal.

Given at our Imperial Camp at Schoenbrunn, October 15, 1809. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the Emperor.—CHAMPAGNY, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs. H. B. MARET, Miniſter Secretary of State.

Certified by us, The Arch-Chancellor of State, EUGENE NAPOLEON.

Proclamation, dated Frankfort, June 18.

Frederick Auguſtus, by the grace of God, King of Saxony. Divine Providence has been ſo beneficent to us, that ſince we have been called to the government we have had only the agreeable duty of offering him the homage of the ſincereſt gratitude; and we have diſcharged this duty with ſo much the more ardour, as our heart feels no greater joy than in knowing that they are happy whoſe felicity is intruſted to us. We had laſt year eſpecially reaſon to bleſs the goodneſs of God, when a generous conqueror reſtored to us our eſtates, which were already loſt; and this felicity became more precious, when a perſonal acquaintance with this great man, added to affection and the ſincereſt gratitude, our admiration and our veneration of his great qualities, which have never been ſufficiently appreciated; and fixed the baſis of a genuine eſteem, on which our mutual alliance is as firmly eſtabliſhed as on treaties, and which renders it doubly indiſſoluble. Even at the preſent moment of trouble, it was for me a great conſolation to behold our country enjoy an almoſt perfect tranquillity, while the torch of war was enkindled in other ſtates, and there ſpread its ravages anew. We believed it neceſſary to abandon for a time our good city of Dreſden, and fix our abode at Leipſic, which is no great diſtance. We hoped that we could continue there, to apply our labours to the government of our faithful ſubjects; the more ſo, as, according to the courſe the war had taken, an hoſtile invaſion of our country was by no means probable.—We were ſo much the more painfully affected at beholding this hope vaniſh, and being obliged to remove from Leipſic to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to place ourſelves out of danger, by avoiding the route in which the troops which were advancing from Bohemia, upon Saxony and Franconia, might ſeize our perſon and royal family.—But we live in the entire confidence that Divine Providence will bleſs our efforts for the deliverance of our country, and that, ſupported by the forces of his majeſty the king of Weſtphalia, our faithful neighbour and ally, we ſhall return.—We believe it to be our duty, faithful and beloved Saxons, to impart this confidence to you, removed as we are from you, in order to tranquillize you. In the mean while we thank you publicly for ſupporting your ſituation with tranquillity and dignity, that you have lent no ear to the enemy, and in this given new proof of that love and attachment towards us which are our felicity, and which we feel equally for you. —It is therefore with confidence that we exhort you to attach yourſelves

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ſelves more and more to our principles, which, hitherto, thanks to God, have always conſtituted the happineſs of the country, and at the ſame time to conſider and avert the evils which the ill-intentioned might ſeek to ſcatter among you, by propagating an erroneous doctrine.—For it cannot be unknown to you, that there are in our dominions, people weak, ſeduced, or wicked, who not only do not approve of our ſyſtem, and the principles on which we have only from conviction adopted it, but who dare to avow, and even act in a contrary manner.—We ſeriouſly enjoin by theſe preſents all the authorities of our kingdom to obſerve with great attention thoſe who render themſelves ſuſpicious by a like mode of thinking, and eſpecially thoſe who diſturb peace by raſh diſcourſe, or by open acts, as well as thoſe who ſpread intelligence which may diſquiet well-intentioned citizens, and deprive our conſtant efforts for the permanent tranquillity of our ſubjects, of a part of their effect; and, in general, we charge them to neglect nothing in order that our ſubjects may conduct themſelves according to the principles above announced, and that our benevolent intentions may be entirely fulfilled.—In teſtimony of which, we have ſigned theſe preſents with our hand, and annexed our royal ſeal. Given at Frankfort on the Maine, June 18, 1809:

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

Proclamation to the Poles.

Frederick Auguſtus, King of Saxony, &c. Poles! Already has the army, which had invaded our duchy of Warſaw, been forced by the victories of our great regenerator, and the valour of our troops, to abandon the capital and return to its own territory.—After having rendered thanks to Divine Providence for the ſignal protection it has granted us, it becomes our duty to employ the firſt moments of the re-eſtabliſhment of our government, in expreſſing the ſentiments which have been raiſed in us by the patriotiſm and attachment which the nation has ſo ſplendidly diſplayed in that moment of calamity. The enemy had entered the country with a numerous army. It appeared ſcarcely poſſible to reſiſt him; but he ſoon learnt the power of courage, when led by a chief ſo brave and able as our miniſter of war, prince Poniatowſki.—Poles! Your battalions, which the great hero has created, and in whom he has inſpired that valiant ſpirit, the beſt proofs of which are before his eyes, have ſhewn they were worthy their creator. Inferior in number, they not only reſiſted the enemy, but ſucceſsfully attacked him.—They have carried victory into his provinces, and have every where covered themſelves with glory. The whole nation have on their part ſhewn that the valour and patriotiſm of the ancient Poles is theirs. The invaſion of a numerous enemy, far from intimidating them, has only ſtimulated them to voluntary and extraordinary offers to ſacrifice their private fortunes. They have wholly devoted themſelves to the defence of their country. The departments have emulated each other, in filling the ranks of the armies, and furniſhing the neceſſary contributions. They have

have proved that the love of their country is a national quality, and have rendered themſelves worthy to become models of that quality. Providence has alſo crowned thoſe generous efforts with ſucceſs. —Our council of ſtate has, by its zeal and wiſdom, ſeconded by all the other conſtitutional authorities, ſucceeded in maintaining the meaſures of the government, as far as circumſtances would permit.—Poles! Your country owes its ſafety to you; it owes to you the approbation of your great regenerator, whoſe notice the brave conduct of the army, and the ardent zeal of the nation, will not have eſcaped. It owes to you increaſed reſpect among its neighbours, and the glory which the ſovereign feels in reigning over ſuch a nation.—Though at a diſtance our heart has ever been with you, your ſituation was ever preſent to us. Your fidelity and attachment to us, has increaſed, if poſſible, ours to you; and though we have been unable to afford you the aſſiſtance our heart deſired, it was with pain we were prevented by circumſtances.—Poliſh people!—Tranquillity is reſtored to you, and the conſtitutional government. Our great ſolicitude ſhall be to endeavour to heal the wounds the war has occaſioned, reward merit, and reſtore order; which your future happineſs requires. On your part you will contribute to this by entire confidence in the government; which will be guided by our paternal intentions.—Given at Frankfort on the Maine, June 24, 1809. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

Ukaſe to the Senate, dated St. Peterſburgh, May 7, 1809.

It is known to the whole world, with what firmneſs the trade of neutrals has been protected by Ruſſia when the powers of Europe were at war; it is known with what valour ſhe has guarded the intereſts of trading nations in time of peace againſt the events of war. Following up this invariable principle, alſo during the preſent rupture with Britain, we entertained the fulleſt hopes that the trade with friendly powers would not be carried on by forbidden means; but as experience during the laſt ſeaſon has proved to us, that the enemy has found it practicable, by means of neutral veſſels, to ſupply himſelf with ſuch produce as he ſtood in need of, and to gain ſtrength by exchanging his own produce, we have at preſent been compelled to order two veſſels to be ſeized.—

For theſe reaſons, and to prevent various ſubterfuges and artifices, we have deemed it neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome rules, and hereby order,

1. That all maſters of neutral veſſels, arriving at our ports, are to prove the property being neutral, by the following documents of the ſhip, viz. a paſs, ſhip's regiſter, muſter-roll, log-book, cocket, manifeſt of the cargo, the charter-party, bills of lading, certificates of origin, whether the cargo, or part of the ſame belonging to the captain, and by the invoices of ſuch veſſels as come from America or the Indies, or are bound there. In caſe, however, the maſter is not provided with any one of the documents, the ſhip is to be ſent out of our ports, and not to be permitted to diſcharge.

2. In caſe of neutral ſhips being partly

partly loaded with merchandize which can be proved to be of the manufacture or produce of the enemy, the ſame to be ſtopped, the goods to be ſeized and ſold by public auction, for the benefit of government; but if more than half of the cargo conſiſts of ſuch goods, then not only the cargo, but alſo the ſhip is to be seized.

3. A paſs granted the ſhip, by a neutral, friendly, or allied power, is not to be conſidered legal, as ſoon as it appears that the maſter has acted contrary to the ſame; or if the ſhip is named in the paſs differently to what ſhe is in the reſt of her documents, unleſs the alteration made is proved by documents, atteſted by legal authority, at the place from which the veſſel departed, and produced before the magiſtracy of ſaid place; in this inſtance the maſter is not to be conſidered guilty.

4. A paſs is not to be conſidered valid, if it ſhould appear that the veſſel to which it is granted was not, at the very time it is dated, at one of the ports of the power by which it had been given.

5. If the ſupercargo or maſter, or more than one-third of the crew, of a neutral veſſel, ſhould be ſubjects of powers at war with us; or if ſuch a veſſel is not provided with a muſter-roll of the crew, duly atteſted by the magiſtracy of ſuch neutral ports from which the ſame departed, then both ſhip and cargo are to be ſeized, but the crew to be ſet at liberty.

6. If it ſhould appear that the paſs produced by the maſter has been counterfeited or altered, ſhip and cargo are to be ſeized for the benefit of government, and the maſter to be brought to trial, and to be dealt with as is preſcribed by the laws for thoſe who make falſe documents; the crew to be ſet at liberty.

7. If it ſhould appear that a veſſel is provided with double documents, with different deſtinations, ſuch a veſſel and her cargo to be ſeized for the benefit of government. In caſe the maſter wiſhes to juſtify himſelf, by having loſt his documents, and cannot produce any proofs, his veſſel to be detained, granting him time for procuring the ſame proportionate to the diſtance, if he wiſhes it; elſe, if the maſter cannot wait ſo long, ſhip and cargo are immediately to be ſent off; but if at the expiration of the period fixed, the maſter does not produce the needful proofs, ſhip and cargo are to be ſeized for the benefit of government.

8. No ſhip built by the enemy is to be conſidered neutral, unleſs amongſt other documents, a duly atteſted document is found, proving the ſale or transfer to have taken place, before the declaration of the war; elſe ſhip and cargo are to be ſeized for the benefit of government.

9. If the owners or commanders of a neutral veſſel happen to be natives of a nation at war with us, and are provided with paſſes of a neutral power, in ſuch a caſe the paſs is not to ſerve as a clearance, as long as they cannot prove having become ſubjects and reſidents of ſuch a power previous to the declaration of war; elſe, they are to be ſent off, with their ſhips, not allowing them to take in return cargoes.

We

We have to record another political Revolution. The King of Sweden has been depoſed by his ſubjects; and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, has aſſumed the government of the country as Regent. The Revolution took place on the 13th of March. The King was arreſted as he was about to depart for his country reſidence; and when the laſt advices came away, was a cloſe priſoner at Stockholm. When his Majeſty was firſt ſurrounded by a guard, he drew his ſword, but was ſoon overpowered, and prevented from making reſiſtance. When the perſon of the King was ſecured, the following Proclamation was iſſued:

Proclamation iſſued by the Duke of Sudermania on his aſſuming the Government.

We Charles, by the grace of God, hereditary prince of Sweden, the Goths, Vandals, &c. Duke of Sudermania, Grand Admiral, &c. &c. do declare, That, under exiſting circumſtances, his Majeſty is incapable to act, or to conduct the important affairs of the nation: We have, therefore, (being the neareſt and only branch of the family of age,) been induced for the time being, as Adminiſtrator of the Kingdom, to take the reins of government into our hands, which, with the help of the Almighty, we will conduct, ſo that the nation may regain peace, both at home and abroad, and that trade and commerce may revive from their languiſhing ſtate.

Our inviolable intention is, to conſult with the ſtates on the means to be taken to render the future time happy to the people of Sweden. We invite and command, therefore, all the Inhabitants of our nation, our forces by ſea and land, and alſo the civil officers of all degrees, to obey us, as our real intention, and their own welfare demand.

We recommend you all to the protection of God Almighty.

Done at Stockholm Palace, the 13th March, 1809.

(Signed) CHARLES.
C. LAGERBRING.

Carlſtadt, March 10.

An alarming occurrence took place here within theſe laſt few days: Colonel Addelſparre, who commanded the troops on the frontiers of Norway, after having ſeduced them, marched in here on the night of the 6th inſtant, and demanded of the Burgomaſter quarters for his troops, which was refuſed; in conſequence of which, he made application to Count Roſen, the governor, ſtating, that if his requeſt was not granted, the troops he commanded ſhould enforce it, and take quarters wherever they could find them. Count Roſen ſtill perſiſting in the refuſal, he was ordered under arreſt, as was the Burgomaſter; and the troops forcibly obtained what their leader had demanded. Colonel Addelſparre, at the head of 2,000 regular troops, and about the ſame number of peaſantry, is now on his march to Stockholm, to demand of the King to call a Diet of the States, as well as to obtain payment of the troops under his command.

Proclamation of the Commander of the Troops ſtationed in Wiemland.

A conſiderable number of ſoldiers have taken up arms, in order to march to the capital, and re-

lieve

lieve our common, now unfortunate, and diſmembered native country.

As all our fellow-citizens muſt be ſenſible that our views are ſuch as public ſpirit and honour dictate to virtuous minds, we cannot be miſtaken in our implicit confidence, that our brethren in arms and our unarmed fellow-citizens, will not form any incorrect opinion of our ſentiments and views. They are merely theſe, that the States of the realm and our Legiſlators ſhall be at liberty to aſſemble and deliberate uncontrouled on the means of reſtoring the proſperity of our ſuffering country.

We have ſolemnly contracted the engagement to lay at their feet the arms which we have taken up to procure them freedom. We will form a wall round the hall where Swediſh Legiſlators hold their deliberations, which no power upon earth ſhall be able to beat down. We have ſolemnly contracted the engagement to deſtroy all ſuch as ſtill endeavour to prefer foreign connections to the internal welfare and tranquillity of Sweden.

Sweden's German dominions are delivered up to the enemy, and Finland, the native ſoil of a noble and gallant people, is loſt. We have ſolemnly contracted the engagement, that not a ſingle inch more of the Swediſh territory ſhall be given up to the enemy. Sweden's trade and mines are ruined and deſerted; Sweden's youth are taken from agricultural purſuits, in order to be deſtroyed by ſickneſs and the ſword. The burthens laid on agriculture are ſuch that they cannot be borne any longer. Grinding taxes are exacted without mercy; deſolation and miſery are ſpreading wide and far, and threaten univerſal ruin.

We have contracted the ſolemn engagement, that the fathers of the country ſhall enjoy full liberty to reſtore the welfare and proſperity of the country.

May the higher and lower States of the commonweal alſo join heart and hand to aſſert the freedom of the country, and thus, by harmony and well-concerted efforts, enſure ſucceſs to our enterprize and views.

May the fathers of the country offer peace and amity to our neighbours, but accompany this offer with the aſſurance that every Swediſh hero will rather be buried under the ruins of his country, than ſuffer a ſingle inch of Swediſh ground to be taken by our enemies, or transferred to them.

Our ally, Great Britain, ſhall learn to appreciate and value a nation, which knows how to break its fetters, and reſcue liberty from its chains; France ſhall learn to reſpect a people, anxious to rival her military proweſs; the rulers of Ruſſia and Denmark, inceſſantly engaged in purſuits tending to promote the proſperity of their people, will not diſturb the peace and tranquillity of a nation which merely deſires to live or die independent.

We have ſeen with ſorrow the moſt important concerns of Sweden managed in a manner which was as deſtitute of any well conceived plan as of ſucceſs.

Might not the remaining ſtrength of Sweden have been waſted by folly? but, if directed by wiſdom, may it not be employed for the real benefit of the country? Such are our wiſhes for our country, and we ſhall readily ſacrifice our lives

to

to obtain their fulfilment. It is of the utmoſt importance for Sweden, that every Swede ſhould at length be allowed to return to a peaceful home, as far as it can be done without any diſparagement to the honour and independence of Sweden.

The frontiers of the kingdom are for a ſhort time left without defence, on account of our departure from thence; but ſhould the enemy, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, avail himſelf of our abſence to attack them, we ſhall ſpeedily return, take a ſevere revenge, and convince him of the difference of a warfare carried on by perſonal hatred of the rulers, and a war urged by a nation anxious and determined to aſſert its independence.

We implicitly confide, that all military commanders will readily co-operate with us, to ſecure, by ſpeedy and vigorous exertion, the reſtoration of our loſt proſperity, in the deſtruction of our foreign foes.

To conclude, we venture to expreſs the wiſh, that our beloved countrymen and fellow citizens of every rank and deſcription may ſuſpend their judgment on all further proceedings, until the deciſion of the States of the realm ſhall be known.

(Signed)
The Commander of the Troops ſtationed in Wiemland.

Letters Patent and Proclamation of His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Sudermania, Regent of the Swediſh Kingdom, to all the Eſtates of the Realm, concerning a General Diet to be held on the 1ſt of May, in the preſent year: Given at the King's Palace, at Stockholm, March 14th, 1809.

We Charles, by the Grace of God, aſſure you, Eſtates of the Realm, Counts, Barons, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Nobles, Clergy, Burghers of Cities, and Commonality, of our particular favour, gracious intentions, and kind affection, under the protection of Almighty God.

Since we, according to our gracious Proclamation of the 13th inſtant, have found ourſelves called upon to take the reins of Government as Regent, in order to ſave our beloved native country from unavoidable deſtruction, we have conſidered it of the higheſt importance to deliberate with the States of the Realm, upon the means which may procure and confim the future happineſs of the Swediſh nation. We wiſh, therefore, and command that all the States of the Realm may aſſemble in the capital of the kingdom before the 1ſt of May next, and that not only the Nobility may regulate their conduct by the laws for the Houſe of Nobles given on the 6th of June, 1626, by the King Guſtavus Adolphus, of glorious memory, &c. and revived and confirmed by King Guſtavus III. on the 9th of November, 1778, but that the other States, which, as uſual, ſend Deputies, may obſerve the following order: From the Clergy are expected to appear the Archbiſhop, every Biſhop from his Dioceſe, the firſt Paſtor in Stockholm, together with ſo many from each Dioceſe as uſual, and of the other States as many as uſual, all provided with neceſſary letters of

deputation, in order that we may be able to begin the Diet, and after its being fortunately finiſhed, give you permiſſion to return every one to his province. Which every one muſt reſpectfully obſerve, and we are, &c. &c.

Addreſs of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Sudermania, to the People of Sweden, dated Stockholm, March 15, 1809.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Sudermania, deems it right and conformable to the duties of his high ſtation, publicly to lay before the Swediſh people, the motives and cauſes which produced the important change, which has lately taken place in the government of this country.

The archives of the ſtate contain a great variety of documents, which will prove the neceſſity of that meaſure, both to the preſent age and poſterity.

For this long time paſt the public opinion condemned a ſyſtem of warfare, which ſo little ſuits a country, the commercial concerns of which claim that neutrality, which her fortunate geographical ſituation, which ſeems to ſecure Sweden, demands, and that was ſacrificed by the government. As early as 1805, Sweden, joined by other Powers, entered into a war with France, which from local circumſtances, was then, however, confined to the loſs of her trade with nearly all the States of Europe; a loſs, which, although not to be compared with that ſhe has ſince ſuſtained, was yet of great moment.

Soon after, differences with Pruſſia aroſe, which, however, were not attended with conſequences equally important. In 1807, the ſhare which Sweden took in the coalition againſt France became momentous, and its influence on the deareſt intereſts of the country more detrimental. Swediſh Pomerania was occupied by foreign troops, and Stralſund beſieged; yet one proſpect of more fortunate times yet remained.

A continental peace was on the point of being concluded at Tilſit, and Sweden invited to form one of the contracting parties; Sweden refuſed; and in conſequence of this refuſal ſhe was compelled to fight France, and her numerous allies, ſingle-handed on the continent of Europe, and the ſiege of Stralſund was carried on with increaſed vigour. Even during that ſiege, nay, after the concluſion of the convention, which ſtipulated the evacuation of Pomerania and Rugen by our troops, offers of peace were made by the enemy, and rejected; and the German poſſeſſions of Sweden, the laſt remains of the conqueſts of Guſtavus Adolphus the Great, were loſt. Sweden had, however, to ſuſtain loſſes ſtill more ſevere. In the winter of 1807, and the following year, ſerious apprehenſions aroſe of an impending rupture with our neighbours, both on the eaſt and weſt of our empire.

Theſe apprehenſions and dangers might have been warded off a few months before by the Swediſh government, by its acceſſion to the peace of Tilſit; a peace which Sweden was not prevented from concluding by her only ally, which was offered on terms by no means irreconcileable

irreconcileable with the public intereſt of Sweden.

The war broke out in Finland, and its gallant defenders, at the end of a ſevere and honourable conflict with an enemy far ſuperior in number, were obliged to give up to him their beloved country. This misfortune, the moſt calamitous event which has befallen Sweden for centuries paſt, might have been avoided, if the powerful preparations of defence, which the ſituation and nature of the country admitted, had been conducted with wiſdom and ſkill, and if the plans of reſiſtance, no ſooner adopted than relinquiſhed, had been conceived and carried into effect, with unity and firmneſs. Finland, which, in point of population and intrinſic value, formed one third part of the Swediſh Empire, was loſt, and this loſs bore with the moſt deſtructive preſſure on the two remaining thirds.

In this ſtate of affairs, the means of waging war againſt ſuch numerous enemies could not prove ſufficient for any length of time, and no other reſource was left than to burthen with new taxes a people unable to bear them. The public neceſſities increaſed in proportion as the means and reſources of the ſtate were deſtroyed. Trade and navigation were at a ſtand; our mines and agriculture were unproductive from want of hands; univerſal ruin was ſpreading wide and far; and yet it was univerſally known that his Royal Majeſty had again repeated his former firm and unalterable determination not to conclude a peace with the preſent government of France, without which, however, no reconciliation with Denmark and Ruſſia could take place.

In this ſituation of affairs a conſiderable part of the Weſtern army formed a reſolution to march to the capital with the patriotic view which appears by the proclamation iſſued on their part. Similar movements took place among the reſt of the Swediſh troops, and it was in this critical poſition his Royal Majeſty came to the unfortunate reſolution of leaving Stockholm, and directing his family and ſeveral officers of the ſtate, to follow him. The garriſon was ordered to file off, and it was intended to aſſemble an army in the South, to oppoſe the troops who were approaching from the North and Weſt. Two diſtinct governments were thus to be formed, two armies to be aſſembled, and a civil war was to fill up the meaſure of our calamities and diſtreſs.

The King's departure was, however, poſtponed until the 13th March, at noon. An univerſal conſternation prevailed. The moſt reſpectful remonſtrances againſt his Majeſty's determination were rejected, and no other means remained even to ſecure the ſafety of the King's own perſon, than to prevent him from carrying his unfortunate reſolve into effect. In theſe circumſtances all the officers of ſtate, in conjunction with the States of the Empire, who were preſent at Stockholm, expreſſed to his Royal Highneſs the conſtitutional wiſh that he might take the reins of government into his hands; a wiſh to which his Royal Highneſs, notwithſtanding his advanced age, thought himſelf in duty bound to

accede, confiding that this ſtep will be viewed in its proper light by every honeſt patriotic Swede.

SWEDEN.

Proclamation by the King of Sweden, on his aſcending the Throne.

We, Charles XIII. by the grace of God, King of Sweden, &c. to all our faithful ſubjects, &c. &c. greeting.—When, under Divine Providence, we aſſumed, ſome time ago, the proviſional government of our beloved native country, committed to us by the ſtates of our realm, we immediately called the attention of the Diet to the indiſpenſable and important taſk of framing a new conſtitution, calculated to promote the proſperity, tranquillity, and welfare of the country, by an irrevocable union between the mutual rights and duties of the King and people of Sweden.—The ſtates having informed us that they have not only performed the important taſk committed to them by us, and the confidence of our fellow-ſubjects, but alſo that they have choſen us King of Sweden, and of the Goths and Vandals, requeſting our approbation of that choice, the cordial and loyal manner in which that election was made, did not allow us to decline its acceptance. Relying on the Omnipotent, who explores the inmoſt receſſes of the human heart, and knows the ſincerity and purity of our ſentiments, moved by the moſt fervent love and zeal for our native land, which can only ceaſe with our exiſtence, and truſting we ſhall be moſt powerfully ſupported by the loyal attachment of the noble Swediſh nation, we have therefore accepted the crown and ſceptre of Sweden.—It is far more gratifying to our feelings, to have been called upon by the free and uncontrouled voice of the people, to become their King, their protector, and defender, than if we had aſcended the ancient Swediſh throne merely by right of hereditary ſucceſſion. We ſhall govern the kingdom and people of Sweden, as an indulgent parent does his children; with implicit confidence in the honeſt; with forbearance towards thoſe who err undeliberately; uprightneſs towards all; and when the day arrives, the near approach of which is announced by our advanced age, which ſhall put an end to our worldly cares, we will hail our laſt moments with the pious reſignation of the juſt, and cloſe it by bleſſing you all.

(Signed) CHARLES.

GUST. SUYDSJELKD, Aulic Chancellor.

Council Hall, Stockholm Caſtle, June 6, 1809.

Meſſage relative to the Penſion which the States are to allow to the late King, Guſtavus Adolphus, his Queen and Children. Dated Stockholm, Aug. 15.

The period is now faſt approaching, when a prince, who lately governed Sweden, but whoſe claim the Swediſh crown has been ſolemnly cancelled by the unanimous reſolution of the States of the Realm, muſt abſent himſelf from this country. His own ſpontaneous wiſh agrees, on this point, with what the

the public tranquillity and ſecurity require. His Royal Majeſty has taken the advice of the ſecret committee on a matter of ſo much importance, which, however, the ſtate of public affairs does not yet permit his Majeſty to communicate to the Diet, and he, therefore, confines himſelf, at preſent, to the queſtion,—'What penſion or yearly allowance, are the States of the Realm willing to grant to their late King, his Queen, and children?' Which queſtion being anſwered, another will occur relative to the country, which it will be moſt proper to aſſign for the reſidence of Guſtavus Adolphus and his family.

His Majeſty does not deem it ſuperfluous to add ſome obſervations for the States to bear in mind in their deliberations on this ſubject. The States cannot but be aware, that their deciſion muſt bear that ſtamp of dignified generoſity, which becomes a noble-minded nation; that misfortune craves reſpect; and that humanity itſelf commands forgiveneſs and oblivion of the paſt. His Royal Majeſty is anxiouſly deſirous that the States of the Realm, by deciding the ſubject under diſcuſſion on theſe principles, ſhould meet his wiſhes, and thus give a pledge to Europe of the purity of the motives which induced Sweden to reviſe her ſyſtem of government, and renew the ſtructure of the ſtate.

CHARLES.

Treaty of Peace between Sweden and Ruſſia. Dated 5-17th September, 1809.

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity! His Majeſty the King of Sweden, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, equally animated with the deſire of cauſing the advantages of peace to ſucceed to the calamities of war, and of re-eſtabliſhing harmony and good underſtanding between their States, have, to this effect, appointed their Plenipotentiaries; namely, his Majeſty the King of Sweden, Baron Count Louis Bogislas; Chriſtopher de Stedinck, one of the Nobles of the kingdom of Sweden, General of Infantry of the Swediſh armies, Knight and Commander of the Swediſh Orders, Grand Croſs of the Order of the Sword, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newſky, and of St. Anne of the firſt claſs; and M. Andrew Frederick Skjoldebrand, Colonel and Commander of the Order of the Sword: and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, Count Nicholas Romanzoff, actual Privy Counſellor, Member of the Council of State, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, Miniſter of Commerce, Senator, actual Chamberlain, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newſky, Grand Croſs of the Order of St. Wladimir, and of St. Anne of the Firſt Claſſes, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour of France, Knight of the Royal Pruſſian Orders of the Black Eagle and Red Eagle, and of the Royal Dutch Order of the Union; and M. David Alopeus, actual Chamberlain, Knt. of the Grand Croſs of the Order of St. Wladimir of the Second Claſs, and of St. Anne of the Firſt; who, after the exchange of their reſpective full powers, found to be good and in due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. I. There ſhall henceforth be peace, friendſhip and good underſtanding between his Majeſty the King of Sweden, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias.—The high contracting parties will make it their chief ſtudy to maintain a perfect harmony between themſelves, their ſtates, and ſubjects, and will carefully avoid whatever may hereafter diſturb the union ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed.

II. His Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias having manifeſted his invariable reſolution not to ſeparate his intereſt from thoſe of his allies, and his Swediſh Majeſty wiſhing to give, in favour of his ſubjects, all the extent poſſible to the advantages of the Peace, promiſes and engages, in the moſt ſolemn and binding manner, to neglect nothing which, on his part, may tend to the prompt concluſion of peace between him and his Majeſty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majeſty the King of Denmark and Norway, by the means of the direct negociations already commenced with theſe powers.

III. His Majeſty the King of Sweden, in order to give an evident proof of his deſire to renew the moſt intimate relations with the auguſt allies of his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, promiſes to adhere to the continental ſyſtem, with ſuch modifications as ſhall be more particularly ſtipulated in the negociation which is about to be opened between Sweden, France and Denmark.

Meanwhile, his Swediſh Majeſty engages, from the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent Treaty, to order that the ports of the kingdom of Sweden ſhall be cloſed, both to the ſhips of war and merchantmen of Great Britain, with the exception of the importation of ſalt and colonial productions, which habit has rendered neceſſary to the people of Sweden.

His Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias promiſes before-hand, to conſent to every modification which his allies may conſider juſt and fit to be admitted in favour of Sweden, with reſpect to commerce and mercantile navigation.

IV. His Majeſty, the King of Sweden, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, renounces irrevocably and in perpetuity, in favour of his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, and his ſucceſſors to the throne and empire of Ruſſia, all his rights and titles to the governments hereafter ſpecified, which have been conquered from the Crown of Sweden by the arms of his Imperial Majeſty in the preſent war, namely—The governments of Kymenagard, Nyland, and Tavaſtchus, Abo and Bjorneborg, with the iſles Aland, Savolax and Corelia, Waſa, Uleaborg, and part of Weſt Bothnia, extending to the river of Tornea, as ſhall be fixed in the ſubſequent article in the demarkation of the frontiers.

Theſe governments, with all the inhabitants, towns, ports, fortreſſes, villages and iſlands, as well as all the dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and emoluments, ſhall henceforth belong, in full property and ſovereignty, to the Empire of Ruſſia, and ſhall remain incorporated with it.

To this effect, his Majeſty the King of Sweden promiſes, in the moſt ſolemn and obligatory manner, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors,

ſucceſſors, and all the kingdom of Sweden, never to make any claim, direct or indirect, on the ſaid governments, provinces, iſlands, and territories, all the inhabitants of which ſhall, in virtue of this renunciation, be relieved from the homage and oath of fidelity by which they were bound to the crown of Sweden.

V. The ſea of Aland, (Alands Haf) the Gulph of Bothnia, and the rivers Tornea and Muonio, ſhall hereafter form the frontier between Ruſſia and the kingdom of Sweden.

The neareſt iſlands, of an equal diſtance from the main land of Aland and Finland, ſhall belong to Ruſſia, and thoſe which are neareſt to the Swediſh coaſt ſhall belong to Sweden.

The moſt advanced points of the Ruſſian territory, at the mouth of the river of Tornea, ſhall be the iſle of Bjorken, the port of Rentehamn, and the peninſula on which the town of Tornea ſtands. The frontier ſhall then be extended along the river Tornea, to the confluence of the two branches of that river, near Kengis. It ſhall then follow the courſe of the rivers Muonio, paſſing in the front of Muonioniſka, Muonio Ofrebo, Palajoeus, Rultane, Enontekis, Kelottijofoi, Paitiko, Nuimaka, Raunula and Kilpisjaure, to Norway.

In the courſe of the rivers Tornea and Muonio, ſuch as it has been deſcribed, the iſlands ſituated to the eaſt of the Thalwag ſhall belong to Ruſſia, and thoſe to the weſt of the Thalwag to Sweden.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, engineers ſhall be appointed on each ſide, who ſhall proceed to the before-mentioned places, to fix the limits along the rivers Tornea and Muonio, according to the above deſcribed line.

VI. His Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias having already given the moſt manifeſt proofs of the clemency and juſtice with which he has reſolved to govern the inhabitants of the countries which he has acquired, by generouſly, and of his own ſpontaneous act, aſſuring to them the free exerciſe of their religion, rights, property, and privileges, his Swediſh Majeſty conſiders himſelf thereby diſpenſed from performing the otherwiſe ſacred duty of making reſervations in the above reſpects, in favour of his former ſubjects.

VII. On the ſignature of the preſent treaty, information thereof ſhall be tranſmitted immediately, and with the greateſt celerity, to the Generals of the reſpective armies, and hoſtilities ſhall entirely ceaſe on both ſides, both by ſea and land. Thoſe acts of hoſtility which may in the mean time be committed, ſhall be regarded as null, and ſhall not infringe this treaty. Whatever may be, during the intervening period, taken or conquered, on the one ſide or the other, ſhall be faithfully reſtored.

VIII. Within four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, the troops of his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia ſhall evacuate Weſt Bothnia, and repaſs the river Tornea.

During the ſaid four weeks, there ſhall be made no requiſition of any kind whatever on the inhabitants; and the Ruſſian army ſhall draw its ſupplies and ſubſiſt-

ence from its own magazines, eſtabliſhed in the towns of Weſt Bothnia.

If during the negociations, the Imperial troops have penetrated in any other direction into the kingdom of Sweden, they ſhall evacuate the countries they have occupied, in virtue of the before ſtipulated conditions.

IX. All the priſoners of war, made on either ſide, by ſea or land, and all the hoſtages delivered during the war, ſhall be reſtored in maſs, and without ranſom, as ſpeedily as poſſible; but at the lateſt within three months, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications; but if any priſoners may be prevented by ſickneſs, or other cauſe, from returning into their country within the period ſpecified, they ſhall not thereby be conſidered as having forfeited the right ſtipulated above. They ſhall be obliged to diſcharge, or to give ſecurity for, the debts they may have contracted, during their captivity, with the inhabitants of the country in which they may have been detained.

The expences which may have been incurred by the high contracting parties, for all ſubſiſtence and maintenance of the priſoners, ſhall be reciprocally renounced, and proviſion ſhall reſpectively be made for their ſubſiſtence, and the expence for their journey to the frontiers of both places, where commiſſioners from their Sovereigns ſhall be directed to receive them.

The Finland ſoldiers and ſeamen are, on the part of his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, excepted from this reſtitution, with reference to the capitulations which have taken place, if they grant them a different right.

The military and other officers, natives of Finland, who may wiſh to remain, ſhall enjoy that privilege, and the full exerciſe of all their rights over their property, debts, and effects, which they have now, or may hereafter have, in the kingdom of Sweden, on the footing of the 10th article of the preſent treaty.

X. The Fins now in Sweden, as well as the Swedes now in Finland, ſhall be at full liberty to return into their reſpective countries, and to diſpoſe of their property, moveable and immoveable, without paying any duty of removal, or any other impoſt due on the like occaſions.

The ſubjects of the two high powers, eſtabliſhed in either country, Sweden or Finland, ſhall have full liberty to eſtabliſh themſelves in the other, during the ſpace of three years, from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty: but ſhall be held to ſell or alienate, during the ſaid period, to any ſubject of the power whoſe dominion they deſire to quit.

The property of thoſe who, at the expiration of the above term, have not complied with this regulation, ſhall be ſold at a public ſale, by authority of the magiſtrate, and the produce thereof delivered to the owners.

During the three years above fixed, it ſhall be allowable to all to make ſuch uſe as they may pleaſe of their property, the peaceable enjoyment of which is formally ſecured and guaranteed to them.

They

They may, themſelves, or their agents, paſs freely from one ſtate to the other, in order to manage their affairs, without experiencing any obſtacle whatever, in conſequence of their quality of ſubjects of the other power.

XI. There ſhall henceforth be a perpetual oblivion of the paſt, and a general amneſty for the reſpective ſubjects, whoſe opinions, in favour of one or the other of the high contracting parties during the preſent war, may have rendered them ſuſpected or liable to puniſhment.—No trial ſhall hereafter be inſtituted againſt them on ſuch grounds. If any proceſs have been commenced, it ſhall be annulled and ſuperſeded, and no new proceeding ſhall be commenced.

All ſequeſtrations of property or revenues ſhall, in conſequence, be immediately removed, and the property ſhall be reſerved to the owners; it being well underſtood that ſuch as become ſubjects of either of the two powers, in virtue of the preceding article, ſhall have no right to claim from the Sovereign, of whom they have ceaſed to be a ſubject, the annuities or penſions which may have been obtained in virtue of acts of grace, conceſſions or appointments, for preceding ſervices.

XII. The titles, domains, archives and other documents, public and private, the plans and charts of fortreſſes, towns and territories, devolved by the preſent treaty to his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, including the charts and papers which may be depoſited in the Surveyor's Office, ſhall be faithfully delivered up, within the ſpace of ſix months; or if that period ſhould be found too ſhort, at the lateſt within one year.

XIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the high contracting parties ſhall remove all ſequeſtrations which may have been placed on the property or revenues of the reſpective inhabitants therein ſituated.

XIV. The debts, both public and private, contracted by the Fins in Sweden, and vice verſa, by the Swedes in Finland, ſhall be diſcharged on the terms and conditions ſtipulated.

XV. The ſubjects of either of the high contracting parties, to whom inheritance may fall in the States of one or the other, may, without obſtacle, take poſſeſſion of the ſame, and enjoy it under the protection of the laws. The exerciſe of this right, however, in Finland, is ſubject to the ſtipulations of Article X. in virtue of which the proprietor ſhall either fix his reſidence in the country, or ſell the inheritance within three years.

XVI. The duration of the Treaty of Commerce between the high contracting parties being limited to the 17th, (29th) Oct. 1811, his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia conſents not to reckon its interruption during the war; and that the ſaid Treaty ſhall continue in force until the 1ſt (13th) February, 1813, with reſpect to every thing not contrary to the diſpoſitions of the Commercial Manifeſto iſſued at St. Peterſburgh, Jan. 1ſt, 1809.

XVII. The territories incorporated with the Ruſſian Empire, in virtue of this Treaty, being attached to Sweden, by commercial relations,

relations, which long intercourſe, neighbourhood, and reciprocal wants have rendered almoſt indiſpenſable, the high contracting parties, deſirous of preſerving to their ſubjects theſe means of mutual advantage, agree to make ſuch arrangements as may be neceſſary for conſolidating them. In the mean time, until they come to an underſtanding on this ſubject, the Fins ſhall have the power of importing from Sweden, ore, ſmelted iron, lime, ſtones for building ſmelting furnaces, and in general all the other productions of the ſoil of Sweden.

In return the Swedes may export from Finland, cattle, fiſh, corn, cloth, pitch, planks, wooden utenſils of all kinds, wood for building, and in general, all the other productions of the ſoil of the Grand Duchy.

This traffic ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed and maintained to the 1ſt (13th) of October, 1811, preciſely on the ſame footing it was before the war, and ſhall be liable to no interruption or burden, with the reſervation of ſuch reſtrictions as the political relations of the two States may render neceſſary.

XVIII. The annual exportation of 50,000 ſchetwerts of corn, purchaſed in the ports of the Gulf of Finland, or of the Baltic, belonging to Ruſſia, is granted to his Majeſty the King of Sweden, free of the export duty, on proof being ſhewn that the purchaſe has been made on his account, or in virtue of his authority.

Years of ſcarcity, in which the exportation ſhall be prohibited, are excepted, but the quantity in arrear, in conſequence of ſuch order, may be made up when the prohibition ſhall be removed.

XIX. With reſpect to ſalutes at ſea, the two high contracting parties agree to regulate them on the footing of the moſt perfect equality between the two Crowns. When their veſſels of war meet at ſea, the ſalutes ſhall take place in conformity to the rank of the commanders, in ſuch manner that he who holds the ſuperior rank ſhall receive the firſt ſalute, which ſhall be returned gun for gun. If the commanders are of equal rank, no ſalute ſhall take place on either ſide; before caſtles, fortreſſes, and at the entrance of ports, the party arriving ſhall ſalute firſt, and the ſalute ſhall be returned gun for gun.

XX. Difficulties which may ariſe on points not determined by this Treaty ſhall be diſcuſſed and ſettled by ambaſſadors or miniſters plenipotentiary reſpectively appointed, who ſhall be guided by the ſpirit of conciliation which has dictated the Treaty.

XXI. This Treaty ſhall be ratified by the two contracting powers; and the ratifications exchanged in proper and due form, within four weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible, reckoning from the day of the ſignature of the preſent Treaty.

In faith of which we, the underſigned, in virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent Treaty of Peace, and have thereto affixed our ſeals.

Done at Friedrickſham, this 5-17th of September, in the year of Grace, 1809.

Count NICHOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.
DAVID ALOPEUS.
Count STEDINCK.
A. F. SKJOLDEBRAND.

Abſtract

Abſtract of the New Conſtitution of Sweden.

§ 1 to 9.—The government of Sweden ſhall be monarchical and hereditary, with limitation to the iſſue male. The King muſt be of the true evangelical religion, and muſt govern conformably to this conſtitution, and with and by the advice of a council of ſtates (Stats rad), the members of which are to be appointed by the King, who is wholly exempt from reſponſibility, but the members are reſponſible for their advice. The members muſt be natives of Sweden, and of the true evangelical faith. The council ſhall conſiſt of nine members, viz. the miniſter of ſtate for judicial affairs, the miniſter of ſtate for foreign affairs, ſix counſellors, of whom three at leaſt muſt be civil officers, and the chancellor of the court. The ſecretaries of ſtate ſhall have a ſeat in the council, whenever any caſe belonging to their reſpective departments ſhall be under deliberation. A father and a ſon, or two brothers, cannot be members of the council at the ſame time. There are four ſecretaries of ſtate, namely, one for the foreign department, one for the home department, one for the exchequer or financial department, and one for the eccleſiaſtical department. All the affairs of government (except the diplomatic or foreign relations, and the immediate command of the army and navy) ſhall be ſubmitted to the conſideration and deciſion of the King, aſſiſted by at leaſt three members, excluſive of the acting ſecretary, which number is required to conſtitute a council of ſtate for the tranſaction of buſineſs. A minute ſhall be made of all the proceedings of the council, every member preſent ſhall be unconditionally bound to give his advice, but the privilege of deciding is veſted in the king, who, by virtue of his prerogative, may aſſent or diſſent from any meaſure, in oppoſition to the votes or opinions of all members. But in the poſſible event of the deciſion of his majeſty being repugnant to the conſtitution and laws, the members are required by the moſt ſolemn obligation to remonſtrate, and in caſe any member's opinion ſhall not be duly recorded, ſuch member ſhall be deemed guilty of counſelling and abetting the king in his unconſtitutional deciſion.

§ 9 to 13.—Before any appeal can be made to the king in council, it muſt be ſubmitted to the ſecretary of ſtate, and a council ſpecially appointed for hearing it. Miniſterial or political affairs are to be conſidered and decided by the king, who in the excerciſe of his prerogative muſt take the advice of his miniſter of ſtate for foreign affairs, and the chancellor of the council, who are reſponſible for their advice. The king may conclude treaties with foreign powers, after conſulting the ſaid miniſter of ſtate, and chancellor. The king, previous to his declaring war or concluding peace, muſt ſtate to the council his motive for ſo doing, and the members ſhall give their opinion on the ſubject under their own reſponſibility.

§ 13 to 15.—The ſupreme command of the navy and army is veſted in the king; as alſo the ultimate deciſion in all matters relative thereto, aſſiſted by the miniſter of ſtate for either ſervice, who ſhall be reſponſible for their advice.

§ 16.

§ 16.—The king cannot deprive, or cauſe any ſubject to be deprived, of his life, liberty, honour, or property, without trial and judgment, nor can he haraſs or perſecute any perſon for his religious opinions, provided the promulgation of them, or the exerciſe of his religion, be not injurious to the community.

§ 16 to 27.—Relate to the conſtitution of a council of juſtice, which is to conſiſt of ſix noblemen and ſix commoners, who are to decide in judicial affairs. The king has alſo two votes, and may pardon criminals, and mitigate or commute puniſhments.

§ 27 to 31.—The king, in the council of ſtate, is to appoint perſons to civil and military offices; as alſo the archbiſhop and biſhops, in the manner formerly done.

§ 32.—Ambaſſadors, envoys, &c. to foreign courts, are to be nominated by the king, in the preſence of the miniſter of ſtate for foreign affairs, and the chancellor of the court.

§ 32 to 35.—Deſcribe the manner of appointing civil and military officers, and what officers holding ſituations of oſtenſible truſt and confidence, may be removed at the pleaſure of the king, having previouſly ſignified his pleaſure to the council.

§ 35 to 38.—The king cannot remove a judge from his office, except for juſt cauſe and proof of criminality. The king is to have the privilege of creating noblemen, whoſe eldeſt ſons and heirs only are to inherit the family title. All decrees muſt be counterſigned by a ſecretary of ſtate.

§ 38 to 40.—The king ſhall not quit the kingdom without conſulting the council, who, in the event of his departure, is to govern in his abſence.

§ 40 to 48.—Declare, that the prince or king ſhall be of age at twenty-one, and on his not having heirs male, the diet ſhall be aſſembled and chooſe a ſucceſſor. No prince of the blood can marry without the king's conſent, neither the crown prince nor the other princes can hold any hereditary office. The king appoints all his officers of the court and houſehold.

§ 49.—The ſtates of the kingdom are to be aſſembled every fifth year at Stockholm.

§ 49 to 90.—Regulate the mode of electing members of the diet.—The king cannot impoſe any taxes without the conſent of the diet, and the bank is under the immediate controul of the ſtates of the kingdom.—The king cannot negotiate loans within the kingdom, nor in foreign countries: nor can he ſell, diſpoſe of, or alienate, any province belonging to the kingdom, nor alter the value of the current coin.

§ 90 to 94.—Provide, that if the king continue abſent more than a twelvemonth, the diet muſt be aſſembled, and the king be informed thereof. That when the ſucceſſor is not of age, the diet muſt be aſſembled, and appoint a regency to govern during his minority. When the king is eighteen years of age, he is to attend the ſeveral courts of juſtice, without, however, taking any part in the deciſions.

§ 94 to 107.—Explain what is to be done, ſhould the members of the council neglect aſſembling the diet, or act contrary to their duty; and enjoins, that at each diet a committee

committee ſhall be appointed for inquiring into the conduct of the miniſters, council, and ſecretaries of ſtate.

§ 108.—Regards a committee for ſuperintending the liberty of the preſs.

§ 108 to 114.—State, that no diet can be of longer duration than three months, except buſineſs ſhall require it. No man, while a member of the diet, can be accuſed, or deprived of his liberty, for his actions or expreſſions in his reſpective ſtate, unleſs the particular ſtate to which he belong ſhall demand it. No officer of the crown muſt influence, by his authority, in the election of a member of the diet, &c.

Letter from General Armſtrong to Mr. Madiſon, dated, Paris, 7th Auguſt, 1808, encloſing a Letter to Mr. Champagny.

It would have given me the higheſt pleaſure to have drawn from this government, ſuch explanations on the general ſubject of our differences with them, as would have met the friendly and equitable views of the United States, but I owe it as well to you as to myſelf, to declare, that every attempt for that purpoſe hitherto made, has failed, and under circumſtances, which by no means indicate any change, in this reſpect for the better.

The ſame to the ſame.

I wrote a few lines to you yeſterday. Two weeks have gone by without any new condemnation.—My remonſtrances continue to remain unanſwered.

I encloſe a copy of my note of yeſterday to M. De Champagny.

From Mr. Armſtrong to Mons. Champagny.

Mr. Armſtrong preſents his compliments to M. De Champagny, and begs leave to inform him, that having, for ſome months paſt, made trial of the artificial waters of Tivoli without any uſeful effect, his phyſician has preſcribed for him thoſe of Bourbon D'Archambault. Should M. De Champagny have any communications to make to Mr. Armſtrong, he will be pleaſed to addreſs them as uſual, to the Hotel de Legation Americane, rue Vanguard, 100, whence they will be regularly and promptly tranſmitted to Bourbon.

On leaving Paris, Mr. Armſtrong thinks proper to ſtate his regret, that the political relations of the two powers ſhould continue to wear an aſpect leſs auſpicious to their future good underſtanding, than is wiſhed for by thoſe who are the friends of both.

That his majeſty (Napoleon) has a right to make ſuch municipal regulations as he may deem proper, with regard to foreign commerce, neither is nor has been denied. For example, he may forbid the entry into the ports of France of American Ships which have touched in England, or been deſtined to England; and he may either ſequeſter or confiſcate ſuch veſſels of the United States as ſhall infract theſe laws, after due promulgation and notice thereof; but beyond this, the United States hope and believe that his majeſty will not go.

M. De Champagny will not fail to ſeize the diſtinction which theſe remarks preſent, between the authority of municipal regulations and that of public law, and will decide whether it does or does not offer a ground on which a good underſtanding ſo long and ſo uſefully maintained between the United States and France, may be preſerved, and a degree of intercourſe revived between them, which ſhall have the effect of reanimating their former induſtry.

Does his majeſty fear that the balance of trade ariſing from this renewed induſtry, would go to the advantage of England? Means are certainly not wanting to prevent this conſequence. Would it not be entirely avoided by making it a condition of the commerce in queſtion, that all ſhips leaving France ſhall take in (in ſome article or articles of her manufacture) the full amount of the cargo they bring hither.

Ships ſailing under this regulation would or would not go voluntarily to England. If they went voluntarily, it would only be becauſe that country afforded the beſt markets for the production of France, in which caſe, the habitual reſults would be entirely changed, and England ceaſing to receive a balance for her manufactures, would begin to pay one to the United States, on the productions of France. Could France wiſh a ſtate of commerce more proſperous than this?

If, on the other hand, the American ſhips did not go voluntarily to England, but were captured and ſent in for adjudication, it may be fairly preſumed, that the United States would no longer heſitate about becoming a party in the war againſt England.

Thus, in either caſe, the intereſts of his majeſty would be directly advanced by the meaſure; in the one, the wants of France and her colonies would be not only regularly ſupplied, but ſhe would herſelf become an entrepot for the ſupply of the continent: in the other, the wiſhes of his majeſty, as expreſſed in February laſt, would be directly promoted.

Letter from Mr. Giles, Member of the Embargo Committee, to Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treaſury, Dated 11th *November*, 1808.

Dear Sir,

I am inſtructed by the committee appointed to conſider the ſeveral embargo laws, &c. to requeſt you to lay before them with as little delay as poſſible, ſuch information as your department affords upon the following queſtions.

Firſt, What meaſures would be moſt effectual in preventing the violations or evaſions of the ſeveral embargo laws: and enforcing due obſervance thereof?

Second, Can any of the inconveniencies of the preſent ſyſtem be remedied by further modifications; and what modifications would effect that object?

Be pleaſed, Sir, to accept aſſurances of my high conſideration and regard.

Letter from Mr. Gallatin, in Anſwer to Mr. Giles, Dated, 21ſt *November*, 1808.

Sir,

Indiſpoſition has prevented an earlier

earlier anſwer to your letter of the 14th inſt.

For better preventing coaſting veſſels regularly cleared from violating the embargo, two meaſures appear neceſſary:

1ſt. That the amount of the bonds ſhould be increaſed.

2dly. That neither capture, diſtreſs, or any other accident ſhould be admitted as a plea, or be given in evidence on trial.

By the firſt regulation the temptation of going to a foreign port, in hopes that the profit on the ſale of the cargo will indemnify for the forfeiture of the penalty, will be done away. By the ſecond, every expectation of eſcaping the payment of the penalty under fraudulent pretences will be diſappointed; and the power of remitting the penalties in the few caſes of unavoidable accident which may occur, will remain as heretofore, and as in other caſes, with the treaſury.

As the object of thoſe two regulations will be to make the bond a ſufficient and complete ſecurity, they will have a tendency to relieve, in a conſiderable degree, the coaſting trade from the inconvenience reſulting from detentions. The ſufficiency of the bond will in many doubtful caſes remove the neceſſity of detaining the veſſels, or what amounts to the ſame, of informing the owners that unleſs they reduce the amount of their cargoes they will be detained.

I would alſo ſubmit the propriety of placing under the controul of the Preſident, that power of detention veſted in the collectors by the act of the 25th April laſt. That ſubject has been a conſtant ſource of complaint and difficulty. It has been the uniform practice from the eſtabliſhment of the government of the United States, to give poſitive inſtructions to the collectors reſpecting the execution of the laws, and which they were bound to obey, unleſs a different conſtruction ſhould be eſtabliſhed by a legal deciſion. This indeed was eſſentially neceſſary, in order to ſecure an uniform conſtruction and execution of the laws. But the proviſion now alluded to makes the detention to reſt on the opinion of each collector, and this muſt neceſſarily produce a great diverſity in the manner in which the power ſhould be executed. All has been done that can be done to obviate that evil; and the Preſident being authoriſed to decide on the detentions when made, the opportunity was taken to inform the collectors of what in his opinion ſhould be a proper cauſe of detention. This however could be given only as opinion, and operate as a recommendation, and not as an order. Nor does it appear practicable to eſtabliſh uniformity, and to prevent partiality, and either laxity or too great ſeverity in practice, unleſs the power of preſcribing general rules in that reſpect by which the collectors will be bound to abide, be veſted in the Preſident.

I am aware that there is another mode of evaſion, by regular coaſting veſſels, which will not be prevented by either of the preceding proviſions. Either whilſt in port or on their way down our rivers and bays, coaſting veſſels may receive articles not entered on their manifeſt, which they put on board other veſſels lying off the coaſt for that purpoſe.

But

But it is not perceived that any legal proviſion can prevent that infraction, nor that any other remedy can be found than the vigilance of the officers. Another general regulation will, however, be ſuggeſted; perhaps uſeful as a permanent meaſure, but which would, at all events, under exiſting circumſtances, give additional ſecurity for the obſervance of the laws, and afford ſome relief to our own ſeamen; to wit, a prohibition to employ any aliens either as maſters or part of the crew of any coaſting veſſel.

It is ſtill more difficult to guard againſt violations by veſſels departing without clearance, in open defiance of the laws. The following proviſions, on mature conſideration, appear the moſt efficient that can be deviſed againſt infractions, which it is the more neceſſary to repreſs, as they may be daily expected to increaſe, and threaten to proſtrate the law and government itſelf.

1ſt. To forbid expreſsly under pain of forfeiture (the penalty now being only implied) the lading of any veſſel without the permiſſion of the collector, and without the bond for a coaſting voyage being previouſly given;—authoriſing the collectors to refuſe permiſſion, unleſs the object be that of a lawful coaſting or fiſhing voyage. The great number of veſſels now laden and in a ſtate of readineſs to depart, ſhews the neceſſity of this proviſion. If there be caſes in which the indulgence of converting veſſels into warehouſes ought to be granted, there will be no hardſhip, where the intention is fair, to require a bond ſimilar to that for a coaſting voyage. And the collectors ſhould likewiſe in ſuch caſes be expreſsly authoriſed to take ſuch efficient precautions as will put it out of the power of ſuch veſſels to ſail without warning.

2. In order to prevent thoſe fraudulent ſales of veſſels by which oſtenſible owners of no reſponſibility are ſubſtituted to thoſe from whom penalties might be recovered, it is neceſſary to provide that thoſe owners of veſſels whoſe names appear on the regiſter or licence, ſhould continue to be reputed as ſuch, and liable to the penalties in caſe of infraction of the laws, until the regiſter or licence ſhall have been actually ſurrendered, and new papers ſhall have been regularly granted by the collector to the purchaſer, and in every ſuch caſe of purchaſe, a ſufficient bond that the embargo ſhall not be infringed, to be previouſly required.

3. The power to ſeize unuſual depoſits now veſted in the collectors of diſtricts adjacent to the territories of foreign nations ſhould, as was contemplated in the bill paſſed by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, be extended to all the diſtricts. That this is an arbitrary power which nothing but the unremitted efforts in ſome places to evade the law can publicly juſtify, cannot be denied; and it ſhould, like that of detention, be placed under the controul of the Preſident, and be executed only in conformity with ſuch general rules as he would preſcribe.

4. Excluſively of the aſſiſtance which may be derived from gunboats and from the armed veſſels of the United States, it would be adviſable to authoriſe the Preſident to add ten or twelve cutters to the preſent eſtabliſhment.

Faſt

Faſt ſailing veſſels of every draft of water, and requiring only from fifteen to thirty men each, are moſtly wanted, and would, for the object contemplated, be as uſeful as the largeſt frigates.

5. It is with regret that the neceſſity of authoriſing, on the application of the collectors, an immediate call of the local phyſical force of the country, muſt alſo be ſtated. But ſuch partial acts of violence as have taken place in ſome of the ſea-ports, cannot be prevented by the circuitous manner in which the public force muſt now be brought out in ſupport of the laws. And no doubt exiſts that the maſs of the citizens, whether they approve or diſapprove of the embargo, would in every port inſtantaneouſly ſuppreſs any ſuch outrage, when they can be called upon to act in a legal manner.

Some other proviſions appear alſo neceſſary for the purpoſe of carrying the laws more completely into effect along our land frontiers.

1. The exportation of ſpecie by land ſhould be expreſsly prohibited.

2. The power of detaining depoſits ſhould be ſo expreſſed as to leave no doubt of the authority to detain waggons and other carriages laden and actually on their way to a foreign territory. Although I cannot perceive any reaſon for the diſtinction, it has been ſuppoſed in one of the diſtricts, that the law which authoriſed the detention of flour, beef, or potaſh depoſited in a warehouſe, did not extend to the caſe of their being depoſited in a waggon although evidently on its way to Canada.

3. The offence now publiſhed by law is that of exportation. This is not conſummated till after the property has been actually carried beyond the lines, where being in a foreign jurisdiction, it cannot be ſeized: ſo that forfeiture, which is the moſt efficient penalty, can never apply to exportations by land; and the bond being required, as in the caſe of veſſels, the only remedy is the uncertain one of recovering penalties againſt apparent offenders who either abſconded or have no property. How far it may be practicable to make the act of preparing the means of exportation puniſhable, or provide ſome other remedy, is ſubmitted to the committee.

But it muſt alſo be obſerved, that every degree of oppoſition to the laws, which falls ſhort of treaſon, is now, with but few exceptions, an offence undefined and unprovided for by the laws of the United States.—Whence it follows that ſuch offences remain unpuniſhed when the ſtate authorities do not interfere. The neceſſity of defining thoſe offences by law as miſdemeanors, and of providing an adequate puniſhment, appears obvious.

I will beg leave here to add that it does not appear neceſſary to continue any longer the indulgence granted to the Britiſh merchants to import for the uſe of the Indians articles of which the importation is generally prohibited by law, as that privilege is liable to great abuſe, and affords juſt ground of diſſatisfaction to American citizens.

Whether it be adviſeable to continue the permiſſion given to thoſe Indian traders to export furs and peltry, is a queſtion to be decided by political conſiderations.

The laſt branch of the ſubject to which I wiſh at preſent to call the attention of the committee, relates to interruptions and certain injurious proceedings attempted under colour of law.

1. Vexatious ſuits are brought againſt collectors, which not only perplex faithful officers, but have the effect of intimidating others, and prevent an energetic performance of their duties. The only proviſions which have occurred to me on the ſubject, are to enable the collectors who may be ſued, always to remove the cauſe before a court of the United States; to make a certificate iſſued by the proper authority, that there was reaſonable cauſe of detention, protect them againſt damages in caſes of detention, in the ſame manner as is now provided in caſes of ſeizures; and to provide for the ſafe keeping, and reſtoring when proper, and on ſecurity being given, the veſſels and property which may be detained.

2. Attempts have in ſeveral inſtances been made to wreſt from the collectors by writs of replevin, iſſued by the ſtate courts or officers, property detained or ſeized by ſaid collectors, or which, in any other manner, is in their poſſeſſion in conformity with ſome law of the United States. It is evident that ſuch attempts, if ſubmitted to, would defeat not only the embargo, but alſo the revenue laws of the United States; that whenever property is by virtue of the law of the United States in the poſſeſſion of a collector, marſhal, or any other of their officers, no proceſs *in rem*, which will take the property away, whether of replevin, attachment, or any other, can be legally iſſued by a ſtate authority; and that the ſheriff or other perſon executing the ſame muſt be conſidered a mere treſpaſſer, and be reſiſted accordingly. But there is no other way at preſent to reſiſt ſuch illegal proceſs but actual force. And it appears neceſſary that another remedy ſhould be afforded, by providing a ſummary mode of ſuperſeding any ſuch proceſs, through the interference of the courts of juſtice of the United States; and by making it penal for any ſheriff or other perſon, to execute the ſame, or in any manner to attempt to take property which by virtue of any law of the United States is in the collector's poſſeſſion.

3. In ſome inſtances where veſſels and cargoes libelled for infractions of the embargo have been reſtored to their owners on their giving ſecurity for the appraiſed value, the valuations have been ſo low as to reduce the forfeiture to an inconſiderable ſum, thereby defeating altogether the law. It is ſuggeſted that this might be prevented by a proviſion authoriſing and directing the diſtrict judges to ſet aſide on motion of the diſtrict attorney, ſuch valuation, whenever in their opinion falling ſhort of the true value.

On the ſubject of *mandamus*, I will only obſerve that, in the only inſtance which has taken place, the court, ſuppoſing they had juriſdiction, could not, from the manner in which the queſtion was brought before them, have decided otherwiſe than they did, but that it is deſirable that the queſtion of juriſdiction, as it relates either to the courts

courts in whom the power ought to be veſted, or to the courts to which it ſhould extend, ſhould be preciſely defined by law.

I have not in this communication taken into conſideration the technical defects of the exiſting embargo laws, becauſe proſecutions do not fall within my immediate cognizance, and I do not feel competent to the taſk of pointing out the neceſſary alterations. Meaſures have, however, been taken to procure on that ſubject and from the proper ſources, information which will hereafter be laid before the committee.

To the remaining enquiry of the committee, whether the inconveniences of the preſent ſyſtem may not in ſome degree be removed, I can only anſwer, generally, that a law which lays ſuch extenſive reſtrictions as the embargo, cannot be carried into effect without impoſing ſerious inconveniences even on the domeſtic intercourſe of the United States; and that theſe muſt neceſſarily be increaſed in proportion to the oppoſition and efforts to evade or violate the law. It has already been ſtated that proviſions which will render the bond given by coaſting veſſels a complete ſecurity againſt violations of them, will diminiſh the neceſſity and extent of more arbitrary reſtrictions. An authority to permit on proper ſecurity being given, ſuch veſſels when they arrive in port, to keep their cargoes on board, would afford ſome relief. And I think that the credit on duties accruing on the importation of ſome articles which was allowed by the act of 10th March laſt, ſhould be extended to all importations of the ſame articles made after the paſſing of the act, thoſe made in veſſels which ſailed under ſpecial permiſſion only excepted. With reſpect to this laſt claſs of importations, as they were permitted by ſpecial indulgence, as it is underſtood that it has been impoſſible in many caſes to prevent its being abuſed, and as in almoſt all the parties having a ſpecies of excluſive privilege, have made ſufficiently profitable voyages, the propriety, particularly in the exiſting ſituation of the revenue, of allowing them alſo the advantages of an extended credit on duties, is not perceived.

Report of the Embargo Committee.

After a period of 15 years of peace hardly interrupted by tranſient hoſtilities, and of proſperity unparalleled in the hiſtory of nations; the United States are, for the firſt time ſince the treaty which terminated the revolutionary war, placed in a ſituation equally difficult, critical, and dangerous.

Theſe principles recognized by the civilized world, under the name of Law of Nations, which heretofore controuled belligerent powers, regulated the duties of neutrals, and protected their rights, are now avowedly diſregarded or forgotten by Great Britain and France. Each of thoſe two nations captures and condemns all American veſſels trading with her enemies or her enemy's allies, and every European power having become a party in the conteſt, the whole of our commerce with Europe and European colonies, becomes liable to capture by either one or the other. If there be any nominal exception, it is made on a condition of tribute,

which only adds inſult to the injury.

The only plea urged in juſtification of thoſe hoſtilities, is that of retaliation, grounded on a preſumed acquieſcence of the United States in previous aggreſſions by the other party. Waving a diſcuſſion of the correctneſs of the principle of retaliation, a principle doubtful in itſelf and altogether inadmiſſible to the extent to which it has been carried, and when operating on the neutral rather than on the enemy: it is altogether untrue that the United States have voluntarily acquieſced in the unlawful aggreſſions of either nation; omitted or delayed any meaſures calculated to obtain redress, or in any reſpect deviated from that impartiality to which they were bound by their neutrality.—France has alluded to the violations of the national flag, and of the ſovereignty of the United States, in the inſtances of Pierce's murder, of the outrage on the Cheſapeake, and of the deſtruction of the Impetuous. The meaſures taken to obtain redreſs in thoſe caſes are of public notoriety, and it may be added, that, with the exception of the laſt, thoſe aggreſſions on the ſovereignty of the United States did not affect their neutrality, and gave no right to France either of complaint or interference. Setting aſide irregularities of leſs importance, and equally chargeable to both nations, ſuch as the Britiſh order of June 1803, and the decree of the French General Ferrand; the principal violations by England of the neutral rights of America, prior to the Berlin decree of November, 1806, and which if acquieſced in might have given grounds of complaint to France are the capture of American veſſels laden with colonial produce, founded on a renewal of that pretended principle generally called 'the Rule of 1756,' the impreſſment of American ſeamen, compelled thereby to become the auxiliaries of England againſt France, and proclamation of nominal blockades, particularly that of the coaſt from the river Elbe to Breſt notified in May 1806.

It will not be aſſerted that the United States have ever tamely acquieſced in either of thoſe pretenſions. It will not be denied, that with reſpect to the two firſt, the moſt ſtrenuous efforts were inceſſantly made to procure an alteration of the Britiſh ſyſtem.

It is true that to the nominal proclamation blockades of England, the United States had oppoſed only ſpirited and repeated remonſtrances, and that these had not always been ſucceſsful. But the meaſures which a neutral nation may be ſuppoſed bound to take againſt the infractions of its neutrality, muſt always bear a certain proportion to the extent and nature of the injury received, and to the means of oppoſition. It cannot certainly be pretended that a haſty reſort to war, ſhould in every ſuch inſtance become the duty of America. Nor can the irregularities of England, in declaring in a ſtate of blockade, a certain extent of coaſt, part of which was not, and the whole of which could not, even by her powerful navy, be actually inveſted and blockaded, be pleaded in juſtification of that decree, by which France, without an efficient fleet, pretends to announce the blockade of the dominion of a power which has the inconteſtible command

command of the ſea, and before no port of which ſhe can ſtation a ſingle veſſel.

The Milan decree of 1807 can ſtill leſs reſt for its defence on the ſuppoſed acquieſcence of the United States in the Britiſh orders of the preceding month, ſince thoſe orders which have not certainly been acquieſced in, were not even known in America at the date of the decree. And it is proper here to add, that the French have, particularly by the ſequeſtration of certain veſſels in their ports, and by burning our ſhips on the high ſeas, gone even beyond the tenor of their own extraordinary edicts.

The allegation of an acquieſcence in the Berlin decree of November, 1806, by which alone the Britiſh government pretends to juſtify the orders in council, is equally unfounded. In the note on that ſubject addreſſed on the 31ſt December, 1806, by the Britiſh government to the American miniſters, after having ſtated that "they could not believe that the enemy would ever ſeriouſly attempt to enforce ſuch a ſyſtem," the following declaration is expreſsly made, "If, however, the enemy ſhould carry theſe threats into execution, and if neutral nations, contrary to all expectation, ſhould acquieſce in ſuch uſurpations, his Majeſty might probably be compelled, however reluctantly, to retaliate in his juſt defence, &c." The two requiſites neceſſary in the opinion of Great Britain to juſtify retaliation, are ſtated to be the execution of the decree, and the acquieſcence of neutral nations. Yet, within eight days after, and in the face of that declaration, without waiting for aſcertaining either of thoſe facts, the retaliating Britiſh order of January 7, 1807, was iſſued, which, contrary to the acknowledged law of nations, ſubjected to capture veſſels of the United States ſailing from the port of one belligerent to a port of another belligerent.

The United States in the meanwhile and without delay, had taken the neceſſary ſteps to aſcertain the manner in which the French government intended to execute their decree.

That decree might be conſtrued merely as a municipal law, forbidding the introduction of Britiſh merchandize, and the admiſſion of veſſels coming from England. Under that aſpect, and if combined to that object, the neutral rights of America were not affected by its operation.

A belligerent may, without any infraction of neutral rights, forbid the admiſſion into his ports of any veſſel coming from the ports of his enemy. And France had undoubtedly the ſame right to exclude from her dominions every ſpecies of Britiſh merchandize, which the United States have exerciſed in forbidding the importation of certain ſpecies. Great Britain might be injured by ſuch regulations: but America had no more right to complain of that part of the decree, than France had to object to the American Non-importation Act. So far indeed as reſpects the United States, they were placed by the municipal part of the decree in the ſame ſituation, in relation to France, in which they are placed in their intercourſe with Great Britain by the permanent laws of that country. The French decree forbids American veſſels to import Britiſh merchandize into France. The Britiſh Navigation

Act forbids American veſſels to import French merchandize into England. But that broad clauſe of the Berlin decree which declared the Britiſh iſlands in a ſtate of blockade, though not followed by regulations to that effect, ſtill threatened an intended operation on the high ſeas. This, if carried into effect, would be a flagrant violation of the neutral rights of the United States, and as ſuch they would be bound to oppoſe it. The miniſter of the United States at Paris immediately applied for explanation on that ſubject; and the French miniſter of marine, on the 24th of December, 1806, ſeven days before the date of the above mentioned note of the Britiſh government, ſtated in anſwer, that the decree made no alteration in the regulations then obſerved in France with regard to neutral navigation, or to the commercial convention of the United States with France. That the declaration of the Britiſh iſlands being in a ſtate of blockade, did not change the exiſting French laws concerning maritime capture, and that American veſſels could not be taken at ſea for the mere reaſon of their being going to or returning from an Engliſh port.

The execution of the decree comported for ſeveral months with thoſe explanations; ſeveral veſſels were arreſted for having introduced articles of Engliſh growth or manufacture, and among them ſome which being actually from England, and laden with Engliſh colonial produce, had entered with forged papers as if coming from the United States.—But no alteration of the firſt conſtruction given by the French government took place until the month of September, 1807. The firſt condemnation on the principle that the decree ſubjected neutral veſſels to capture on the high ſeas, was that of the Horizon, on the 10th of October following.

Prior to that time there could have been no acquieſcence in a decree infringing the neutral rights of the United States, becauſe till that time it was explained, and what was more important, executed in ſuch a manner as not to infringe thoſe rights, becauſe until then no ſuch infraction had taken place. The miniſters of the United States at London, at the requeſt of the Britiſh miniſter, communicated to him on the 18th of October, 1807, the ſubſtance of the explanations received, and of the manner in which the decree was executed. For they were at that time ignorant of the change which had taken place.

It was on the 18th of September, 1807, that a new conſtruction of the decree took place; an inſtruction having on that day been tranſmitted to the council of prizes by the miniſter of juſtice, by which that court was informed, that French armed veſſels were authorized, under that decree, to ſeize, without exception, in neutral veſſels, either Engliſh property or merchandize of Engliſh growth or manufacture.

An immediate explanation having been aſked from the French miniſter of foreign relations, he confirmed, in his anſwer of the 7th of October, 1807, the determination of his government to adopt that conſtruction. Its firſt application took place on the 10th of the ſame month, in the caſe of the Horizon, of which the miniſter of

of the United States was not informed until the month of November; and on the 12th of that month, he preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance againſt that infraction of the neutral rights of the United States. He had, in the meanwhile, tranſmitted to America the inſtruction to the council of prizes of the 18th of September. This was received in the month of December: and a copy of the deciſion in the caſe of the Horizon, having at the ſame time reached government, the preſident, aware of the conſequences which would follow that new ſtate of things, communicated immediately to Congreſs the alteration of the French decrees, and recommended the embargo, which was accordingly laid on the 22d of December, 1807; at which time it was well underſtood, in this country, that the Britiſh orders in council of November preceding had iſſued, although they were not officially communicated to our government.

On the 11th of that month, thoſe orders did actually iſſue, declaring that all the ports of France, of her Allies, and of any other country at war with England, and all other ports of Europe, from which, although not at war with England, the Britiſh flag was excluded, ſhould thenceforth be conſidered as if the ſame were actually blockaded—that all trade in the articles of the produce or manufacture of the ſaid countries ſhould be deemed unlawful; and that every veſſel trading from or to the ſaid countries, together with all goods and merchandize on board, and alſo all articles of the produce or manufacture of the ſaid countries, ſhould be liable to capture and condemnation.

Theſe orders cannot be defended on the ground of their being intended as retaliating on account of the Berlin decree, as conſtrued and uniformly executed from its date to the 18th of September, 1807, its conſtruction and execution having till then infringed no neutral rights. For certainly, the monſtrous doctrine will not be aſſerted, even by the Britiſh government, that neutral nations are bound to reſiſt not only the acts of belligerent powers which violate their rights, but alſo thoſe municipal regulations, which, however they may injure the enemy, are lawful and do not effect the legitimate rights of the neutral. The only retaliation to be uſed in ſuch caſes, muſt be ſuch as will operate on the enemy without infringing the rights of the neutral. If ſolely intended as a retaliation on the Berlin decree, as executed prior to the month of September, the Britiſh orders in council ſhould have been confined to forbidding the introduction into Great Britain, of French or enemy's merchandize, and the admiſſion into Britiſh ports of neutral veſſels, coming from a French or other enemy's port. Indeed, the ground of retaliation on account of any culpable acquieſcence of neutrals in decrees, violating their rights, is abandoned by the very tenor of the orders; their operation being extended to thoſe countries from which the Britiſh flag was excluded, ſuch as Auſtria, although ſuch countries were neither at war with Great Britain, nor had paſſed any decree in any way affecting or connected with neutral rights.

Nor are the orders juſtifiable on the pretence of an acquieſcence on the part of the United States, in

the French decree as conſtrued and executed ſubſequent to the 18th of Sept. 1807, when it became an evident infraction of their rights, and ſuch as they were bound to oppoſe. For their miniſter at Paris immediately made the neceſſary remonſtrances, and the orders were iſſued not only without having aſcertained whether the United States would acquieſce in the injurious alteration of the French decree, but more than one month before that alteration was known in America. It may even be aſſerted that the alteration was not known in England when the orders in council were iſſued; the inſtruction of the 18th September, 1807, which gave the new and injurious conſtruction, not having been promulgated in France, and its firſt publication having been made in December, 1807, and by the American government itſelf.

The Britiſh orders in council are, therefore, unjuſtifiable on the principle of retaliation, even giving to that principle all the latitude which has ever been avowedly contended for.

They are in open violation of the ſolemn declaration made by the Britiſh miniſters in December, 1806; that retaliation on the part of Great Britain would depend on the execution of an unlawful decree, and on the acquieſcence of neutral nations in ſuch infraction of their rights. And they were alſo iſſued, notwithſtanding the official communication made by the miniſters of the United States, that the French decree was conſtrued and executed ſo as not to infringe their neutral rights, and without any previous notice or intimation, denying the correctneſs of that ſtatement.

The Berlin decree as expounded and executed ſubſequent to the 18th September, 1807, and the Britiſh orders in council of the 11th Nov. enſuing, are, therefore, as they affect the United States, cotemporaneous aggreſſions of the belligerent powers, equally unprovoked and equally indefenſible on the preſumed ground of acquieſcence. Theſe, together with the Milan decree of December, 1807, which filled the meaſure, would, on the principle of ſelf-defence, have juſtified immediate hoſtilities againſt both nations on the part of the United States. They thought it more eligible in the firſt inſtance, by withdrawing their veſſels from the ocean, to avoid war, at leaſt for a ſeaſon, and at the ſame time to ſnatch their immenſe and defenceleſs commerce from impending deſtruction.

Another appeal has in the mean time been made, under the authority veſted in the preſident for that purpoſe, to the juſtice and true intereſts of France and England. The propoſitions made by the United States, and the arguments urged by their miniſters, are before Congreſs. By theſe, the very pretext of the illegal edicts was removed, and it is evident that a revocation by either nation on the ground on which it was aſked, either muſt have produced, what both pretended to have in view, a reſtoration of the freedom of commerce, and of the acknowledged principles of the law of nations; or in caſe of refuſal by the other belligerent, would have carried into effect, in the moſt efficient manner, the oſtenſible object of the edicts, and made the United States a party in the war againſt him. The effort has been ineffectual.

The propoſitions have been actually rejected by one of the belli-

gerent powers, and remain unanſwered by the other. In that ſtate of things, what courſe ought the United States to purſue? Your committee can perceive no other alternative, but abject and degrading ſubmiſſion; war with both nations; or a continuance and enforcement of the preſent ſuſpenſion of commerce.

The firſt cannot require any diſcuſſion. But the preſſure of the embargo, ſo ſenſibly felt, and the calamities inſeparable from a ſtate of war, naturally create a wiſh that ſome middle courſe might be diſcovered, which ſhould avoid the evils of both, and not be inconſiſtent with national honour and independence. That illuſion muſt be diſſipated; and it is neceſſary that the people of the United States ſhould fully underſtand the ſituation in which they are placed.

There is no other alternative, but war with both nations, or a continuance of the preſent ſyſtem. For war with one of the belligerents only, would be ſubmiſſion to the edicts and will of the other; and a repeal in whole or in part of the embargo muſt neceſſarily be war or ſubmiſſion.

A general repeal without arming, would be ſubmiſſion to both nations.

A general repeal and arming of our merchant veſſels, would be war with both, and war of the worſt kind, ſuffering the enemies to plunder us without retaliation upon them.

A partial repeal muſt, from the ſituation of Europe, neceſſarily be actual ſubmiſſion to one of the aggreſſors, and war with the other.

The laſt poſition, is the only one on which there can be any doubt; and it will be moſt ſatisfactorily demonſtrated by ſelecting amongſt the ſeveral modifications, which might be ſuggeſted, ſuch as may on firſt view appear the leaſt exceptionable; a propoſition to repeal the embargo, ſo far only as relates to thoſe powers, which have not or do not execute any decrees injurious to the neutral rights of the United States.

It is ſaid that the adoption of that propoſition would reſtore our commerce with the native powers of Aſia and America, and with Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Ruſſia. Let this be taken for granted, although the preciſe line of conduct now purſued by moſt of thoſe nations, in relation to the United States, is not correctly aſcertained. So far as relates to any advantages which would reſult from that meaſure, if confined to its oſtenſible object, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the exports of articles of the domeſtic produce of the United States, during the year ending the 30th Sept. 1807, amounted to 43,700,000, and that the portion exported to countries above enumerated, falls ſhort of ſeven millions; an amount too inconſiderable, when compared with the bulk of our exports, to deſerve attention, even if a queſtion affecting the independence of the nation was to be decided by conſiderations of immediate profit.

But the true effect of the propoſition would be to open an indirect trade with great Britain, which, through St. Bartholomew and Havannah, Liſbon, Cadiz, or Gottenburgh, would receive, at prices reduced by glutted markets, and for want of competition, all the proviſions, naval ſtores, raw materials for her manufactures, and other articles

ticles which ſhe may want. Whether ſhe would be ſatisfied with that favourable ſtate of things, or whether, conſidering that boon as a pledge of unqualified ſubmiſſion, ſhe would, according to the tenor of her orders, interrupt our ſcanty commerce with Ruſſia, and occaſionally under ſome new pretext, capture rather than purchaſe the cargoes intended for her own uſe, is equally uncertain and unimportant. Nor can it be doubted that a meaſure which would ſupply, excluſively, one of the belligerents, would be at war with the other. Conſidered merely as a queſtion of profit, it would be much more eligible, at once to raiſe the embargo in relation to Great Britain, as we would then, at leaſt, have the advantages of a direct market with the conſumer. But the propoſition can only be defended on the ground that France is the only aggreſſor, and, that having no juſt reaſon to complain of England, it is our duty to ſubmit to her orders. On that inadmiſſible ſuppoſition, it would not only be more candid, but alſo more dignified, as well as a more advantageous courſe, openly to join England and to make war againſt France. The object would be clearly underſtood, an ally would be obtained, and the meanneſs of ſubmiſſion might be better palliated.

It appears unneceſſary to purſue any further the examination of propoſitions, which the difficult ſituation of the United States could alone have ſuggeſted, and which will prove more inadmiſſible, or impracticable, as the ſubject is more thoroughly inveſtigated. The alternative is painful; it is between a continual ſuſpenſion of commerce, and war with both England and France. But the choice muſt ultimately be made between the two; and it is important that we ſhould be prepared for either the one or the other.

The aggreſſions of England and France, collectively affecting almoſt the whole of our commerce, and perſiſted in, notwithſtanding repeated remonſtrances, explanations, and propoſitions the moſt candid and unexceptionable, are to all intents and purpoſes, a maritime war waged by both nations againſt the United States. It cannot be denied, that the ultimate and only effectual mode of reſiſting that warfare, if perſiſted in, is war. A permanent ſuſpenſion of commerce, after repeated and unavailing efforts to obtain peace, would not properly be reſiſtance: it would be withdrawing from the conteſt, and abandoning our indiſputable right freely to navigate the ocean. The preſent unſettled ſtate of the world, the extraordinary ſituation in which the United States are placed, and the neceſſity, if war be reſorted to, of making it at the ſame time againſt both nations, and theſe the two moſt powerful of the world, are the principal cauſes of heſitation. There would be none in reſorting to that remedy, however calamitous, if a ſelection could be made on any principle of juſtice, or without a ſacrifice of national independence. On a queſtion of ſuch difficulty, involving the moſt important intereſts of the Union, and which has not, perhaps, until lately been ſufficiently conſidered, your committee think the houſe alone competent to pronounce a deciſive opinion: and they have, in this report, confined themſelves to an

expoſition

expoſition of the ſubject, and to ſuch introductory reſolutions, as will be equally applicable to either alternative. The firſt of theſe being merely declaratory of a determination not to ſubmit to foreign aggreſſions, may, perhaps at a firſt view, appear ſuperfluous. It is, however, believed by the committee, that a pledge by the repreſentatives of the nation, that they will not abandon its eſſential rights, will not at this critical moment be unacceptable.

The miſapprehenſions which ſeem to have exiſted, and the miſrepreſentations which have been circulated, reſpecting the ſtate of our foreign relations, render alſo ſuch declaration expedient. And it may not be uſeleſs that every foreign nation ſhould underſtand that its aggreſſions never will be juſtified or encouraged by any deſcription of American citizens. For the queſtion for every citizen now is, whether he will rally round the government of his choice, or enliſt under foreign banners? Whether he will be for his country, or againſt his country?

Report of a Committee of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts, upon the ſubject of the Embargo, dated, 15th Nov. 1808.

The committee appointed to conſider, "Whether it will be expedient for this legiſlature to adopt any meaſure with a view to procure a repeal of the laws of the United States, interdicting to the citizens all foreign commerce and impoſing vexatious embarraſsments on the coaſting trade; to relieve the people of the commonwealth from their preſent diſtreſſed ſtate, and to arreſt the progreſs of that ruin which threatens to involve all claſſes of the community," beg leave to report: That the committee perceive with the moſt ſerious regret, that the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the ſeveral laws impoſing an embargo, have borne with extreme and increaſing preſſure upon the people; and every day's experience juſtifies a belief that a continuance of theſe laws muſt ſoon become intolerable. As meaſures of coercion, they are now acknowledged to be altogether impotent. They afford ſatisfaction to France, and are regarded as ineffectual demonſtrations of a hoſtile diſpoſition by Great Britain. Upon our own country, their effects are becoming daily and palpably more injurious. The produce of our agriculture, of our foreſts, and our fiſheries, is excluded altogether from every foreign market; our merchants and mechanics are deprived of employment; our coaſting trade is interrupted and haraſſed by the moſt grievous embarraſſments; and our foreign trade is becoming diverted into channels, from which there is no proſpect of its return. The ſources of our revenue are dried up, and government muſt ſoon reſort to direct taxation. Our ſailors are forced to expatriate themſelves. Strong temptations are offered to ſyſtematic evaſions of the laws, which tend to corrupt the ſpirit of honourable commerce, and will materially injure the public morals. In fact, the evils which are menaced by the continuance of this policy are ſo enormous and deplorable, the ſuſpenſion of commerce is ſo contrary to the habits of our people, and ſo repugnant to their feelings

ings and intereſts, that they muſt ſoon become intolerable, and endanger our domeſtic peace and the union of theſe ſtates. As the embargo laws have been the cauſe of the public diſtreſs, your committee are of opinion that no equal, permanent, or effectual relief can be afforded to the citizens of the commonwealth, but by the repeal of theſe laws. They perſuade themſelves that the congreſs of the United States muſt be fully impreſſed with a ſenſe of the total inefficacy of theſe laws for any valuable purpoſe, and of their direct tendency to the moſt ſerious conſequences. Your committee, therefore, truſt, that congreſs will not fail to repeal them. In this confidence, therefore, your committee are of opinion, upon this ſubject, the legiſlature ſhould, in its preſent ſeſſion, confine itſelf to a repeated diſapprobation of the laws interdicting foreign commerce, and to inſtructing our ſenators, and requeſting our repreſentatives in congreſs to uſe their utmoſt exertions to procure their repeal.

Your committee might have contented themſelves with the preceding remarks, had not the late meſſage of the preſident of the United States excited the moſt ſerious alarm, which, in the preſent critical ſtate of the country, they conceive it a duty to expreſs. They perceive, with the moſt painful regret, that, in the eſtimation of the preſident, our country is now preſented with the only alternative of a continued embargo, or a ruinous war; but they cannot heſitate to expreſs their confident belief that the wiſdom of the government may yet find means to avoid the neceſſity of electing between theſe great public calamities. If, however, this ſevere neceſſity exiſts in regard to Great Britain, they are led by the meſſage to preſume that it reſults, in a great meaſure, if not entirely, from the determination of the executive to adhere to the proclamation of July 1807, interdicting all Britiſh ſhips of war from the waters of the United States; which has been, and as we infer from the meſſage, is ſtill deemed by the Britiſh government, a meaſure ſo inhoſpitable and oppreſſive, if not hoſtile in its character, as to form an inſuperable obſtacle to amicable adjuſtment.

Upon this delicate and important ſubject, the committee are far from aſſerting, that the attack on the frigate Cheſapeake did not juſtify the original iſſuing of this proclamation, and enforcing it ſo long as the injury might be preſumed to have the ſanction of the Britiſh government. But as this violation of the neutral rights was promptly and explicitly diſavowed by the Sovereign of the aggreſſor, before the remonſtrances or meaſures of our government could be known: as the right to ſearch our national ſhips was expreſsly diſclaimed, and a ſpecial envoy deputed for the profeſſed object of making to our government a full, ſatisfactory, and public reparation, on the ſimple condition of a previous revocation of this proclamation; your committee are conſtrained to declare their opinion, that ſuch a revocation, under ſuch circumſtances, would not have involved any diſhonourable conceſſion, or an abandonment of any juſt right or pretenſions, but would have been a fair, reaſonable, and magnanimous pledge of the ſincerity of the wiſhes

of

of the American government to reſtore the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity between the two countries. This courſe muſt have compelled the Britiſh envoy to have offered that ample and honourable reparation, which would have been deemed by our nation and by the world, an adequate atonement for the outrage; or have juſtified, in the event of its refuſal, not only the renewal of the proclamation, but the adoption of meaſures of the moſt rigorous and hoſtile deſcription.

But even on the preciſe preſumption that the courſe adopted by the government, in refuſing to revoke the proclamation as a preliminary to the adjuſtment of that controverſy, be ſanctioned by the uſages of nations, and the juſtice of our claims, your committee are ſtill of opinion, that a punctilious adherence to diplomatic forms and precedents ſhould not be maintained at the riſk of war, by a nation whoſe genius and policy are pacific; and which, while juſtly jealous of its national honour and independence, looks principally to the ſubſtantial ſecurity of thoſe bleſſings, and regards as inſignificant thoſe petty contentions which originating in courtly pride and vanity, frequently terminate in bloody wars: and they, therefore, think that this proclamation ought not, in the preſent ſituation of Europe and this country, to remain as the only, or even as the principal barrier to the reſtoration of our amicable relations with the Britiſh nation.

Your committee therefore aſk leave to report the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, that the ſenators of this commonwealth in congreſs, be inſtructed, and the repreſentatives thereof requeſted, to uſe their ſtrenuous exertions to procure an immediate repeal of the various laws impoſing an embargo on the ſhips and veſſels of the United States, as the only equal and effectual means of affording permanent relief to the citizens of this commonwealth from the aggravated evils which they now experience.

Reſolved that although this legiſlature would cheerfully ſupport the general government in the proſecution of a juſt and neceſſary war, yet they cannot perceive the neceſſity intimated in the meſſage of the preſident to congreſs, of continuing the embargo, or reſorting to war. That it is not the policy of the United States to engage in a controverſy with any nation, upon points of diplomatic uſage, or equivocal right, provided ſubſtantial reparation for injuries can be obtained; and that the revocation of the proclamation interdicting the Britiſh ſhips of war from our waters ought not, in the opinion of this legiſlature, to be deemed an inadmiſſible preliminary, which ſhould obſtruct the adjuſtment of the controverſy between the United States and Great Britain.

America.

Waſhington, May 22. Extra Seſſion. This day both houſes of congreſs aſſembled in their reſpective chambers. In ſenate twenty-one members attended. In the lower houſe, at the firſt call, 120 members appeared. General Varnum is re-elected ſpeaker.

Preſident's

Preſident's Meſſage.

At twelve o'clock the preſident of the United States communicated, by Mr. Graham, the following meſſage to both houſes of congreſs:

Waſhington City, May 23.

Fellow citizens of the ſenate, and of the houſe of repreſentatives.—On this firſt occaſion of meeting you, it affords me much ſatisfaction to be able to communicate the commencement of a favourable change in our foreign relations; the critical ſtate of which induced a ſeſſion of congreſs at this period. In conſequence of the proviſions of the act interdicting commercial intercourſe with Great Britain and France, our miniſters at London and Paris were, without delay, inſtructed to let it be underſtood by the French and Britiſh governments, that the authority veſted in the executive, to renew commercial intercourſe with their reſpective nations, would be exerciſed in the caſe ſpecified by that act. Soon after theſe inſtructions were diſpatched, it was found that the Britiſh government, anticipating, from early proceedings of congreſs at their laſt ſeſſion, the ſtate of our laws, which has had the effect of placing the two belligerent powers on a footing of equal reſtrictions, and relying on the conciliatory diſpoſitions of the United States, had tranſmitted to their legation here proviſional inſtructions, not only to offer ſatisfaction for the attack on the frigate Cheſapeake and to make known the determination of his Britannic Majeſty to ſend an envoy extraordinary with powers to conclude a treaty on all points between the two countries, but moreover, to ſignify his willingneſs, in the mean time, to withdraw his orders in council, in the perſuaſion that the intercourſe with Great Britain would be renewed on the part of the United States. Theſe ſteps of the Britiſh government led to the correſpondence and the proclamation now laid before you; by virtue of which, the commerce between the two countries will be renewable after the 10th day of June next. Whilſt I take pleaſure in doing juſtice to the councils of his Britannic Majeſty, which, no longer adhering to the policy which made an abandonment by France, of her decrees, a pre-requiſite to a revocation of the Britiſh orders, have ſubſtituted the amicable courſe which has iſſued thus happily; I cannot do leſs than refer to the propoſal heretofore made on the part of the United States, embracing a like reſtoration of the ſuſpended commerce, as a proof of the ſpirit of accommodation which has at no time been intermitted, and to the reſult which now calls for our congratulations as corroborating the principles by which the public councils have been guided during a period of the moſt trying embarraſſments. The diſcontinuance of the Britiſh orders, as they reſpect the United States, having been thus arranged, a communication of the event has been forwarded, in one of our public veſſels, to our miniſter plenipotentiary at Paris, with inſtructions to avail himſelf of the important addition thereby made to the conſiderations which preſs on the juſtice of the French government a revocation of its decrees, or ſuch

ſuch a modification of them as that they ſhall ceaſe to violate the neutral commerce of the United States. The reviſion of the commercial laws, proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will doubtleſs engage the early attention of congreſs. It will be worthy, at the ſame time, of their juſt and provident care, to make ſuch further alterations in the laws as will more eſpecially protect and foſter the ſeveral branches of manufacture which have been recently inſtituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens. It will reſt with the judgment of congreſs to decide how far the change in our external proſpects may authorize any modifications of the laws relating to the army and navy eſtabliſhments. The works of defence for our ſea-port towns and harbours have proceeded with as much activity as the ſeaſon of the year and other circumſtances would admit. It is neceſſary, however, to ſtate, that the appropriations hitherto made being found to be deficient, a farther proviſion will claim the early conſideration of congreſs. The whole of the eight per cent. ſtock remaining due by the United States, amounting to 5,300,000 dollars, had been reimburſed on the laſt day of the year 1808. And on the firſt day of April laſt the ſum in the treaſury exceeded nine and a half millions of dollars. This, together with the receipts of the current year, on account of former revenue bonds, will probably be nearly, if not altogether, ſufficient to defray the expences of the year. But the ſuſpenſion of exports and the conſequent decreaſe of importations, during the laſt twelve months, will neceſſarily cauſe a great diminution in the receipts of the year 1810. After that year, ſhould our foreign relations be undiſturbed, the revenue will again be more than commenſurate to all the expenditures. Under the exiſting aſpect of our affairs, I have thought it not inconſiſtent with a juſt precaution, to have the gun-boats, with the exception of thoſe at New Orleans, placed in a ſituation incurring no expence beyond that requiſite for their preſervation, and conveniency for future ſervice; and to have the crews of thoſe at New Orleans reduced to the number required for their navigation and ſafety. I have thought alſo, that our citizens detached in quotas of militia, amounting to 100,000, under the act of March 1808, might not improperly be relieved from the ſtate in which they were held for immediate ſervice. A diſcharge of them has been accordingly directed. The progreſs made in raiſing and organizing the additional military force, for which proviſion was made by the act of April, 1808, together with the diſpoſition of the troops, will appear by a report which the ſecretary of war is preparing, and which will be laid before you. Of the additional frigates required by an act of the laſt ſeſſion to be fitted for actual ſervice, two are in readineſs, one nearly ſo, and the fourth is to be ready in the month of July. A report which the ſecretary of the navy is preparing on the ſubject, to be laid before congreſs, will ſhew, at the ſame time, the progreſs made in officering and manning theſe ſhips.

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It will ſhow alſo the degree in which the proviſions of the act relative to the other public armed veſſels have been carried into effect. Aware of the inconvenience of a protracted ſeſſion at the preſent ſeaſon of the year, I forbear to call the attention of the legiſlature to any matters not particularly urgent. It remains, therefore, only to aſſure you of the fidelity and alacrity with which I ſhall co-operate for the welfare and happineſs of our country, and to pray that it may experience a continuance of the divine bleſſings by which it has been ſo ſignally favoured.

(Signed) JAMES MADDISON.

America.

Britiſh Deſerters.—Caſe of the Men arreſted as Deſerters from the Frigate L'Africaine, by John Hunter, Eſq. Sheriff of Baltimore, at the Requeſt of William Wood, Eſq. Britiſh Conſul for the Port of Baltimore.

An habeas corpus was applied for to Judge Scott, late on Thurſday evening, on behalf of ſeven men, arreſted and held in cuſtody by the ſheriff at the requeſt, and on the ſtatement of the Britiſh conſul that they were deſerters, by their counſel. The habeas corpus was iſſued as prayed for, returnable the next morning at nine o'clock. Accordingly, this morning, the men were brought up amidſt an immenſe concourſe of citizens, who filled the court-houſe and the neighbouring ſtreet, and the ſheriff made return that he had arreſted and detained the men in cuſtody, in virtue of the following, from the Britiſh conſul:

"*Britiſh Conſul's Office, Baltimore, Sept.* 6, 1809.

"Sir,

"Having received information that thirteen ſeamen have deſerted from L'Africaine frigate, and are now in this city, I have to requeſt that you will be pleaſed to ſecure them till they can be ſent on board.

"I am, &c.

"WILLIAM WOOD."

"*John Hunter, Eſq.*"

By virtue of this authority, I have arreſted and put in priſon the following perſons, to wit: John Nowland, William Whokes, Denis Murphy, Richard Hewes, John Earp, John Burwell, and Jacob Lamb. The judge ſaid that he had conceived it his duty to give notice to Mr. Wood (the Britiſh conſul) of the application, ſo that he might appear and ſhew cauſe, if any he had, why the men ſhould be detained.

In the courſe of a few minutes Mr. Wood came into court, and the counſel for the priſoners, Meſſrs. Glenn and J. L. Donaldſon, moved the court that the men be diſcharged, ſufficient cauſe for their detention not appearing on their return. Mr. Wood's counſel, Mr. Walter Dorſey, requeſted to be allowed time to inquire into the law; and ſaid, that they would be ready to prove that theſe men were deſerters from his Britannic Majeſty's ſhip. The counſel for the priſoners objected to the delay. The chief juſtice ſtated, that the opinion of the ſecretary of ſtate had ſatisfied him, that

that deſerters from Britiſh veſſels ought not to be arreſted or detained under the authority of the government of the United States, for the purpoſe of delivering them up to the officers of the Britiſh government; he therefore ordered the priſoners to be immediately diſcharged. The audience expreſſed their approbation of his deciſion by three loud and tumultuous huzzas and execrations of the tories, and carried off the deſerters in triumph!

American Congreſs.

The Preſident's Meſſage, on the opening of the Seſſion, November 27.

Fellow-citizens of the ſenate, and of the houſe of repreſentatives.—At the period of our laſt meeting I had the ſatisfaction of communicating an adjuſtment with one of the principal belligerent nations, highly important in itſelf, and ſtill more ſo, as preſaging a more extended accommodation. It is with deep concern I am now to inform you, that the favourable proſpect has been overclouded, by a refuſal of the Britiſh government to abide by the act of its miniſter plenipotentiary, and by its enſuing policy towards the United States, as ſeen through the communications of the miniſters ſent to replace him.

Whatever pleas may be urged for a diſavowal of engagements formed by diplomatic functionaries, in caſes where, by the terms of the engagements, a mutual ratification is reſerved; or where notice at the time may have been given of a departure from inſtructions; or in extraordinary caſes, eſſentially violating the principles of equity; a diſavowal could not have been apprehended in a caſe where no ſuch notice or violation exiſted, where no ſuch ratification was reſerved, and more eſpecially, where, as is now in proof, an engagement, to be executed without any ſuch ratification, was contemplated by the inſtructions given, and where it had, with good faith, been carried into immediate execution on the part of the United States.

Theſe conſiderations not having reſtrained the Britiſh government from diſavowing the arrangement by virtue of which its orders in council were to be revoked, and the event authorizing the renewal of commercial intercourſe having thus not taken place, it neceſſarily became a queſtion of equal urgency and importance, whether the act prohibiting that intercourſe was not to be conſidered as remaining in legal force. This queſtion being, after due deliberation, determined in the affirmative, a proclamation to that effect was iſſued. It could not but happen, however, that a return to this ſtate of things, from that which had followed an execution of the arrangement by the United States, would involve difficulties. With a view to diminiſh theſe as much as poſſible, the inſtructions from the ſecretary of the treaſury, now laid before you, were tranſmitted to the collectors of the ſeveral ports. If in permitting Britiſh veſſels to depart, without giving bonds not to proceed to their own ports, it ſhould appear that the tenor of legal authority has not been ſtrictly purſued, it is to be aſcribed to the anxious deſire which was felt,

that no individuals ſhould be injured by ſo unforeſeen an occurrence: and I rely on the regard of congreſs for the equitable intereſts of our citizens, to adopt whatever further proviſions may be found requiſite for a general remiſſion of penalties involuntarily incurred.

The recall of the diſavowed miniſter having been followed by the appointment of a ſucceſſor, hopes were indulged that the new miniſter would contribute to alleviate the diſappointment which has been produced, and to remove the cauſes which had ſo long embarraſſed the good underſtanding of the two nations. It could not be doubted, that he would at leaſt be charged with conciliatory explanations of the ſtep which had been taken, and with propoſals to be ſubſtituted for the rejected arrangement. Reaſonable and univerſal as this expectation was, it alſo has not been fulfilled. From the firſt official diſcloſures of the new miniſter it was found that he had received no authority to enter into explanations relative to either branch of the arrangement diſavowed; nor any authority to ſubſtitute propoſals as to that branch which concerned the Britiſh orders in council; and, finally, that his propoſals with reſpect to the other branch, the attack on the frigate Cheſapeake, were founded on a preſumption, repeatedly ſaid to be inadmiſſible by the United States, that the firſt ſtep towards adjuſtment was due from them; and the propoſals, at the ſame time, omitting even a reference to the officer anſwerable for the murderous aggreſſion, and aſſerting a claim not leſs contrary to the Britiſh laws and Britiſh practice than to the principles and obligations of the United States.

The correſpondence between the department of ſtate and this miniſter will ſhow how inceſſantly the features preſented in its commencement have been varied in its progreſs. It will ſhew, alſo, that forgetting the reſpect due to all governments, he did not refrain from imputations on this, which required that no further communications ſhould be received from him. The neceſſity of this ſtep will be made known to his Britannic Majeſty through the miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States in London: and it would indicate a want of confidence due to a government which ſo well underſtands and exacts what becomes foreign miniſters near it, not to infer that the miſconduct of its own repreſentative will be viewed in the ſame light in which it has been regarded here. The Britiſh government will learn, at the ſame time, that a ready attention will be given to communications through any other channel which may be ſubſtituted. It will be happy if the change in this reſpect ſhould be accompanied by a favourable reviſion of the unfriendly policy which has been ſo long purſued towards the United States.

With France, the other belligerent, whoſe treſpaſſes on our commercial rights have long been the ſubject of our juſt remonſtrances, the poſture of our relations does not connect with the meaſures taken on the part of the United States, to effect a favourable change. The reſult of the ſeveral communications made to her government

vernment, in purſuance of the authorities veſted by congreſs in the executive, is contained in the correſpondence of our miniſters at Paris, now laid before you.

By ſome of the other belligerents, although profeſſing juſt and amicable diſpoſitions, injuries materially affecting our commerce have not been duly controuled or repreſſed. In theſe caſes, the interpoſitions deemed proper on our part have not been omitted. But it well deſerves the conſideration of the legiſlature, how far both the ſafety and the honour of the American flag may be conſulted by adequate proviſions againſt that colluſive proſtitution of it, by individuals unworthy of the American name, which has ſo much favoured the real or pretended ſuſpicions under which the honeſt commerce of their fellow-citizens has ſuffered.

In relation to the powers on the coaſt of Barbary, nothing has occurred which is not of a nature rather to inſpire confidence than diſtruſt, as to the continuance of the exiſting amity. With our Indian neighbours, the juſt and benevolent ſyſtem continued toward them has alſo preſerved peace, and is more and more advancing in habits favourable to their civilization and happineſs.

From a ſtatement which will be made by the ſecretary at war, it will be ſeen that the fortifications on our maritime frontier are in many of the ports completed, affording the defence which was contemplated, and that further time will be required to render complete the works in the harbour of New York, and in ſome other places. By the enlargement of the works, and the employment of a great number of hands at the public armories, the ſupply of ſmall arms, on an improving quality, appears to be annually increaſing, at a rate, that with thoſe made on private contract, may be expected to go far towards providing for the public exigency.

The act of congreſs providing for the equipment of our veſſels of war having been fully carried into execution, I refer to the ſtatement of the ſecretary of the navy for the information which may be proper on that ſubject. To that ſtatement is added a view of the transfers of appropriations, authorized by the act of the ſeſſion preceding the laſt, and of the grounds on which the transfers were made.

Whatever may be the courſe of your deliberations on the ſubject of our military eſtabliſhments, I ſhould fail in my duty in not recommending to your ſerious attention the importance of giving to our militia, the great bulwark of our ſecurity and reſource of our power, an organization the beſt adapted to eventual ſituations, for which the United States ought to be prepared.

The ſums which had been previouſly accumulated in the treaſury, together with the receipts during the year ending on the 30th of September laſt (and amounting to more than nine millions of dollars), have enabled us to fulfil all our engagements, and to defray the current expences of government without recurring to any loan. But the inſecurity of our commerce, and the conſequent diminution of the public revenue, will probably produce a deficiency

in the receipts of the enſuing year, for which, and for other details, I refer to the ſtatements which will be tranſmitted from the treaſury.

In the ſtate which has been preſented of our affairs with the great parties to a diſaſtrous and protracted war, carried on in a mode equally injurious and unjuſt to the United States as a neutral nation, the wiſdom of the national legiſlature will be again ſummoned to the important deciſion of the alternatives before them. That theſe will be met in a ſpirit worthy the councils of a nation, conſcious both of its rectitude and of its rights, and careful as well of its honour as of its peace, I have an entire confidence. And that the reſult will be ſtamped by an unanimity becoming the occaſion, and be ſupported by every portion of our citizens, with a patriotiſm enlightened and invigorated by experience, ought as little to be doubted.

In the midſt of the wrongs and vexations experienced from external cauſes, there is much room for congratulation on the proſperity and happineſs flowing from our ſituation at home. The bleſſing of health has never been more univerſal. The fruits of the ſeaſons, though in particular articles and diſtricts ſhort of their uſual redundancy, are more than ſufficient for our wants and our comforts. The face of our country every where preſents the evidence of laudable enterprize, of extenſive capital, and of durable improvement. In a cultivation of the materials, and the extenſion of uſeful manufactures, more eſpecially in the general application to houſehold fabrics, we behold a rapid diminution of our dependence on foreign ſupplies. Nor is it unworthy of reflection, that the revolution in our purſuits and habits is, in no ſlight degree, a conſequence of thoſe impolitic and arbitrary edicts, by which the contending nations, in endeavouring each of them to obſtruct our trade with the other, have ſo far abridged our means of procuring the productions and manufactures of which our own are now taking place.

JAMES MADDISON.

CHARACTERS,

CHARACTERS.

Biographical Memoirs of Sir Ralph Sadler. *By* Walter Scott, Esq. *From the State Papers and Letters of* Sir Ralph Sadler.

THE birth of this able and celebrated ſtateſman was neither obſcure and ignoble, nor ſo much exalted above the middling rank of ſociety as to contribute, in any material degree, towards the ſplendid ſucceſs of his career in life.

Ralph Sadler was the eldeſt ſon of Henry Sadleir, or Sadleyer, Eſq. through whom he was heir, according to Fuller, to a fair inheritance. He was born in the year 1507, at Hackney, in Middleſex, where his family had been for ſome time ſettled; and had a younger brother, John Sadler, who commanded a company at the ſiege of Boulogne, in the year 1544. The circumſtances of Henry Sadler, their father, were not ſuch as to exempt him from profeſſional labour, and even from perſonal dependence. Indeed the chain of feudal connection was ſtill ſo entire, that the leſſer gentry of the period ſought not only emolument, but protection, and even honour, by occupying, in the domeſtic eſtabliſhments of the nobles, thoſe ſituations which the nobility themſelves contended for in the royal houſehold. The pride of ſolitary and iſolated independence was unknown in a period when the force of the laws was unequal to protect thoſe who enjoyed it; and the cloſer the fortunes of a private individual were linked with thoſe of ſome chieftain of rank and power, the greater was the probability of his eſcaping all miſchances, ſave thoſe flowing from the fall of his patron. It does not, therefore, contradict what has been handed down to us concerning Henry Sadleir's rank and eſtate, that he ſeems to have acted in ſome domeſtic capacity, probably as ſteward or ſurveyor, to a nobleman, proprietor of a manor called Cillney, near Great Hadham, in Eſſex.

His office, whatever it was, conſiſted in keeping accounts and receiving money; ſo that his ſon had an early example of accurate habits of buſineſs, not very common in that rude military age, which proved not only the foundation of his fortune, but continued to be the means of his raiſing it to the higheſt elevation. Ralph Sadler was fortunate enough to gain a ſituation in the family of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, who roſe in the favour of the capricious Henry VIIIth.

by facilitating his divorce from Queen Catherine, and who fell by procuring his union with Anne of Cleves. While he was yet in the aſcent of his favour, Sadler acquired ſo much intereſt with him, as to be able to ſolicit a place under the crown for his father, whoſe noble patron had become unable to ſupport the expence of a feudal houſehold. Theſe minute particulars we learn from a letter which the elder Sadler writes to his ſon.

Ralph Sadler's favour with Lord Cromwell, and the truſt which he repoſed in him, ſoon brought him under the eye of Henry VIII. It was emphatically ſaid of that monarch, that Henry *loved a man;* by which we are to underſtand, that the objects of his favour were diſtinguiſhed by external ſtrength, figure, and perſonal accompliſhments, as well as by their temper and talents. In both reſpects Sadler was fortunate; for, though of a middling, or rather low ſtature, he was well ſkilled in all exerciſes, and remarkable both for ſtrength and activity; nor was his addreſs in public buſineſs inferior to his feats of horſemanſhip, hunting, and chivalry. It was probably before he attracted the king's notice, that Mr. Sadler became the huſband of the widow of one Ralph Barrow, who does not ſeem to have been a perſon of high rank, although no good grounds have been diſcovered for the ſcandal with which Sanders and other Catholic writers have ſtigmatized this union. That ſhe was a woman of credit and character muſt be admitted, ſince Lord Cromwell, to whom ſhe was related, not only countenanced this marriage, but was godfather to two of their children, the firſt of whom died in his infancy.

According to the inſcription on Sadler's tomb, he entered the king's ſervice in or about the 10th year of his reign, that is, in 1518; and there are letters in the Muſeum which prove that he was at court before Wolſey's fall, under whoſe patronage his maſter, Cromwell, had riſen to eminence. In one of theſe Sadler mentions to Cromwell, that "my Lord, his Grace, (the Cardinal, doubtleſs) had been ſlandered to the king, and exclaims againſt the ingratitude of the ſecretary." In another letter he ſeems to write to Cromwell, by order of the king, about certain iſſues of money and prizes taken at ſea.

As Sadler daily advanced in the king's favour, he became, though at what time I cannot ſay, clerk of the hanaper, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, and received the honour of knighthood. And in the 30th year of Henry's reign he was created one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Sir Ralph Sadler ſeems to have been active in the great work of diſſolving the religious houſes, nor did he miſs his ſhare of the ſpoil. It may be ſuppoſed, that his converſion to the Proteſtant faith was gradual; at leaſt, that his avowal of the reformed tenets did not precede the death of Henry VIII., who wiſhed to die a Catholic, although he ſeized the ſupremacy and plundered the monaſteries. A charter of Edward VI., to be hereafter quoted, acquaints us that Sir Ralph Sadler

acquired

acquired the advowſon of the rectory and church of Kemſey, in Worceſterſhire, of St. Martin's, in London, with the manors of Bromley, in Middleſex; Hoſlengefield, in Cambridgeſhire; Walthamſtow Tong, in Eſſex; Aſton, Tinatt, and North Merton, in Berkſhire; with various portions of tythes in Glouceſterſhire. Theſe grants, extenſive as they were, do not ſeem to comprehend all the lands beſtowed on Sadler by the liberality of Henry VIII.

In 1537, Sadler commenced a long courſe of diplomatic ſervices, by an embaſſy to Scotland, whoſe monarch, James the Vth, was then abſent in France, where he had juſt married a daughter of Francis I. The envoy was to greet the dowager Queen Margaret, widow of James IV., to ſtrengthen the Engliſh intereſt in the councils of regency which governed Scotland, and to diſcover the probable conſequences of the intimate union between France and Scotland. This was an object of greater importance, as, in paſſing through the northern counties of England, Sadler found them in an unuſual ſtate of turbulence, from the conſequences of the rebellion, called the pilgrimage of grace. The diſſatisfaction at the innovations in religion was ſo general, that the town of Newcaſtle had nearly broken out into open revolt. At no time had peace with Scotland been more eſſential to the Engliſh intereſt. But the Scottiſh court was as much divided by ariſtocratic faction, as England by popular diſcontent. The clergy, and ſuch of the more powerful nobles as France had thought worthy attaching to her cauſe, were zealous for war with England; the leſſer barons and common people had already become attached to the reformation; the Queen dowager was utterly without power; and the continuance of the peace depended upon the reſolutions to be adopted by James on his return from France. With this intelligence Sadler returned to England in the beginning of February, 1537.

Of Sir Ralph Sadler's ſubſequent embaſſy, in 1539-40, the following collection furniſhes us with a particular account. The oſtenſible purpoſe was that of maintaining, in general, a good correſpondence between the crowns. But the private inſtructions of the envoy were, if poſſible, to ſeparate James from the councils of Beaton, an ambitious prelate, the head of the faction which was favourable to France. For this purpoſe he was inſtructed to ſtate, that Henry had diſcovered, among certain letters thrown into his hands by the ſhipwreck of a veſſel near Bamborough, a dangerous plan, by which Beaton deſigned, under colour of the King's favour, to uſurp the whole government of Scotland, and to throw it under the abſolute controul of the Pope. In ſhort, the inſtructions ſeem to infer, that Beaton was attempting the ſame enterpriſe in Scotland, which Wolſey had almoſt effected in Henry's own realm; and there can be little doubt, that, in deſcribing the danger of entruſting power to ſuch a character, Henry had the memory of his fallen favourite brought freſhly to his recollection. Sadler was further inſtructed to remonſtrate with James on the economy with which he

managed his crown lands, by ſtocking them with flocks of ſheep, and to hold out to him a worthier and more kingly ſource of revenue in the overgrown poſſeſſions of the church, which lay at his mercy. And, on the whole, he was directed to perſuade the Scottiſh monarch, if poſſible, to imitate his uncle's conduct towards the ſee of Rome, and to make common cauſe with England againſt France.

James received Sadler with marks of diſtinction and kindneſs; but the reaſoning of his uncle made but ſlight impreſſion on his mind. His high ſpirit revolted at the dictatorial mode in which thoſe counſels were conveyed; he weighed the profuſe liberality of Francis I. againſt the niggard preſent of a ſet of horſes with which Sadler preſented him in the name of his ſovereign; he reſpected the talents and learning of the catholic clergy, who alone of his ſubjects had the education neceſſary to aſſiſt his councils; he preferred deriving from the church's voluntary donation, ſuch ſubſidies as his affairs might require, to the odium of ſeizing upon her poſſeſſions, and he reſolved to adhere to the faith of his forefathers. It was in vain that Sadler enlarged upon the corruptions of the clergy in manners and doctrine; the king mildly replied, "God forbid, if a few be not good, for them all the reſt be deſtroyed!" James diſclaimed any intention of joining France in a league againſt England, but turned a deaf ear to the charge of treachery, which Sadler, according to his maſter's command, preferred againſt his miniſter. A meeting with Henry was warmly preſſed by Sadler, and politely evaded by the Scottiſh monarch, who was well aware, that a ſovereign ought not to meet his ſuperior in power, unleſs he was prepared to ſubſcribe to whatever ſhould be required of him; and Sir Ralph left the Scottiſh court without material ſucceſs in any part of his miſſion. In the courſe of this year, his patron Cromwell was diſgraced and beheaded; but his fall was attended by no ill conſequences to Sadler, whoſe intereſt now reſted on his individual merit.

In 1541, Sadler was ſent upon another embaſſy to Scotland, concerning which we have leſs diſtinct information. Its general ſcope was to detach James from the pope and catholic clergy, whoſe practices Henry pronounced to be ſo wondrous, that "one might be lightly led by the noſe, and bear their yoke, yet, for blindneſs, not know what he doth." He was inſtructed again to preſs upon James the propriety of a perſonal meeting, to which the Scottiſh king gave a dubious conſent. The good ſenſe and moderation which James exhibited during diſcuſſions of ſo delicate a nature, rendered him worthy of a more enlightened age, and of a better fate.

In 1542, the fatal battle, or rather rout of Solway, took place, in which a thouſand Scottiſh priſoners, comprehending Glencairn, Caſſilis, Maxwell, Somerville, and other nobles of the higheſt rank, fell into the hands of a ſmall band of Engliſh borderers, who had approached the Scottiſh hoſt, rather to obſerve their motions, than with any purpoſe of aſſault. By this diſgraceful event, the heart of James V. was literally broken, and

and he died, leaving the crown to his daughter Mary, a new-born infant, whoſe misfortunes began in her cradle, and accompanied her, with very little intermiſſion, to her grave. In this criſis, Henry formed a plan, equally moderate and ſagacious, of uniting the two kingdoms by alliance, rather than by conqueſt. For this purpoſe, he treated with kindneſs and liberality the Scottiſh priſoners, whom the ſucceſs at Solway had placed in his power, and heaped favours upon the Earl of Angus, the head of the houſe of Douglas, who, with his kinſmen, had long found refuge in England from the wrath of James V. and was now about to return to Scotland in conſequence of his death. To theſe nobles, the captives, as well as the Douglaſſes, the Engliſh monarch entruſted a ſcheme of a marriage to be contracted between the infant Queen of Scotland and the youthful Edward, his ſon and heir.—— Henry appears to have received from all the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they would ſupport, with their utmoſt power, this propoſition, as ſoon as it ſhould be made to the Scottiſh parliament. Not ſatisfied with theſe proteſtations, he took from the captives pledges and hoſtages for their returning to captivity upon his ſummons; and diſmiſſed them much in the ſame ſituation, though unanimated by the ſpirit of the Roman Regulus. With them the Earl of Angus and the Douglaſſes returned to Scotland, after an exile of fifteen years.

With them, alſo, Sir Ralph Sadler came to Scotland, in the character of ambaſſador of England, for achieving this important match. The prudence and art with which he conducted the negociation, as well as the real advantages which it held forth to Scotland, might, in any other country and circumſtances, have ſecured its ſucceſs. But he had to contend with the prejudices which centuries of war had engraven in the boſom of the Scottiſh nation; prejudices ſo deep and unconquerable, that one of their moſt enlightened ſtateſmen, Sir Adam Otterburn, uſed to Sadler theſe ſtrong expreſſions of the national abhorrence of an Engliſh match:—"Our nation, being a ſtout nation, will never agree to have an Engliſhman to be King of Scotland; and though the whole nobility of the realm would conſent to it, the common people, the women with their diſtaffs, and the very ſtones in the ſtreet, would riſe up and rebel againſt it." The impatient, haughty, and furious temper of King Henry, added to the obſtacles which the ambaſſador had to encounter. His parſimony gave ſtill further embarraſſment. It is eaſy to perceive, that Henry reckoned almoſt ſolely upon the gratitude of the priſoners to whom he had given temporary freedom, and of the Douglaſſes, whom he had protected in baniſhment; and that he diſreliſhed the idea, ſuggeſted to him by Sadler, of refreſhing, by new acts of generoſity, their recollection of former favours. Threats, expoſtulation, and upbraiding, were arguments which Henry held to be cheaper and more efficacious, than working by gifts and promiſes upon the poverty and avarice of the Scottiſh nobility. By this courſe, which Sadler vainly deprecated, the party which he had formed among that body

body became daily more doubtful, and the ſtern remonſtrances of the Engliſh monarch only tended ſtill farther to alienate them from his intereſt. On the other hand, the addreſs of Sadler was counterbalanced by that of Cardinal Beaton, who availed himſelf of every obſtacle which the prejudices of the Scots, the imbecility of the Regent, the impatience of Henry, and the liberality of France, afforded againſt the Engliſh treaty. Yet, under all theſe diſadvantages, a hollow league was agreed to, by which the Scots agreed to ſend their ſovereign into England, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould attain the age of ten years; and in the mean time, ſix hoſtages, of the firſt rank, were to be delivered to the Engliſh monarch, as pledges for the fulfilment of the treaty. This alliance was hardly notified, ere it became obvious that it could never be carried into effect. The Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Lennox, and Bothwell, Lord Home, and the Laird of Buccleugh, took up arms openly againſt the governor.—The imprudent detention of ſome Scottiſh veſſels in the ports of England, excited the irritable multitude of Edinburgh to fury againſt their new ally. Sadler's ſituation became at once embarraſſing and dangerous, and he narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination, a muſket being diſcharged at him while walking in his garden. The governor ſecretly meditated a revolt from the party of England, and uſed many devices to prevail on the ambaſſador to retire from Scotland. It was in vain that Sadler made him the moſt flattering offers, even ſo far as to propoſe that the Regent ſhould marry one of Henry's daughters, and become King of all Scotland beyond the Forth. From the Regent's reply to this extravagant propoſal, it ſeems plain, that a gratuity of a thouſand pounds would have been much more acceptable than the vague hopes which it implied. But this Sadler durſt not promiſe. To the Douglaſſes, and to that diminiſhed part of the Solway captives, who ſtill pretended adherence to England, Sadler offered an auxiliary army of Engliſh. But they replied, that the name of England was ſo utterly deteſted by their countrymen, that their own friends and followers would to a man deſert them, were they to accept of ſuch odious aid. In fine, the Regent, who had, on the 25th of Auguſt, 1543, ratified the treaty with England, did, upon the 3d of September following, altogether renounce that alliance, and unite himſelf to the cardinal, and thoſe nobles who were in arms, to oppoſe it. Even the patience of Sadler gave way, when he beheld the party who had ſo ſtrongly vowed to maintain the intereſt of England, melt away like a ſnow-ball; and he expreſſes his cordial wiſh and expectation, that his Majeſty would ſhortly correct the untruth and folly of the Scottiſh, and prayed that he might either be recalled, or permitted to take refuge in ſome ſtrong hold belonging to the Douglaſſes, who ſtill maintained their friendſhip with England. This permiſſion being at length obtained, he left Edinburgh, and retired to Tantallon, a ſtrong caſtle in Eaſt Lothian, belonging to the Earl of Angus. Here he abode for ſeveral weeks, better pleaſed with his lodging for its ſtrength

ſtrength and ſecurity, than in point of accommodation; and returned to England about the beginning of December, 1543, the precurſor of a Scottiſh war, in which the deſtruction of Leith by the Earl of Hartford, and a deſolating ſucceſſion of incurſions on the frontiers by Evers and Latoun, avenged the perfidy of the Regent.

Although Sadler had totally failed in the object of his embaſſy, the ſkill and patience with which he had conducted the negociation, maintained, and even raiſed him in the eſteem of his ſovereign. Upon the death of Henry the VIIIth. in 1547, it was found that he had bequeathed the care of his ſon and of the realm to ſixteen of his nobility and counſellors, to whom he nominated a privy council of twelve perſons. In this laſt number Sadler was included by the title of Sir Ralph Sadleyr, knight, and he was further diſtinguiſhed by a legacy of 200*l.* As the laſt inſtructions of the king to his council contained a warm recommendation to proſecute the Scottiſh match, there can be little doubt that Sadler was recommended to this high truſt and honour, as well by his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Scotland, as by the other qualities which had acquired Henry's confidence. It would ſeem he was preſent with the executors when the will was opened and read, and an oath taken faithfully to diſcharge the truſt which it impoſed. But a great innovation was almoſt immediately made upon the form of government, ſo ſolemnly ratified, by the elevation of the Earl of Hartford, afterwards Duke of Somerſet, to be protector of the realm. In order to reconcile the reſt of the king's executors to this pre-eminence, wealth and honours were conferred on them with no ſparing hand; they were named counſellors to the protector, and a commiſſion was iſſued under the great ſeal, to warrant this new form of government, in which, however, the privy counſellors were raiſed to the ſame rank with the executors; and power granted to the protector to aſſume any other commiſſioners whom he ſhould think fit. The ſpecial gratification deſtined for Sir Ralph Sadler upon theſe changes, ſeems to have been a confirmation of the large grants of church lands formerly aſſigned to him by Henry, with ſplendid additions. There is ſaid to be an illuminated deed in exiſtence, in which Sadler is painted on his knees, receiving from Henry and Edward a grant of all the church lands, on which the town of Clifton, near Briſtol, now ſtands, and extending down to the Severn. It would ſeem, from the indenture, that various exchanges were made between the crown and Sir Ralph Sadler, all doubtleſs to the advantage of the grantee.

The war with Scotland had been rather ſuſpended than cloſed by a ſhort peace, and hoſtilities with France being now ended, the protector and his council reſolved to reſume the ſubject of the Scottiſh match, diſpatched a ſolemn ſummons, requiring the fulfilment of the treaty formerly concluded under the conduct of Sir Ralph Sadler. Upon a blunt and unqualified refuſal, the protector prepared to invade Scotland at the head of an army of between 12,000 and 13,000 infantry, 1300 men at arms,

arms, 2800 light horſemen, all excellently appointed, and perfectly diſciplined. Sir Ralph Sadler held the important poſt of treaſurer to this gallant army; and from his accounts, it appears that the expences of maintaining and paying the forces, from the 1ſt of Auguſt till the 20th of November, 1547, amounted to 45,912*l.* 12*s.* ſterling.

It was at the head of this army that Somerſet gained the bloody and deciſive battle of Pinkie, over the numerous, but ill-diſciplined, feudal army of Scotland. In this battle, Sir Ralph Sadler diſtinguiſhed himſelf both for his conduct and gallantry, inſomuch, that he was raiſed to the degree of knight banneret, on the field of battle. The particular ſervices which procured him this honourable diſtinction, appear to have been, the activity which he diſplayed in rallying the Engliſh cavalry, when repulſed by the Scottiſh ſpearmen at the beginning of the conflict, and, according to tradition, his ſeizing, with his own hand, the royal ſtandard of Scotland. A tall ſtandard pole, plated with iron as high as a horſeman's ſword could reach, long remained beſide his tomb. It was believed to have been the ſtaff from which the Scottiſh banner was diſplayed, and was appealed to for the truth of the tradition.

The rank to which Sir Ralph Sadler was thus raiſed from the degree of knight bachelor, may be called the very pinnacle of chivalry. Knight bannerets could only be created by the king himſelf, or, which was very rare, by a general inveſted with ſuch powers as to repreſent his perſon. They were dubbed before or after a battle, in which the royal ſtandard was diſplayed; and the perſon ſo to be honoured being brought before the king, led by two diſtinguiſhed knights or nobles, preſented to the ſovereign his pennon, having an indenture like a ſwallow's tail at the extremity. The king then cut off the forked extremity, rendering the banner ſquare, in ſhape ſimilar to that of a baron, which, thereafter, the knight banneret might diſplay in every pitched field, in that more noble form. If created by the king, the banneret took precedence of all other knights; but if by a general, only of knights of the bath, and knights bachelors. Sir Francis Brian, commander of the light horſemen, and Sir Ralph Vane, lieutenant of the men at arms, received this honour, with our Sir Ralph Sadler, on the field of Pinkie. But he ſurvived his companions, and is ſaid to have been the laſt knight banneret of England.

I have diſcovered no trace of Sir Ralph Sadler's being employed in public affairs during the reſt of Edward's ſhort reign. He unqueſtionably retained his place in the council; and in the grant, dated 4th Edward VI. and quoted by Dugdale, in his "Warwickſhire," he is termed, "then maſter of the great wardrobe." His prudence, probably, prevented him from attaching himſelf zealouſly to any of the factions, whoſe ſtrife and mutual hatred diſturbed the quiet of their amiable ſovereign, excited rebellion amongſt the people, and loſt all the advantages his arms had gained in the battle of Pinkie.

In the reign of Mary, it would ſeem that Sir Ralph Sadler

ler retired to his eſtate near Hackney. A courtier who had riſen under the auſpices of Cromwell, and participated ſo largely in the ſpoils of the church of Rome, muſt have been no favourite with the exiſting government. Accordingly, he reſigned his office of clerk of the hanaper, to propitiate Archbiſhop Heath, then chancellor, and perhaps made other conceſſions of the nature and extent of which we are now ignorant. Yet we have poſitive evidence, that Sir Ralph Sadler was ſo far from being in abſolute diſgrace, that he was, in ſome degree, truſted by the ſovereign, even during this reign. For there are two letters from Mary, printed in the following collection, empowering and commanding Sir Ralph Sadler to arm and equip as many able men as he could maintain, and to keep them ready upon an hour's notice, for the ſuppreſſion of popular tumult. It is probable that, notwithſtanding this proof of confidence, Sir Ralph Sadler did not think his proſperity ſecure till the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth.

So ſoon as this event took place, he was called to the privy council of his new ſovereign, and, until the day of his death, retained a great portion of her regard and eſteem; no man being more frequently employed by Elizabeth in ſervices of the higheſt truſt and importance. He was a member of her firſt parliament, and continued to be a repreſentative of the people in moſt, if not all, the ſeſſions of her reign. At the end of this work, there are ſeveral notes of his ſpeeches in the Houſe of Commons, and at the council board, full of energy and good ſenſe; and although uſually on the ſide of the court, yet he expreſſed his ſentiments with becoming independence. The firſt diplomatic office in which he was engaged, during this reign, was of great conſequence, and its ſucceſs paved the way for the abſolute influence which Elizabeth afterwards obtained in the affairs of Scotland; an influence which all the blood and treaſure expended by her anceſtors to conquer that kingdom had utterly failed to acquire. The Reformation had now made ſuch progreſs in that kingdom, that a league of proteſtant nobles took arms, to ſecure the liberty of conſcience, under the title of lords of the congregation. Mary of Lorraine, queen dowager, and now regent, endeavoured, by the aſſiſtance of French forces and French money, to ſuppreſs this inſurrection. Both parties became embittered againſt each other, and it was obvious, that a final and deciſive conflict was not far diſtant. In this, the ſagacity of Cecil ſaw that the queen regent, armed with legal authority, ſupported by diſciplined forces, and furniſhed from France with means of paying them, muſt ultimately prevail over a league who had only religious zeal, and the tumultuary aſſemblage of their feudal retainers, to oppoſe againſt ſuch advantages.—But Scotland, if reduced to the ſituation of a French province, and ruled by a catholic queen, who boaſted ſome pretenſions to the throne of Elizabeth, muſt have been a moſt inauſpicious neighbour to England. It was therefore reſolved to ſupport the proteſtant nobility in their ſtruggle with the queen regent, but with ſuch ſecrecy, as neither to bring upon the lords of

of the congregation the odium of being the friends and penſioners of England, nor to engage Elizabeth in an open war with her ſiſter and rival.

To manage the intrigues neceſſary for the ſucceſsful execution of this plan, it was neceſſary an accredited agent ſhould be ſent to the frontier. With this view, a commiſſion was granted to the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts, to ſettle certain diſputes concerning border matters, with the commiſſioners to be named by the queen regent of Scotland, and to direct the repairs propoſed to be made on the fortifications of Berwick, and other border fortreſſes. But the object was only to furniſh oſtenſible reaſons for Sadler making a long ſtay in the town of Berwick, whence he could moſt eaſily correſpond with the lords of the congregation. By his private inſtructions in Cecil's hand-writing, he was empowered to treat with any manner of perſon in Scotland, to diſtribute money as he ſhould think proper to the extent of 3000*l.* always with ſuch diſcretion and ſecrecy, as not to impair the peace lately concluded with Scotland. The uſe of the Earl of Northumberland's name in the general commiſſion was merely oſtenſible. As that nobleman profeſſed the catholic religion, he would have been in every reſpect an improper agent in behalf of the lords of the congregation. But Sadler appears to have repoſed unlimited confidence in Sir James Crofts, the other commiſſioner.

Sadler opened and carried on the negociation with his uſual ability, of which the numerous letters, now offered to the public, afford an intereſting proof. But notwithſtanding repeated ſupplies of money, it became gradually more and more obvious, that the aid of England muſt appear in the decided ſhape of auxiliary forces, if the lords of the congregation were to be ſaved from deſtruction. For this purpoſe, the Duke of Norfolk was ſent to Berwick, to conclude an open and avowed treaty with the Scottiſh proteſtants. But although the deputation of a perſon of ſuch high rank gave a higher degree of ſolemnity to the negociation, it continued chiefly to be managed by Sir Ralph Sadler, whoſe name, as well as that of the Duke, appears in moſt of the letters to the council. Indeed, the duke, in his inſtructions, was repeatedly enjoined to uſe the council of Sir Ralph Sadler rather than of any military man, as the queen ſtill entertained hopes that hoſtilities might be prevented. When the auxiliary army under Lord Gray had entered Scotland, and beſieged the French troops of the queen regent in the town of Leith, Elizabeth directed the Duke of Norfolk to ſend Sir Ralph Sadler to the camp, in hopes that he might be able to treat with the regent, and at the ſame time to remove from the mind of the proteſtants all ſuſpicion that their intereſts would be ſacrificed to obtain peace. Accordingly, in April, 1560, Sadler appears to have joined the army before Leith. On the 5th day of May, the Earl of Arran, then a leader of the congregation, writes to Cecil, that the arrival of Sir Ralph Sadler had reſtored their ſpirits. He witneſſed the diſaſtrous conſequences of a raſh aſſault made upon Leith by the Engliſh, in which they loſt many men.

men. Above all, he had probably a principal ſhare in the treaty of Leith, ſo highly honourable to Elizabeth, by which ſhe ſtipulated for her Scottiſh allies the ſecurity of their religion, liberty, and poſſeſſions; and for herſelf, a full acknowledgment of her right to the crown of England. The garriſon of Leith was ſurrendered, and the French governor regaled the leaders of the beſiegers with a feaſt of fifty diſhes, compoſed out of one dead horſe; a circumſtance which marks national manners, as well as the extremity to which the place was reduced.

It does not appear how Sir Ralph Sadler was employed during the five ſucceeding years, or whether he had any duty to diſcharge beſides that of a privy counſellor. But there can be no doubt that he continued to maintain his place in Elizabeth's opinion, ſince, in the 10th year of her reign, he was created chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, vacant by the death of Sir Ambroſe Cave, and was employed in matters of even higher delicacy and weight, than had been yet entruſted to his care.

In 1568, when Elizabeth had determined to treat a fugitive princeſs, who had fled to her protection, as an accuſed criminal, and had named commiſſioners to hear the cauſe of Queen Mary pleaded at York, Sir Ralph Sadler was conjoined with the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Eſſex, in order to compoſe that extraordinary tribunal. Indeed, of the three, he ſeems to have been moſt truſted; for ſo ſoon as the mode in which the enquiry was conducted gave reaſon to believe that Norfolk meant to diſcountenance the accuſation, Sadler was ordered to court to give an account of their proceedings. He was alſo a member of the new commiſſion which ſat at Weſtminſter for the ſame purpoſe. Meanwhile the effects of Norfolk's intrigues began to be apparent. The Earls of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland, relying upon the co-operation of the duke, and of the ancient nobility, openly took arms for the deliverance of Queen Mary, and the reſtoration of the catholic religion. An army was ſpeedily levied againſt them, under the command of the Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler again occupied the ſituation of treaſurer, or paymaſter-general. It is not improbable, that his preſence was conſidered as a check upon Suſſex, who, beſides his rivalry with the favourite Leiceſter, lay under a certain degree of ſuſpicion from his alliance with Norfolk. But the letters of Sadler, whoſe intelligence was doubtleſs relied upon by Elizabeth and her miniſters, were in the higheſt degree favourable to Suſſex. After the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, the inſurgent earls, with ſome of their principal followers, retreated into Scotland. Northumberland fell into the power of the regent Murray; but Weſtmoreland being ſheltered by the laird of Ferniherſt, Sadler employed a perſon, named Robert Conſtable, a relation of the unfortunate fugitive, to ſeduce him to come back to England, under the promiſe of protection, and then to deliver him up to the ſeverity of the law.—The perſon to whom this negociation was entruſted, was by birth a gentleman, although his family was then ſtained by treaſon, as afterwards by regicide. But his quality

quality did not prevent him from undertaking this treacherous commiſſion, as the thirſt of lucre could not, on the other hand, altogether ſubdue his own ſenſe of the infamy of his conduct. And between avarice, hypocriſy, and remorſe, his letters to Sir Ralph Sadler form a moſt extraordinary picture of guilt contending with ſhame. The anſwers of Sir Ralph are remarkable, as diſdaining to qualify the infamy of the taſk otherwiſe than by increaſing the bribe. He treats Conſtable as the traitor he had made himſelf; and, appealing only to his avarice, makes no capitulation with his feelings whatſoever. But fortunately for Weſtmoreland, the negociation was unſucceſsful.

After the northern army was diſbanded, we find Sir Ralph Sadler, in 1672, employed as one of the commiſſioners for examining the Duke of Norfolk, lately his coadjutor in truſts of a ſimilar nature. The iſſue of the enquiry was the trial and execution of the unfortunate nobleman.

In 1578, James of Scotland, who had now taken the reins of government into his own hands, deſirous to propitiate a counſellor, whoſe aſſiſtance had been ſo often uſed in affairs concerning his kingdom, honoured Sir Ralph Sadler with a letter, in which he thanked him for the care he had always exhibited, to maintain a good underſtanding between England and Scotland, and recommends to his good offices, an ambaſſador, whom he had diſpatched to his deareſt ſiſter, Queen Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, James's deareſt mother was drawing out a miſerable exiſtence in exile and impriſonment, under the cuſtody of George, Earl of Shrewſbury, whoſe caſtle was converted into a priſon, his ſervants into guards, his porter into a turnkey, his wife into a ſpy, and himſelf into a jailor, to gratify the ever-wakeful jealouſy of Queen Elizabeth. It was a hard part of this nobleman's fate, that the moſt aſſiduous attention to his charge, joined to all theſe perſonal ſacrifices, were inſufficient to procure him the favour of the ſovereign who had condemned him to this odious taſk. Elizabeth ſeems to have involuntarily attributed ſuch faſcination to her rival, that ſhe ſuſpected the fidelity of all who came within the reach of her attraction. The Queen of England had alſo the attribute of many proud ſpirits, who hate thoſe who poſſeſs the power of injuring them, even when they diſplay no inclination to uſe it; and to her no danger could have been ſo alarming as the treachery of Mary's guardians. To make aſſurance yet more ſure, ſhe repeatedly diſpatched different counſellors to her captive, as well to watch the demeanor of Shrewſbury himſelf, and the order of his houſehold, as to try, under ſome plauſible pretext of treaty, what ſecrets could be extracted from the unfortunate Mary. Sir Ralph Sadler was thus employed more than once.

In 1580, after repeated entreaties to be relieved of a truſt ſo hateful in itſelf, and which ſubjected him to conſtant ſuſpicion, Shrewſbury was permitted to come to court, and received from Elizabeth a promiſe that the cuſtody of Mary ſhould be entruſted to ſome other perſon. During his abſence, Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Henry

Henry Mildmay were appointed her temporary guardians. Aſhby de la Zouch, the caſtle of the Earl of Huntingdon, and Milbourne caſtle, were alternately named as the place of her reſidence, to which ſhe was to be conducted with ſecreſy, avoiding market towns, or any place of public reſort, and travelling by other ways than the common high road. The commiſſioners were empowered to ſeize upon all Mary's letters and correſpondence, and if neceſſary, by breaking open her cabinets, and other places where they might be found. But this branch of the "good and honourable ſervice entruſted to them," was not performed till long after. Neither did the propoſed change of captivity take place, Shrewſbury continuing to have the cuſtody of Queen Mary till the year 1584. He was then again permitted to come to court, and by the Queen and council formally declared free from all ſuſpicion, and of unblemiſhed fidelity in his charge. Meanwhile, Sir Ralph Sadler ſupplied his place, as governor of the garriſon of ſoldiers, whom the Earl was forced to maintain to keep watch and ward in his caſtle of Wingfield, though he could hardly extort from Elizabeth money to pay their wages. The unfortunate priſoner expreſſed herſelf gratified, that the cuſtody of her perſon had devolved upon an ancient counſellor, formerly of her acquaintance; and in her communications with him, urged every argument to obtain either liberty, or at leaſt ſome relaxation of her impriſonment. Among others of ſimilar tendency the following ſingular converſation is reported by Sadler to have paſſed between them.

"Here falling into other talk, ſhe aſked me whether I thought ſhe would eſcape from hence or no. If ſhe might, I anſwered plainly, I believed ſhe would: for it is natural for every thing to ſeek liberty that is kept in ſtrait ſubjection. No, by my trothe, quod ſhe, ye are deceived in me; for my heart is ſo great, that I had rather die in this ſort with honour than run away with ſhame. I ſaid I would be ſorry to ſee the trial. Then ſhe aſked me, if ſhe were at liberty with the Queen majeſty's favour, whither I thought ſhe would go. I think, quod I, Madam, you would go to your own Scotland, as it is good reaſon, and command there. It is true, quod ſhe, I would go thither indeed, but only to ſee my ſon, and to give him good counſel. But unleſs her Majeſty would give her countenance and ſome maintenance in England, would go into France, and live there among her friends with that little portion ſhe hath there, and never trouble herſelf with government again, nor diſpoſe herſelf to marry any more, ſeeing ſhe had a ſon that is a man; but ſaid ſhe would never ſtay long there, nor would govern where ſhe had received ſo many evil treatments: for her heart could not abide to look upon thoſe folks that had done her that evil, being her ſubjects; whereof there are yet many remaining: for I had told her that they were almoſt all dead. Ever in her talk beſeeching her Majeſty to make a trial of her, that with ſome honor-

able end ſhe may live the reſt of her days out of this captivity, as ſhe termeth it."

This converſation ſeems to have made ſuch impreſſion on Sadler, that in a ſubſequent letter, after obſerving that he ſaw no end to the matter, but by the lady's death, which was not to be looked for, for many years, or by her being ſet at liberty on treaty, he ventures obliquely to recommend the latter alternative. The poſſibility of anticipating the courſe of nature, never ſeems to have occurred to him.

The letters of Sir Ralph frequently conclude with alluſions to his old age, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which he repeatedly urges as reaſons for relieving him of his charge; until Elizabeth honoured him with a letter under her own hand, promiſing ſpeedily to grant his requeſt, but in the mean while enjoining "old truſt, with new diligence." To add to his diſtreſſes, about the middle of December the caſtle of Wingfield, the abode of a captive queen, and of this aged counſellor her guardian, eſteemed the richeſt commoner in England, was threatened with nothing leſs than a famine. Sadler writes, that beſides lack of victuals and drink, there was no wood to burn, and no litter or forage to be had for his horſes. This ſeems to have been in ſome degree an artificial ſcarcity, raiſed or increaſed by the Earl of Shrewſbury's retainers, by the private inſtructions of their maſter, who longed to ſee his caſtle delivered of theſe unwelcome gueſts, and judiciouſly thought that famine and cold were the moſt likely means of haſtening their change of reſidence. In the midſt of January, 1384-5, Mary was removed to the caſtle of Tutbury, then empty of furniture, a want afterwards ſupplied with ſuch ſcandalous and beggarly parſimony, as to draw down a rebuke, even from the economical Elizabeth. Two circumſtances happened, one in the courſe of the journey, and the other while Mary abode at Tutbury, illuſtrative of the jealous care with which even Sir Ralph Sadler's guardianſhip of Mary was watched by the ſpies of Elizabeth. In their lodging at Derby, where Mary halted for a night, the Scottiſh queen went courteouſly up to the miſtreſs of the houſe, and ſaluted her, ſaying, that ſhe was come to give her inconvenience, but, as they were both widows, they would agree well enough, having no huſbands to trouble them. For permitting this intercourſe of ordinary civility, and for having uſed the common high-road in their journey to Tutbury, Sir Ralph's conduct was ſo reported at court, as to render it neceſſary that he ſhould juſtify himſelf. A more heavy complaint againſt him, was afterwards grounded on his having permitted Mary to accompany him at ſome diſtance from the caſtle of Tutbury, to enjoy the ſport of hawking. This laſt inſtance of ſuſpicion and cruelty, ſeems to have driven Sadler to the extremity of his patience, as it produced rather an expoſtulation than an apology. He admitted he had ſent for his hawks and followers to divert "the miſerable life" which he paſſed at Tutbury, and that he had been unable to reſiſt the ſolicitation of the priſoner,

to

to permit her to ſee a ſport in which ſhe greatly delighted. But he adds, that this was under the ſtricteſt precautions for the ſecurity of her perſon. And he declares to the ſecretary, that rather than continue a charge which ſubjected him to ſuch miſconſtruction, were it not more for fear of offending the queen than dread of the puniſhment, he would abandon his preſent charge on condition of ſurrendering himſelf priſoner to the Tower for all the days of his life; and concludes, that he is ſo weary of his life, that death itſelf would make him moſt happy. To Walſingham he uſed yet ſtronger obteſtations. "I could not omit to write, only to render mine humble thanks unto your lordſhip for your careful ſolicitation of my deliverance from this charge, wherein I beſeech your lordſhip down in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to continue your goodneſs towards me, being now overwhelmed with care, ſorrow, and grief, whereunto your Lordſhip knoweth that wayward age is always ſubject, being reſtrained from the liberty accuſtomed, truſting that her Majeſty will have pity and compaſſion upon me, and now, in reſpect of my years, will deliver me, according to her moſt gracious promiſe." The queen was, at length, pleaſed to liſten to the ſupplications of her aged ſervant, and Mary was committed to the cuſtody of her laſt and ſterneſt keepers, Drurie and Paulett.

In 1587, the talents of Sadler were, for the laſt time, employed in the public ſervice, for he was in that year diſpatched to Scotland. As it was about the period of Queen Mary's execution, Elizabeth probably truſted to his ſagacity and well known acquaintance with Scottiſh affairs, to aſſiſt in diſſuading James from taking any meaſures to avenge his mother's death. The counſels of Sadler, we may preſume, joined with the letters of Hunſden, Leiceſter and Walſingham, ſoothed the ambition, and wrought on the puſillanimity of James, until all thoughts of vengeance were loſt in the proſpect of the Engliſh ſucceſſion.

It was during Sadler's laſt embaſſy in Scotland, according to Fuller, that a magnificent ſtructure was erected for his reſidence upon the manor of Standen, in Hertfordſhire. But when Sir Ralph returned, he thought his ſteward had exceeded his wiſhes in the ſize and extent of the building, and never took much pleaſure in it. The period of his labours, as well as of his ſplendour, was now approaching, for he died ſoon after his return from Scotland, in the year of God, 1587, and the eightieth of a life, ſpent in conducting tranſactions of the higheſt national importance. He was buried under a ſplendid monument in Standen Church.

Sir Ralph Sadler died rich, both in poſſeſſions and lineage. The extent of his lands obtained him the character of the nobleſt commoner of England, and although Queen Elizabeth was as parſimonious in beſtowing titles of nobility, as her ſucceſſor was profuſe, it is probable that Sir Ralph Sadler might have gained that rank, had he been deſirous of aſpiring to it. But from various minute circumſtances in the following volumes, as well as from the uniform favour which he enjoyed during ſo many reigns, we are enabled to collect,

that the prudence of this ſtateſman was greater than his ambition. In his negociations, nothing is more remarkable than the accuracy with which he calculates the means to be uſed, in relation to the end to be obtained; and in purſuit of his fortune he ſeems no leſs heedfully to have proportioned his object to his capacity of gaining it with honor and ſafety. The ſtory of the manor houſe at Standen, ſhews that his moderation accompanied him to the grave; as his high employments during the very year of his death, prove that his talents remained unclouded to the laſt. The following papers, relating almoſt entirely to public tranſactions, do not enable us to draw an accurate picture of the individual, although they diſplay in the higheſt degree the talents of the ſtateſman. But this deficiency is in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the induſtry of Lloyd, who has left the following character of Sir Ralph Sadler among his State Worthies.

"King Henry underſtood two things: 1. A man: 2. A diſh of meat; and was ſeldom deceived in either: For a man, none more complete than Sir Ralph Sadler, who was at once a moſt exquiſite writer, and a moſt valiant and experienced ſoldier: qualifications that ſeldom meet, (ſo great is the diſtance between the ſword and the pen, the coat of mail and the gown), yet divided this man and his time; his night being devoted to contemplation, and his days to action. Little was his body, but great his ſoul; the more vigorous, the more contracted. Quick and clear were his thoughts, ſpeedy and reſolute his performances. It was he that could not endure the ſpending of that time in deſigning one action, which might perform two; or that delay in performing two, that might have deſigned twenty. A great eſtate he got honeſtly, and ſpent nobly; knowing that princes honour them moſt, that have moſt, and the people them only that employ moſt: a prince hath more reaſon to fear money that is ſpent, than that which is horded; for it is eaſier for ſubjects to oppoſe a prince by applauſe than by armies. Reward (ſaid Sir Ralph, when he was offered a ſum of money) ſhould not empty the King's coffers; neither ſhould riches be the pay of worth, which are merely the wages of labour: he that gives it, embaſeth a man; he that taketh it, vilifieth himſelf: who is ſo moſt rewarded is leaſt. Since honor hath loſt the value of a reward, men have loſt the merit of virtue, and both become mercenary; men luſting rather after the wealth that buyeth, than after the qualities that deſerve it.

"Two things, he obſerved, broke treaties; jealouſy, when princes are ſucceſsful; and fear, when they are unfortunate. Power, that hath need of none, maketh all confederacies, either when it is felt, or when it is feared, or when it is envied.

"Three things Cato repented of; 1. That he went by water when he might go by land; 2. That he truſted a woman with a ſecret; 3. That he loſt time. Two things Sir Ralph repented for: 1. That he had communicated a ſecret to two. 2. That he had loſt any hour of the morning betweeen four o'clock and ten.

"He learned in King Henry the eighth's time, as Cromwell's inſtrument,

inſtrument, what he muſt adviſe (in point of religion) in Queen Elizabeth's time, as an eminent counſellor: his maxim being this, that zeal was the duty of a private breaſt, and moderation the intereſt of a public ſtate. The Proteſtants, Sir Ralph's conſcience would have in the commencement of Queen Elizabeth, kept in hope; the Papiſts, his prudence would not have caſt into deſpair. It was a maxim at that time in another caſe, that France ſhould not preſume, nor Spain be deſperate.

"He ſaw the intereſt of this ſtate altered ſix times, and died an honeſt man; the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful ſubject; religion changed, as to the public conſtitution of it, five times, yet he kept his faith.

"A Spartan one day boaſted, that his countrymen had been often buried at Athens; the Athenian replied; but we are moſt of us buried at home. So great was Sir Ralph's ſucceſs in the Northern wars, that many a Scotchman found his grave in England; ſo exact his conduct and warineſs, that few Engliſhmen had their's in Scotland; the ſame ground giving them their coffin, that did their cradle; and their birth, that did their death. Our knight's two incomparable qualities were diſcipline and intelligence; the laſt diſcovered him all the enemies' advantages, and the firſt gave them none. "His two main deſigns, were 1. An intereſt in his Prince, by ſervice; 2. An alliance with the nobility by marriage: upon which two bottoms he raiſed himſelf to that pitch of honor and eſtate, that time could not wear out, nor any alterations embezzle; he bequeathed to his worſhipful poſterity the bleſſing of heaven upon his integrity; the love of mankind for his worth, and (as Mr. Fuller faith) a pardon granted him when he attended my Lord Cromwell at Rome, for the ſins of his family for three generations, (expiring in R. Sadler, Eſquire, lately dead.) His laſt negociation was that in Scotland, during the troubles there about Queen Mary: ſo ſearching and pearcing he was, that no letter or adviſe paſſed, whereof he had not a copy; ſo civil and obliging, that there was no party that had not a kindneſs for him; ſo grave and ſolid, that he was preſent at all counſels: ſo cloſe and unſeen, that his hand, though unſeen, was in every motion of that ſtate: and ſo ſucceſsful, that he left the nobility ſo divided, that they could not deſign any thing upon the King; and the King ſo weak, that he could not caſt off the Queen; and all ſo tottering, that they muſt depend on Queen Elizabeth.

"Three things he bequeathed ſuch as may have the honour to ſucceed him, 1. All the letters that concerned him ſince of years filed; 2. All occurrences, ſince he was capable of obſervation, regiſtered; 3. All expenſes, ſince he lived of himſelf, booked. Epaminondas was the firſt Grecian, and Sir Ralph Sadler was one of the laſt Engliſhmen."—*Lloyd's State Worthies*, p. 95.

Character of John Opie, *Eſq. From an Addreſs to Prince* Hoare, *Eſq. introductory to Mr.* Opie's *Lectures on Painting, by Mrs.* Opie.

"IT has been obſerved that

diſtinguiſhed men generally reſemble their works, and this obſervation appears to me ſtrikingly true if applied to Mr. Opie. He greatly reſembled his paintings; and, while the trivial defects both of him and them were obvious to the many, the unuſual excellencies of both could be completely known and juſtly valued only by the few.

Any obſerver, however contemptible, might in ſome of his pictures diſcover a neglect of proper coſtume in his draperies, a too ſtrict adherence to the *models* from which he painted, and an inattention to the minuter parts of art; but it required the eye of a connoiſſeur and the kindred feeling of an artiſt to diſtinguiſh and appreciate properly the ſimplicity of his deſigns, the juſtneſs of his repreſentations, and the force of his light and ſhadow.—In like manner any one might obſerve in the artiſt himſelf a negligence in dreſs, a diſregard of the common rules of common manners, and a careleſſneſs to pleaſe thoſe whom he conſidered as trifling and unintereſting; but it required a mind of powers nearly equal to his own, or gifted with a nice perception of uncommon endowments in others, to value, and to call forth his acuteneſs of obſervation and his depth of thinking; to follow him through the wide range of his perceptions, and to profit by that juſt and philoſophical mode of ſeeing and deſcribing, on which his claims to mental ſuperiority were ſo ſtrongly built.

Thoſe only whom he ſufficiently reſpected to enter into argument with, or who were themſelves fond of argument, are aware of the full extent of the powers of his mind: —with others, even when he loved them as friends, and valued them as companions, he indulged, for the moſt part, in converſation, which, though never trifling, was often unimportant, and which at leaſt ſerved the uſeful purpoſe of unbending a mind, only too frequently for the good of the frame which contained it, ſtretched to the very utmoſt limit. You have ſaid of him that in argument he had the power of eliciting light from his opponent, and Mr. Northcote has exhibited his talent for converſing in another point of view, by obſerving that "it is difficult to ſay whether his converſation gave more amuſement or inſtruction."—Certain indeed it is, that his power to amuſe was equal to his power to inſtruct;—but, as flame ſhines brighteſt in certain airs, he ſhone the moſt in certain ſocieties. The fire of his mind required certain applications to elicit its brilliancy; and thoſe were love, eſteem, and reſpect for the companions with whom he was converſing, and a perfect confidence that they deſired and valued his ſociety.

I was induced to mention this circumſtance from being fully aware that many perſons, with whom Mr. Opie lived in apparent intimacy, had no ſuſpicion of his poſſeſſing converſational talents of the higheſt order. But in general the *few only* poſſeſs a key to open in another the ſtores of mental excellence, eſpecially when the entrance is alſo guarded by the proud conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority, ſuſpicious of being undervalued.

You, my dear Sir, were one of thoſe who poſſeſſed a key, to unlock the mind of Mr. Opie, and to you were all its treaſures known.

known. You, therefore, are well aware that he excelled in aptneſs of quotation, that there was a peculiar playfulneſs of fancy in his deſcriptions; that he poſſeſſed the art of repreſenting ſtrongly the ridiculous in men and things, which he inſtantly and ſenſibly felt, and therefore the pictures drawn by his tongue lived as powerfully to the view as thoſe from his pencil;—while his talent for repartee, for ſtrong humour, and formidable though not malignant ſarcaſm, gave an ever-varying attraction to his converſation; an attraction which no one I believe was ever more ſenſible of than yourſelf, as you were one of the friends whom he never failed to welcome with an artleſs warmth of manner which always found its way to the heart, becauſe it bore indiſputable marks of having come from it.

But as I am fully ſenſible that my teſtimony in favour of Mr. Opie's converſational ſuperiority can add no weight to that given by you and Mr. Northcote, and that both you and he may be ſuppoſed biaſſed by the partiality of friendſhip, I beg leave to offer, in corroboration of its truth, authority of a very high deſcription, and which has hitherto not met the public eye,—that of Mr. Horne Tooke, whom even thoſe who diſlike his politics muſt admire as a man not only of ſagacity the moſt acute, but of attainments the moſt extraordinary, and that of Sir James Mackintoſh, on whoſe talents it is needleſs for me to expatiate.

Mr. Tooke, while Mr. Opie was painting him, had not only the opportunity, but the power of ſounding him, from his loweſt note to the top of his compaſs.—And he ſaid, a ſhort time afterwards, to one of his moſt diſtinguiſhed friends, "Mr. Opie crowds more wiſdom into a few words than almoſt any man I ever knew;—he ſpeaks as it were in *axioms*, and what he obſerves is worthy to be remembered."

Sir James Mackintoſh, in a letter recently received from him, laments the loſs of an acquaintance to whoſe ſociety he looked forward as one of the pleaſures which awaited him at his return to England, and adds the following obſervation. "Had Mr. Opie turned his powers of mind to the ſtudy of philoſophy, he would have been one of the firſt philoſophers of the age. I was never more ſtruck than with his original manner of thinking and expreſſing himſelf in converſation; and had he written on the ſubject, he would, perhaps, have thrown more light on the philoſophy of his art than any man living."

Nor was Mr. Opie's intellectual ſuperiority unappreciated by the eminent amongſt my own ſex.

Mrs. Inchbald has given to the world her opinion of my huſband in her own intereſting and energetic manner; and Mrs. Siddons, muſt pardon me, if I relate the following circumſtances. "Where is Mr. Opie?" ſaid Mrs. Siddons, one evening at a party in B——k-ſtreet. "He is gone," was the anſwer. "I am ſorry for it," ſhe replied, "for I meant to have ſought him out, as when I am with him, I am always ſure to hear him ſay ſomething which I cannot forget, or at leaſt which ought never to be forgotten."

I have been led to dwell on Mr.

Opie's great talents for converſation, and to bring forward reſpectable evidence to prove it, in order to draw this inference; that to him who could, in ſociety, "*ſpeak in axioms*," and expreſs original ideas in an impreſſive and forcible manner, it could not be a very difficult taſk to conquer the only obſtacle to his ſucceſs as an author, namely, want of the habit of writing, and to become on the ſubject moſt dear and familiar to him, a powerful and eloquent writer.

That he was ſuch, the following work, I truſt, will ſufficiently teſtify: and I ſhould not have thought it neceſſary to draw the inference mentioned above, had it not been often aſſerted, and by many believed, that, however the ideas contained in the lectures might be conceived by Mr. Opie, it was not by his pen that thoſe ideas were clothed in adequate language. But the ſlight texture of muſlin could as eaſily aſſume the conſiſtency of velvet, as the perſon ſuppoſed to have aſſiſted Mr. Opie in the compoſition of his lectures, have given language to the conceptions of his mind. He who alone conceived them was alone capable of giving them adequate expreſſion; nor could ſo weak and ill-founded a ſuſpicion have ever entered into the head of any one, but for the falſe ideas which, as you well know, are entertained of painting and of painters in general

There are many who ſet literature ſo much above the arts, that they would think Mr. Opie ſhowed more ability in being able to write on painting, than in executing the fineſt of his pictures.

Such perſons ſee a ſimple effect produced, and are wholly unconſcious what compound powers are requiſite to produce it. They would gaze on a portrait painted by the firſt maſters, they would ſee the character, the expreſſion, and the ſort of hiſtorical effect which the picture exhibited; but they would turn away and ſtill conſider the artiſt as a mere painter, and not at all ſuſpect that he could think, or argue, or write. Here let me declare in the moſt ſolemn and unequivocal manner, that to my certain knowledge, Mr. Opie never received from any human being the ſlighteſt aſſiſtance whatever in the compoſition of his lectures; I believe I read to myſelf ſome parts of them as they were at the Royal Inſtitution before they were delivered, and afterwards I had the honour of reading them to the Biſhop of Durham, who ſaid when I had concluded: "You were known before as a great painter, Mr. Opie; you will now be known as a great writer alſo:" but the four finiſhed lectures on which he employed all the powers of his mind, and which he delivered as profeſſor of painting at the Royal Academy, I never even ſaw, but he read each of them to me when finiſhed, and two of them I believe to Mr. Landſeer, the engraver, and Mr. Phillips, the academician. Aſſiſtance from any one Mr. Opie would have deſpiſed, even if he had needed it; as none but the moſt contemptible of human beings can endure to ſtrut forth in borrowed plumes, and claim a reputation which they have not conſcientiouſly deſerved. Such meanneſs was unworthy a man like Mr. Opie, and the lectures themſelves are perhaps a fatal proof not only of his eagerneſs to obtain reputation

putation as a lecturer, but alſo of the laborious induſtry by which he endeavoured to ſatisfy that eagerneſs.

To the toils of the artiſt during the day (and he never was idle for a moment), ſucceeded thoſe of the writer every evening; and from the month of September 1806, to February 1807, he allowed his mind no reſt, and ſcarcely indulged himſelf in the relaxation of a walk, or the ſociety of his friends. To the completion therefore of the lectures in queſtion his life perhaps fell an untimely ſacrifice; and in the bitterneſs of regret, I wiſh they had never been even thought of. But they were written, were delivered, and highly were they admired. They ſerve to form another wreath for his brow. Let it then be ſuffered to bloom there, nor let the hand of ignorance, inadvertence, envy, or malignity, attempt to pluck it thence!

Mr. Northcote, in his character of Mr. Opie, has mentioned his filial piety, and I can confirm what he has aſſerted by the teſtimony of my own experience: indeed all who knew him, would readily admit, that the ſtrength of his affections equalled that of his intellect. I have heard Mr. Opie ſay, that when he firſt came to London he was conſidered as a ſort of *painting Chatterton*. But it was not in talent only that he reſembled the unfortunate Chatterton. He reſembled him alſo in attachment to his family.

Chatterton, if we may judge by his letters, never look d forward to any worldly good without telling his mother and ſiſter that he hoped to ſhare it with them; and no ſooner was Mr. Opie ſettled in London, with a proſpect of encreaſing employment, than ſome of his firſt earnings were tranſmitted by him to his mother: and his ſiſter, whom he tenderly loved, and who well deſerved his affection, was invited to the metropolis, to enjoy the popularity and partake of the proſperity of her brother. Here, unhappily for Chatterton, the reſemblance between them ceaſes, for he poſſeſſed not the induſtry, the patience, the prudence, and the ſelf denial of Mr. Opie. The mother and ſiſter whom Chatterton held ſo dear were left by his wretched and ſelfiſh ſuicide in the ſame ſtate of poverty they had ever known; while thoſe of my huſband were enabled by his well-deſerved ſucceſs to know the comforts of a reſpectable competence. Mr. Opie's father died, I believe, at a very early period of his ſon's life; but he lived to witneſs the dawnings of his genius, and to feel his affections, as well as his pride gratified by ſeeing that genius firſt exhibited in a likeneſs of *himſelf*.—Perhaps the following anecdote may not be unacceptable to my readers; but I cannot expect them to experience from it the ſame intereſt which it produced in me eſpecial y as I cannot narrate it in the ſimple yet impreſſive and dramatic manner in which my poor ſiſter uſed to tell it, while, in order to beguile her grief for her brother's loſs, ſhe dwelt with never ſatisfied pride and delight on his talents and his worth.

One Sunday aftern on, while his mother was at church, Mr. Opie, then a boy of ten or eleven years old, fixed his materials for painting in a little kitchen, directly oppoſite

oppoſite the parlour, where his father ſat reading the Bible. He went on drawing till he had finiſhed every thing but the head, and when he came to that, he frequently ran into the parlour to look up in his father's face. He repeated this extraordinary interruption ſo often, that the old man became quite angry, and threatened to correct him ſeverely if he did the like again. This was exactly what the young artiſt wanted. He wiſhed to paint his father's eyes when lighted up, and ſparkling with indignation, and having obtained his end, he quietly reſumed his taſk. He had completed his picture before his mother's return from church, and on her entering the houſe, he ſet it before her. She knew it inſtantly, but, ever true to her principles, ſhe was very angry with him for having painted on a Sunday, thereby profaning the Sabbath-day. The child, however, was ſo elated by his ſucceſs, that he diſregarded her remonſtrance, and hanging fondly round her neck, he was alive only to the pleaſure ſhe had given him by owning the ſtrength of the reſemblance. At this moment his father entered the room, and recognizing his own portrait immediately, highly approved his ſon's amuſement during the afternoon (parental pride conquering habitual piety awhile), and exhibited the picture, with ever new ſatisfaction, to all who came to the houſe, while the ſtory of his anger, at interruptions ſo happily excuſed and accounted for, added intereſt to his narrative, and gratified ſtill more the pride of the artiſt.

Mr. Opie uſed to ſpeak of his mother with the moſt touching enthuſiaſm. He deſcribed her as the moſt perfect of human beings; as the moſt mild, moſt juſt, and moſt diſintereſted of women; and I believe that ſcarcely any one who knew her would have thought this deſcription an exaggerated one. He loved to relate little inſtances of the ſacred love of juſtice which led her, regardleſs of the partialities of a parent, to decide even againſt her own children, when as criminals they appeared before her, and were in the ſlighteſt degree culpable; and theſe ſtories always ended in recollections of her tender care of him during his feeble childhood, of the gloves and great coat warmed at the winter's fire againſt he went to ſchool; and while he related them with a gliſtening eye, and a feeling of grateful affection, I never found the ſtory, though often told, a tedious one, and uſed to feel the tie that bound me to him ſtrengthened by the narration. This parent, ſo tenderly beloved, was ſpared the miſery of ſurviving her ſon, and breathed her laſt in perfect poſſeſſion of her faculties, and in all the cheering hopes of the pious, in May, 1805, at the advanced age of ninety-two.

Mr. Northcote has alſo mentioned Mr. Opie's READINESS TO FORGIVE INJURIES, and I could bring many inſtances to confirm this obſervation. Such indeed was his extreme placability, that it was ſometimes with difficulty he could prevent himſelf from ſhowing he had forgiven an offence, even before the offender could exhibit tokens of contrition; and his anger had always ſubſided long ere that ſelf-reſpect which every one ought to preſerve allowed him to prove by his conduct that it had done ſo.

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A kind word, and an affectionate ſhake by the hand, had always ſuch power to baniſh from his mind the remembrance of a wrong committed againſt him, that I have ſeen him by ſuch means ſo totally deprived even of ſalutary caution, as to be willing to confide again, where he knew his confidence had been unworthily betrayed. Such a power of forgiving and forgetting injuries as this, is, I fear, a rare virtue, though forcibly enjoined by our Saviour's precepts and example: but Mr. Opie's entire FREEDOM FROM VANITY of any kind is a ſtill rarer quality. He was ſo ſlow to commend, and panegyric on the works of contemporary artiſts was ſo ſparingly given by him, that it was natural for ſome perſons to ſuppoſe him actuated by the feelings of profeſſional jealouſy: but it is more generous, and I am fully convinced more *juſt*, to think this ſluggiſhneſs to praiſe was merely the reſult of ſuch a *high* idea of excellence in his art, as made him not eaſily ſatisfied with efforts to obtain it; and ſurely he who was never led by vanity or conceit, to be contented with his *own* works, could not be expected to ſhow great indulgence to the works of others.

During the nine years that I was his wife, I never ſaw him ſatisfied with any one of his productions, and often, very often have I ſeen him entering my ſitting-room, and throwing himſelf in an agony of deſpondence on the ſofa, exclaim, "I am the moſt ſtupid of created beings, and I never, never ſhall be a painter as long as I live."

But while he was thus painfully alive to his own deficiencies, and to thoſe of others, he was equally ſenſible of the excellencies of his rivals; and it was from him, and his nice and candid diſcrimination of their reſpective merits, that I learnt to appreciate the value of an exhibition. He uſed to ſtudy at Somerſet Houſe, when the pictures were hung up, with more perſevering attention and thirſt for improvement than was ever exhibited perhaps by the loweſt ſtudent in the ſchools; and, on his return, I never heard him expatiate on his own excellencies, but ſorrowfully dwell on his own defects, while he often expreſſed to me his envy of certain powers in art which other painters were maſters of, and which he feared he ſhould never be able to obtain. Sometimes he uſed to relate to me the flattering obſervations made to him on his own pictures; but as it was to ME ONLY, and in the moſt ſimple and careleſs manner poſſible, I felt convinced that he did ſo more to gratify me than himſelf.

To prove how completely he was above that littleneſs of mind which leads ſome men to be jealous even of being ſuppoſed under an obligation to thoſe they hold moſt dear, I ſhall venture to relate the following circumſtance, at the riſk of expoſing myſelf to the imputation of vanity, while endeavouring to prove how much that weakneſs was unknown to Mr. Opie. When Mr. Opie became a huſband, he found it neceſſary, in order to procure indulgences for a wife whom he loved, to make himſelf popular as a portrait-painter, and in that productive and difficult branch of the art, female portraiture. He therefore turned his attention to thoſe points,

points, which he had before been long in the habit of neglecting; and he laboured earneſtly to correct certain faults in his portraits, which he had been ſometimes too negligent to amend. Hence, his pictures in general ſoon acquired a degree of grace and ſoftneſs, to which they had of late years been ſtrangers. In conſequence of this, an academician, highly reſpectable as a man and admirable as an artiſt, came up to him at the ſecond exhibition after we married, and complimented him on one of his female portraits, ſaying: "We never ſaw any thing like this in you before, Opie—this muſt be owing to your wife." On his return, he repeated this converſation to me; and added in the kindeſt manner, that if his brother artiſts would but allow that he *did* improve, he was very willing that they *ſhould attribute the improvement to his wife*.

Once, and once only, did I ſee his firm and manly mind at all overſet by public applauſe; and that was on the night when he firſt lectured at the Academy. His countenance, when I met him on his return, told me of his ſucceſs, before I heard it from his companions, Sir F. Bourgeois, and Sir W. Beechey, who accompanied him home, and who ſeemed to enjoy the triumph which they deſcribed. The next morning he told me that he had paſſed a very reſtleſs night: "for, indeed," ſaid he, "I was ſo *elated*, that I could not ſleep."

It was this freedom from vanity that led him to love and to ſeek the ſociety of the literary and the learned. As he was no egotiſt, had no petty wiſh to be the firſt man in company, and ſought ſociety not in order to ſhine it, but to be inſtructed and amuſed, he feared not to encounter "the proud man's contumely," if that proud man were really capable of affording him amuſement and inſtruction. He had not received a claſſical education himſelf, and he was therefore deſirous of profiting by the remarks of thoſe who poſſeſſed that advantage; he knew he had not read much, he was therefore honourably ambitious to aſſociate with men who had read more: but ſuch were the powers of his memory, that he remembered all he had read; and Milton, Shakſpeare, Dryden, Pope, Gray, Cowper, Hudibras, Burke, and Dr. Johnſon, he might, to uſe a familiar expreſſion, be ſaid to know by heart. He knew that he had no pretenſions to what is called learning—though he perfectly underſtood the French language, and was not wholly ignorant either of Italian or of Latin;—but his ſelf-love never ſhrank from aſſociation with learned men. The epithet of pedant, applied to a ſcholar, had no power to frighten him from the ſociety of ſcholars; for he always ſought to ſee men and things as they *were*, not as they were *ſaid* to be; beſides, his obſervation had told him that, true as the ſhadow to the form, ſome leſſening epithet always attaches itſelf to the highly gifted of both ſexes, whether juſtly or unjuſtly, and that the poſſeſſors of talents are always called eccentric, conceited, or ſatirical, while the poſſeſſors of learning are prejudged to be arrogant, pedantic, and overbearing.

But where ſuch an imputation was well founded, it was of no importance

portance to Mr. Opie; he was conſcious that he aimed at no competition with the learned; while with a manly ſimplicity, which neither feared contempt nor courted applauſe, he has often, even in ſuch company, made obſervations, originating in the native treaſures of his own mind, which learning could not teach, and which learning alone could not enable its poſſeſſor to appreciate. But, while he ſought and valued the ſociety of a Dr. Parr, he ſhrunk with mingled taſte and pride from that of the half-learned,—men whom he denominated *word-catchers*,—men, more eager and more able to detect a fault in grammar, than to admire the original thoughts which ſuch defective language expreſſed. He felt that amongſt perſons of that deſcription he could neither be underſtood nor valued, and therefore he was at once too proud and too humble to endeavour to pleaſe them: while he muſt alſo have been conſcious that, where he was likely ro be judged with candour, and genius was valued before learning, he made all prejudice againſt his want of birth, of a claſſical education, and of the graces of manner, vaniſh before the powers of his intellect, and the impreſſive force of his obſervations. But there was alſo *another* claſs of men with whom he was unwilling to converſe. It has been obſerved of ſome one, that he was ſuch an enemy to prejudice, that he might be ſaid to be prejudiced againſt prejudice: and Mr. Opie was ſo certain that to ſome deſcriptions of clever men he could never be an object of intereſt, from his want of external poliſh and claſſical attainments, that I have often undergone the mortification of obſerving him remain ſilent, while flippancy was loquacious; and of ſeeing the tinſel of well-faſhioned, but ſuperficial, fluency, obtain that notice which was more juſtly due to the ſterling, though in the opinion of ſome, perhaps, the rugged ore of his converſation. But certain it is, that the republic of letters and of arts has an ariſtocratic bias; and many of its members are of ſuch ſybarite habits, ſuch faſtidious delicacy, and have ſuch a decided preference for the rich, the poliſhed, and the high-born members of its body, that a man of plain, ſimple, and unobſtruſive manners, depending only on his character and his genius for reſpect, is not likely to be much the object of their notice.

I do not know whether the following anecdote be a proof of the preſence of pride in Mr. Opie, or the abſence of vanity,—but I ſhall relate it without further comment: We were one evening in a company conſiſting chiefly of men who poſſeſſed rare mental endowments, and conſiderable reputation, but who were led by high animal ſpirits and a conſciouſneſs of power to animadvert on their abſent acquaintance, whether intellectual or otherwiſe, with an unſparing and ingenious ſeverity which I have rarely ſeen equalled, and even the learned, the witty, and the agreeable, were ſet up like ſo many nine-pins only to be bowled down again immediately. As we kept early hours, I knew that we ſhould probably be the firſt to go away; and I ſat in dread of the arrival of twelve o'clock. At length it came, and I received the uſual ſign from Mr. Opie; but to go and leave ourſelves at the mercy of thoſe who remained,

remained, was a trial that I ſhrank from; and in a whiſper I communicated my fears to my huſband, and my wiſh to remain longer in conſequence of them. An angry look and a deſire expreſſed aloud that I ſhould get ready to go, was all the anſwer that I received; and I obeyed him. When we were in the ſtreet, he said: "I never in my life acted from a motive ſo unworthy as that of fear; and this was a fear ſo contemptible, that I ſhould have ſcorned to have acted upon it; and I am really aſhamed of you." No wonder—I was aſhamed of myſelf.

That a feeling ſo unworthy as a fear of this nature had no power to influence Mr. Opie, I can bring another inſtance to prove. Some years ago, a gentleman called on Mr. Opie, from motives of friendſhip, to inform him that a perſon whoſe name I ſhall not mention, the editor of ſome magazine, now no more remembered, was going to publiſh in his next number a very ſevere abuſive memoir of him, and hinted that it might be adviſable for Mr. Opie to take meaſures to prevent the publication, ſhowing him at the ſame time a number already publiſhed, which contained a ſimilar memoir of an eminent and highly reſpected actor, and was an alarming proof, as the gentleman thought, of the writer's powers. Mr. Opie peruſed the memoir, and, returning it to his friend, coolly obſerved, that if that was all the perſon could do, he was very welcome to ſay any thing of him that he choſe; but that he never had condeſcended, nor ever would condeſcend, under any circumſtances whatever, to put a ſtop, by bribe or menace, to any thing of the kind. For the exact words which he uſed on this occaſion, I will not anſwer; but I am ſure that ſuch was the ſentiment which he expreſſed; and I ſhall here take the liberty of obſerving that while he ſcorned, by bribe or menace, to avert printed calumny againſt him, he alſo ſcorned to obtain, by bribe of any kind, a printed eulogium. For his fame, *latterly* at leaſt, he was indebted to *himſelf* alone:—by no puffs, no paragraphs, did he endeavour to obtain public notice; and I have heard him with virtuous pride declare, that, whether his reputation were great or ſmall, it was ſelf-derived, and he was indebted for it to no exertions but thoſe of his own induſtry and talents.

Mr. Opie was as free from prejudice on every point, as he was from vanity; I mean that he never eſpouſed an opinion without well weighing both ſides of the queſtion, and was not led by his perſonal preferences or hatred to prejudge any man, any meaſures, or any works. For inſtance:—When Mr. Burke's ſplendid work on the French Revolution was publiſhed, he read it with delight, and imbibed moſt of the political opinions of its author: but as ſoon as he heard that a powerful writer had appeared on the other ſide of the queſtion, he was eager to read what might be ſaid in oppoſition to Mr. Burke, truth being his only object on all occaſions. I think no ſtronger inſtance than this can be given of the love of fair inquiry, which was a leading feature in Mr. Opie's mind; becauſe, when that celebrated book appeared, it became a ſort of religion, and thoſe who profeſſed its doctrines thought

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there was no political ſalvation for thoſe who did not. And Mr. Opie had caught the enthuſiaſm, had imbibed the convictions which that eloquent work inſpired; ſtill he would not condemn the author of the Rights of Man unread, but felt the propriety and the juſtice of judging with his own eyes and underſtanding before he paſſed a definitive ſentence. Strange is it, to the eye of reaſon, that conduct like this, apparently ſo natural and ſo eaſy, ſhould make part of a man's panegyric, as if it were an act of uncommon virtue; yet thoſe who have at all accuſtomed themſelves to ſtudy the habits and motives of mankind in general, will own that the above-mentioned conduct was of the *rareſt kind*; and that there are ſo many who are too indolent, or too prejudiced, to read, or to inquire on certain ſubjects and concerning certain people, that they attribute to writers and to ſects, both in politics and religion, opinions and deſigns which it never entered into their heads to conceive of; and, taught by prejudice and averſion, believe that on ſome points ignorance is graceful, and inveteracy becoming. Different was the opinion, and different the practice, of Mr. Opie. He ſeemed to conſider a prejudice and an enemy as the ſame thing, and to think it as deſirable to get rid of the one as to ſubdue the other. But though all Mr. Opie's opinions might not be juſt opinions, whatever they were, they were the reſult of toil and inveſtigation. *He* might, like others, occaſionally miſtake weeds for flowers; and bring them home, and carefully preſerve them as ſuch; but the weeds were gathered by his own hands, and he had at leaſt by his labour deſerved that they ſhould be valuable acquiſitions.

On no ſubject did Mr. Opie evince more generoſity, and liberality of mind, than in his opinions reſpecting women of talents, eſpecially thoſe who had dared to cultivate the powers which their Maker had beſtowed on them, and to become candidates for the pleaſures, the pangs, the rewards, and the penalties of authorſhip. This claſs of women never had a more zealous defender than my huſband againſt the attacks of thoſe leſs liberal than himſelf. He did not lay it down as a poſitive axiom, that a female writer muſt fail in every duty that is moſt graceful and becoming in woman, and be an offenſive companion, a negligent wife, and an inattentive mother. Idleneſs, in both ſexes, was the fault that he was moſt violent againſt; and there was no employment, conſiſtent with delicacy and modeſty, that he wiſhed a woman to be debarred from, after ſhe had fulfilled the regular and neceſſary duties of her ſex and her ſituation: nor, if authorſhip did not lead a woman to diſregard and undervalue the accompliſhments and manners of her own ſex, or to be forward and obtruſive in company, did he think it juſt and candid to affix to ſuch a woman, the degrading epithets of unfeminine, or maſculine.

When our marriage took place, he knew that my moſt favourite amuſement was writing; and he always encouraged, inſtead of checking, my ambition to become an acknowledged author. Our only quarrel on the ſubject was, not that I wrote ſo much, but that I did not write *more* and *better*: and to the laſt

last hour of my existence I shall deplore those habits of indolence which made me neglect to write, while it was in my power to profit by his criticisms and advice; and when by employing myself more regularly in that manner, I should have been sure to receive the proudest and dearest reward of woman,—the approbation of a husband at once the object of her respect and of her love.

But had Mr. Opie been inclined to that mean and jealous egotism which leads some men to dislike even good sense in our sex, an aversion originating probably in their being *self-judged*, and desirous of shrinking from a competition in which they know that they could not be victorious, still, it was impossible for him to find a rival amongst women; for, if ever there was an understanding which deserved in all respects the proud and just distinction of a MASCULINE understanding, it was that of Mr. Opie. In many men, though of high talents and excellent genius, there are to be seen *womanish* weaknesses, as they are called, and littlenesses, the result of vanity and egotism, that debase and obscure the manliness of their intellect. But the intellect of Mr. Opie had such a masculine vigour about it, that it never yielded for a moment to the pressure of a weakness; but kept on with such a firm, untired, undeviating step toward the goal of excellence, that it was impossible for the delicate feet of woman to overtake it in its career.

Of Mr. Opie's industry and excessive application I shall now beg leave to speak.

In one respect he had, perhaps, an advantage over most of his competitors. "Many artists," as Mr. Northcote judiciously observes, "may be said to paint to live; but *he* lived to paint." To many, painting may be a pleasure, and is a profession; but in him it was a *passion*, and he was never happy but when he was employed in the gratification of it. Whenever he came to Norwich while I was on a visit to my father, I had no chance of detaining him there unless he found business awaiting him. But no society, and no situation, however honourable, and however pleasant, could long keep him from his painting room. In the autumn of 1806 we were staying at Southill, the seat of Mr. Whitbread; and never did I see him so happy, when absent from London, as he was there; for he felt towards his host and hostess every sentiment of respect and admiration which it is pleasant to feel, and honourable to inspire. But though he was the object of the most kind and flattering attention, he sighed to return to London and his pursuits: and when he had been at Southill only eight days, he said to me, on my expressing my unwillingness to go away, "Though I shall be even anxious to come hither again, recollect that I have been idle *eight days*."

But his art was not only his passion, it was also his pride; and whatever had a tendency to exalt painting and its professors in the eyes of the world, was a source of gratification to him. He used often to expatiate on the great classical attainments of Mr. Fuseli, whose wit he admired, and whose conversation he delighted in; but

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I have often thought that one cauſe of the pleaſure which he derived from mentioning that gentleman's attainments was, his conviction that the learning of Mr. Fuſeli was an honour to his profeſſion, and tended to exalt it in the opinion of ſociety. I ſaw the ſame ſort of exultation in him, when Mr. Hoppner and Mr. Shee became candidates for literary reputation: he loved to ſee the tie between poetry and painting drawn cloſer and cloſer (a tie which he felt to exiſt, though it was not generally allowed); and I well remember that, while he read the well-told tales of the one, and the excellent poem of the other, he ſeemed to feel a pride in them as the works of *painters*, and to rejoice that their authors united, in their own perſons, the ſiſter and correſponding arts.

But to return to Mr. Opie's induſtry.

It was not only from inclination, but from principle, that he was induſtrious: he thought it vicious for any one to be ſatisfied in art with aught leſs than excellence, and knew that excellence is not to be obtained by convulſive ſtarts of application, but by continued and daily perſeverance; not by the alternately rapid and faint ſtep of the hare, but by the ſlow yet ſure and inceſſant pace of the tortoiſe. He required not the incitement of a yearly and public competition for fame to make him ſtudious and laborious. He would have toiled as much had there been no exhibition, and not only during the few months or weeks preceding it did he prepare for that intereſting and anxious period, but the whole foregoing year was his term of preparation.

It was his opinion, that no one ſhould either paint or write with a view merely to preſent bread or preſent reputation, nor be contented to ſhine, like a beauty or a faſhion, the idol only of the paſſing hour; he felt it right for painters and authors to experience the honourable ambition and ſtimulating deſire to live

"In ſong of diſtant days;"

his time, therefore, his labour, and his ſtudy, were the coin with which he proudly tried to purchaſe immortality: nor did he ever waſte the precious hours of daylight in any purſuits or engagements which had not ſome connection with his art or his profeſſional intereſts. No wonder, then, that every ſucceſſive year ſaw him improved in ſome branch of his profeſſion; no wonder that one of our firſt painters ſhould have ſaid of him, "Others get forward by ſteps, but that man by *ſtrides*."

He was always in his painting-room by half-paſt eight in winter, and by eight o'clock in ſummer; and there he generally remained, cloſely engaged in painting, till half-paſt four in winter, and till five in ſummer. Nor did he ever allow himſelf to be idle even when he had no pictures beſpoken: and as he never let his execution ruſt for want of practice, he, in that caſe, either ſketched out deſigns for hiſtorical or fancy pictures, or endeavoured, by working on an unfiniſhed picture of *me*, to improve himſelf, by inceſſant practice, in that difficult branch of his

his art, female portraiture. Neither did he ſuffer his exertions to be paralyzed by neglect the moſt unexpected, and diſappointment the moſt undeſerved. Though he had a picture in the exhibition of 1801, which was univerſally admired, and purchaſed as ſoon as it was beheld, he ſaw himſelf, at the end of that year, and the beginning of the next, almoſt wholly without employment; and even my ſanguine temper yielded to the trial. I began to fear that, ſmall as our expenditure was, it muſt become ſtill ſmaller. Not that I allowed myſelf to own that I deſponded; on the contrary, I was forced to talk to him of hopes, and to bid him look forward to brighter proſpects, as his temper, naturally deſponding, required all the ſupport poſſible. But gloomy and painful indeed were thoſe three alarming months; and I conſider them as the ſevereſt trial that I experienced during my married life. However, as I before obſerved, even deſpondence did not make him indolent; he continued to paint regularly as uſual, and no doubt by that means increaſed his ability to do juſtice to the torrent of buſineſs which ſoon after ſet in towards him, and never ceaſed to flow till the day of his death.

It is probable that many young artiſts, men whoſe habits and whoſe ſtyle are yet to form, will eagerly ſeek out opportunities to ſtudy the pictures of Mr. Opie, and endeavour to make his excellencies their own; but let them not overlook the legacy, the more valuable legacy, which he has bequeathed to ſtudents, and even proficients in art, in the powerful example of his life. Such, it appears, was his application, that it would have inſured ability and renown, even had his powers been of a leſs ſuperior kind; and ſuch were his economy and ſelf-denial, that they would have ſecured independence even where the means of obtaining it were ſlender and uncertain. For the gratifications of vanity, and for the pomps of life, Mr. Opie had no inclination; therefore he could not be ſaid to have merit in not trying to indulge in them.—But though his taſtes were ſimple, and he loved what may be denominated the cheap pleaſures of exiſtence, reading, converſation, and an evening walk, either for the ſake of exerciſe, or for the ſtudy of pictureſque effect, ſtill there were pleaſures of a more expenſive ſort, for which he earneſtly longed, but in which his well-principled economy forbade him to indulge; I mean the purchaſe of pictures and of books. But till he had acquired *a certain ſum*, always the object of his induſtry—a ſum that would, he truſted, make him independent of the world, he was reſolved to deny himſelf every indulgence that was not abſolutely neceſſary; for he ſhrunk with horror from the idea of incurring debts or pecuniary obligation; and as he never ſquandered any thing on unneceſſary wants, he was always able to diſcharge every debt as it was incurred, whether of the day or of the week, and to meet the exigencies of the moment, not only for himſelf, but ſometimes for others leſs provident, leſs ſelf-denying, and leſs fortunate than he was.

He was temperate in moſt of his habits. Dinner parties, if they conſiſted of perſons whoſe ſociety he

he valued, he was always willing to join. Still, his habits and his taſte were ſo domeſtic in their nature, that he, on the whole, preferred paſſing his evenings at home, to joining any ſociety abroad; and he employed his hours from tea to bed-time either in reading books of inſtruction or amuſement, in ſtudying prints from the beſt ancient and modern maſters, or in ſketching deſigns for pictures of various deſcriptions. Not unfrequently did he allow himſelf the relaxation of reading a novel, even if it were not of the firſt claſs: for he was above the petty yet common affectation of conſidering that ſort of reading as beneath any perſons but fools and women. And if his fondneſs for works of that kind was a weakneſs, it was one which he had in common with Mr. Fox and Mr. Porſon. But it was with great difficulty I could on any occaſion prevail upon him to accompany me either to public places, or into private parties of a mixed and numerous kind; yet when at the theatre he was intereſted and amuſed, and ſtill more ſo at the opera, as he delighted in Italian muſic and Italian ſinging; and ſuch was the quickneſs of his ear, and ſo excellent was his muſical memory, that in common he accurately remembered a tune that pleaſed him, on only once hearing it.—He played the flute pleaſingly; and though he had not the ſmalleſt pretenſion to voice, he ſung comic ſongs to me occaſionally; and repeated comic verſes with ſuch humorous and apt expreſſion, that I have often told him, I was convinced, had a troop of comedians viſited his native place before he conceived his decided predilection for painting, that he would have been an actor inſtead of a painter; and probably would in time have been, in ſome kinds of comedy, at the head of his profeſſion. He had alſo no inconſiderable power of mimickry; but as in the rainbow all the colours of the priſm are aſſembled at once, though the brighteſt and deepeſt only are diſtinctly viſible; ſo, where there is one diſtinguiſhed and ſuperior talent, the perſon thus gifted unites and poſſeſſes uſually all the reſt, though in an inferior degree.

But to go back to his economy and ſelf-denial.—They were often ſuch as to make me raſhly imagine them to be wholly unneceſſary; ſtill, I reſpected ſo highly his motives for the privations to which he ſubjected both me and himſelf, that for the moſt part I ſubmitted to them cheerfully, looking forward with a hope (which was not diſappointed) that the time would come when our circumſtances would allow us to have more of the comforts and elegancies of life, and to receive our friends in a manner more ſuited to the eſteem which we entertained for them. The time did come; but, unfortunately, it came too *late*. Mr. Opie was conſcious that he had nearly realized the ſum ſo long deſired. I was allowed to make the long-projected alterations and improvements in my own apartments, and he had reſolved to indulge himſelf, as he called it, in the luxury of keeping a horſe. You may remember, my dear Sir, that when he had given over lecturing for the ſeaſon, and you were requeſting him to write a paper for the Artiſt againſt a given time, he replied that he was tired of writing, that

he would be a gentleman during the ſpring months, keep a horſe, and ride out every evening. The *next* time you ſaw him, he was on a ſick couch, and the object of affectionate ſolicitude to all who ſurrounded him! He lived not to enjoy the independence which he had ſo virtuouſly toiled to obtain; but was cut off in the prime of every poſſeſſion and expectation, and in that year both of his married life and mine, which I can with truth aver was the moſt proſperous and the moſt happy.

Character of James Barry, Eſq. *By the Editor of his Works. From the Works of J. Barry, Eſq.*

The moſt prominent feature in the character of Mr. Barry, was the fine enthuſiaſm he poſſeſſed after art, and for the acquiſition of all knowledge, which referred immediately or remotely to it. If he gazed at and admired the ſublime face of creation in homage to the Creator, the eye of devotion was always the painter's eye, which never glanced lightly over thoſe parts which he thought ſubſervient to the pencil. The effulgence of the riſing, or the glare of the ſetting ſun, with the bold maſſes of gold-ſkirted clouds in an evening ſky, fired him with ungovernable rapture, but with the keeneſt ambition too, to ſteal the phenomena, Prometheus-like, for the purpoſes of his art: rocks, mountains, and objects of ſtupendous maſs of every kind, rouſed him in like manner, but only in ſubſerviency to his graphic deſigns. Few things, even in the ſubordinate ſcale of nature, eſcaped him which had a tendency this way, though his mind naturally ran after the ſublime.

But theſe natural objects belonged only to a province in the domain of his ſtudy. His chief buſineſs was with *men*, and the affairs of men; with their actions, paſſions, and characters—here his obſervations and ſtudies tended alſo to a point, the perfection of his art, as far as it embraced the high ſtyle of hiſtorical painting.

We have ſeen that in the early part of his life, his ſtudies were ardent: in the decline of life they were equally unwearied, and on his death-bed his only complaint was, that his phyſicians kept him from books, and that he was loſing time. Through a long courſe of years, with this unremitting application, and a powerful memory, his erudition became conſiderable, and extraordinary for an artiſt. His knowledge of the dead languages, indeed, was very ſcanty; of the Greek amounting almoſt to nothing, of the Latin not furniſhing him with more means than juſt divining the ſenſe of a paſſage, and that not always without the help of a dictionary—his pretenſions went no further: yet with all this defect of claſſical preparation, no man was better read in and informed of the learning which the ancients have left us than he. Whatever had a reference directly or indirectly to the fine arts, in their writings, he had ſtudied by the help of tranſlations, with a patience and perſeverance peculiar to himſelf; and had treaſured it ſo firmly in his mind, as to make it almoſt his own

own. Few men, therefore, could draw more readily for any fact or occurrence in ancient hiſtory than himſelf; and his memory teemed ſo ſtrongly with the moſt important ones, as handed down to us by the ſacred and profane writers, that his relation of them had the allurement of graphical repreſentation—he painted while he related. But civil hiſtory, as well as poetry, bore but a ſmall ſhare in the ſphere of his learning; he was well read, and not many eccleſiaſtics better, in church hiſtory. He was led to this moſt probably by the many ſubjects of a religious nature, which painting and ſculpture had embelliſhed in Italy: all which ſubjects he had ſtudied in the writers themſelves, to form his judgment of the accuracy of the pencil which had delineated them.

Every man, who is the maſter of his own education, and whoſe ſtudies are deſultory, like the traveller without a guide over an unknown region, will have to diverge in a variety of directions, and to paſs and repaſs often the ſame ground; but if his ardour and perſeverance enable him to accompliſh his journey, he is ſure to ſee more and ſee better, than the man who goes ſtraight by a beaten track. The ſtudies of Barry were of this nature: it is doubtful if he had ever read through the Bible, or the writings of the fathers, in any ſeries of ſtudy, much leſs the controverſial writers. Yet he had gleaned voluminouſly from them all, and was not only well acquainted with their lives and characters, but would occaſionally ſet his broad ſails into the ſubjects on which they had treated, and weather the contentious and endleſs ſea, if not to the ſatisfaction, at leaſt to the admiration of thoſe around him.

There were certain of theſe writers, whom he had pinned his love and homage on, and whom he always emphatically called his heroes—Paſcal, Antony, Arnauld, Nicole, Boſſuet, Fenelon; and ſo completely did his veneration for them carry him away, that he hated their enemies as if they had been his own; and he not only imbibed, as far as he could, their learning from their writings, but he caught and practiſed upon their love of virtue, their vindication of the Chriſtian religion, their fortitude under perſecution, their ſyſtem of abſtinence and ſelf-denial. He compounded himſelf, if it may be ſo ſaid, of ſuch men, taking from each that excellence which he had admired in him. Of the two laſt, the one rouſed his congenial energy with his grand and powerful ſtyle; the other delighted him with his beautiful, mild, and truly claſſical imagery. With ſuch guides in religion, it was not eaſy, perhaps, for a Catholic to go wrong; and in morality, not eaſy for any man.

The religious ſubjects of the Italian paintings had conducted him to the ſtudy of theology and religion. He was led into mythology by the magic of Grecian ſculpture. The tenor of his mind, early impreſſed with a love and admiration of the beautiful and grand, naturally induced him to value the character of the ancient Greeks; but when the power of the Grecian chiſel burſt upon his eye in Italy, his enthuſiaſm as an artiſt was wrought up to its

higheſt pitch. Grace, beauty, grandeur, force of expreſſion in character, combined with unſullied correctneſs, never raiſed ſuperior fervour in any poet's or painter's mind; and on theſe qualities, as exhibited in the ſculpture of the Greeks, was he to fix his lever, by which he was to move and raiſe the admiration of others in his own productions. He has been heard to remark, that he had ſeen nothing, and felt tamely for art, till that ſculpture had caught his correct eye, and fired his poetic mind.

No veſtige of this ancient art was indifferent to him; the production and the ſubject of it became a ſource of ſtudy, and the artiſt and ſcholar went hand in hand with equal zeal and a balanced profit.

Thus, by degrees, did mythological learning ground itſelf in his mind, ſo that there was ſcarcely an author which he had not read; and he carried into theſe ſubjects ſuch a judgment and taſte as qualified him for an able critic of thoſe matters. Superadded to this, he had a particular aptitude of mind for diſcovering the meanings, which often lurked under mythological emblems. He was impreſſed with high notions of the gravity of the ancients, and could not be perſuaded that any thing which came from their hands, was without ſome meaning of an ethical or phyſical tendency. There was a philoſophy, therefore, even in their wildeſt productions of imagination; and their mythological tales, extravagant and even ridiculous as ſome of them appear to us, contained ſome uſeful leſſon, or concealed truth, and were not unworthy of the patient inveſtigation of artiſts and philoſophers. Lord Bacon was of this opinion alſo, as may be ſeen by the admirable treatiſe he has left us, *De Sapientia Veterum*.

With reſpect to this mythology, as it deſcended from the earlieſt times, his diſcrimination in the fine arts enabled him to obſerve veſtiges, in ſome of them, of an antiquity ſo remote as to ſoar above hiſtory, or any written record; and as the learned and elegant M. Bailly traced the relics of a perfect aſtronomy to a remote but unknown people, ſo would Barry ſtrengthen the ſame reaſoning by a multitude of obſervations relating to veſtiges in the fine arts, which could not be traced to any ancient nation on record, ſuch as the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, or Egyptians, and therefore belonged to ſome people long anterior to them. He had not the leaſt doubt of the exiſtence of ſuch an ancient unrecorded nation, from, 1ſt, The fragments of an aſtronomical ſcience, as proved ſo ably by Bailly. 2d, From the remnants of a mythology diffuſed ſo univerſally among ſucceeding ancient nations. And 3d, The ſcattered remains of an art much ſuperior to what ſucceeding nations poſſeſſed for ages afterwards. As to where this nation had exiſted, he was decidedly of opinion with Count Carli, and, according to the tradition preſerved by Plato, that it was near the coaſt of Africa, on ſome iſland in the Atlantic ocean, and not, as M. Bailly had conjectured, and endeavoured to prove, on the Aſiatic continent, between latitude 45 and 50. He agreed with Carli in the proofs of this

this great, but loſt iſland, from its abundant remains in the ſcattered iſles of the Canaries, Cape Verd, and others; but more than all, in certain traces of ſimilarity of buildings, cuſtoms, religious rites, and names, among the Peruvians, Mexicans, even the South-Sea iſlanders, and the ancient nations of the African and Aſiatic continents.

It was with views towards reſearches of this kind, or to explications relating to hiſtory or mythology, that he honoured the labours of antiquaries, giving them in other reſpects very little credit for hoarding and collecting, and ſtill leſs for aſſuming to themſelves the right of deciding dogmatically on matters of *taſte*, which ſo often lay out of their acquirements, and properly belonged to other men, better prepared (as he thought) to decide—the artiſts. We believe that he took an early diſlike to antiquarians, and mere collectors, from the conſequence he obſerved ſome of them aſſumed at the time he ſtudied at Rome, and the miſchief he ſuppoſed they did to modern art and artiſts, by dragging the public attention to the crudities they collected, and thereby diverting it from foſtering and encouraging modern works of merit. He had many complaints of this nature to make, and ſome of them, perhaps, well founded, which are detailed in his letter to the Dilettante, and which it is pleaſant to ſee, have ſerved as a kind of text to the vigorous and ſpirited, as well as highly poetical work of Mr. Shee, *Rhymes on Art*. But ſuch complaints are neither novel nor uncommon; Michael Angelo was as much annoyed by antiquarian mania as Mr. Barry, and had no way of puniſhing the injuſtice of ſuch men, but at the expence of any claims they might have to judgment or taſte.

But we repeat again, that Mr. Barry honoured the reſearches after antiquities, and thought them uſeful where they tended to explain or illuſtrate ancient art or ſcience. His ſtrong mind, in every thing, conſidered the object and the motive. He could, therefore, diſtinguiſh between the ſolid labours of a D'Ancarville, and the mercenary reſtleſſneſs of a Jenkins; between the uſeful inveſtigator and expounder of antiques, and the vain collector. If he judged of men in this reſpect, according to their value, ſo he judged of things, and blamed the attention, time, and praiſe, ſo often beſtowed on objects unworthy of regard: whoſe only merit was their antiquity; of no value in their own time, of no uſe in this, the refuſe of mean art. But of thoſe choice ſpecimens, which diſplayed the beginning, progreſs, and perfection of art, or which threw a light on any facts, cuſtoms, or uſages of ancient time; which embelliſhed mythology, illuſtrated hiſtory, or fixed chronology, no man was more an enthuſiaſt, or ſtamped a value more becoming the objects than himſelf.

For the uſe which the ſtudy and reſearches of coins convey, he was a great friend to numiſmatic learning, and without pretending to much knowledge this way, yet he poſſeſſed that acumen of taſte and ſcience in the deſigns which coins diſplay, that his obſervations were generally novel and valuable. He had a greater reſpect for collectors

of this kind than for any others, finding them more uſeful, and leſs arrogant or interfering, to depreſs art of modern time.

From the admiration which he entertained of many of the ancient coins, of the medals of Piſano, Hamerani, and others ſtruck in more modern periods, for boldneſs of deſign and vigour of execution, he was naturally led to contraſt them with and lament the meagerneſs of art exhibited in the coins of this country. An application which the lords of the council had made to the royal academy for improvements in the coinage, fixed his attention more pointedly to the ſubject; and as the academicians could not agree among themſelves on the ſuggeſtions they were to offer, nor he with any of them, he drew up a letter to the Earl of Liverpool on this important ſubject, in which he ſtruck out ſome bold and uſeful obſervations on the improvements of the national coin; recommending a deep relief of figure filling the whole ſpace of the coin, and ſunk in a cavo bed. A mode, certainly, of improvement, and with the two-fold utility of effect and preſervation. A coinage of copper which ſoon followed the publication of this letter, embraced in part Mr. Barry's object, but not to the extent in ſize, or execution of the deſign, which he wiſhed for. To preſerve his claim to theſe ſuggeſted improvements, he was not content with the publication of the above-mentioned letter, but he painted into one of his pictures at the ſociety of arts, an imaginary coin or medal of Alfred, and has treated the ſame ſubject in a preface to one of the volumes of the tranſactions of that ſociety; where, with really Grecian taſte, he recommends typifying the common coin of the three kingdoms with the roſe, thiſtle, and ſhamrock, intertwined round the border or rim of the coin. It is in the ſame preface, where he ſuggeſts a deſign for a new medal of that ſociety, ſimple and grand, and explanatory at a glance, by the combined heads of Minerva and Mercury, of the purpoſes of that uſeful inſtitution. Round the rim in the deſign which he drew of this medal, he has carried the ſame wreath, which if executed with the bold relief he intended, would not only be ornamental, but complimentary to the three kingdoms, as well as a preſervative of the main deſign it encircles.

So eaſy could his mind deſcend to theſe ſmaller branches of art; but his love of the grand tended to the nobler ſubjects of deſign. And there is no doubt that, if he had been employed upon thoſe for ſculpture or architecture, his ideas in both theſe branches would have been Michel-angeleſque. On the ſcience of architecture he had ſpent a great deal of ſtudy, from a deſire he had entertained of bringing a brother forward in this line, but whoſe early death diſſipated his views. He was, therefore, competent to ſpeak on the beſt ſpecimens of ancient and modern architecture, in their different ſtyles, and his critiques generally abounded with thoſe maſterly ſtrokes of a fertile and bold genius, as to fix always attention, and ſometimes admiration.

But whatever his ſkill in the different

different branches of the fine arts, or his general learning might be, poſterity will be engaged upon him chiefly as a painter; let us, therefore, examine what rank he is entitled to in this line.

There is an expreſſion of his in one of his letters to Mr. Burke, which will give us a clue to aſcertain the principal object he had always in view, and which, if he accompliſhed, will entitle him to rank as a maſter in this nobleſt branch of art. "I find," ſays he, "Titian is the only modern who fills up an idea of perfection in any one part of the art. There is no example of any thing that goes beyond his colouring, whereas the parts of the art in which Michael Angelo and Raffael excelled, are almoſt annihilated by the ſuperiority of the antiques." In other words, that there was ſomething wanting in the *beau ideal* of forms, which, whatever the ancient marbles might, the canvas of the moderns did not poſſeſs; and which none of the Italian ſchools, not even the Roman, ſo celebrated for its nobleneſs of ſtyle, had puſhed to its perfection. Is Barry the artiſt who has ſupplied this moſt important deſideratum? has he approached the perfection of the Greek antiques in the *beau ideal*? We may go farther, and aſk, has he, in no inſtance, improved on that ſuppoſed perfection? Any of theſe queſtions anſwered affirmatively, (and they cannot all be denied) will entitle him to rank as a maſter;—by this term is meant an artiſt who has advanced the progreſs of his art by his ſkill and invention; who has advanced a ſtep, and that ſtep an important one: and whether the writer may be accuſed of ignorance and preſumption or not, he affirms that neither Michael Angelo, nor Raffael, nor the eminent maſters who have followed them, have produced for truth, ſcience, beauty, character, and expreſſion, any figures that equal, much leſs excel, the Angelic Guard, in the picture of Elyſium; the Youth on Horſeback, and group of the Diagorides, in the Olympic Games; the three figures of Jupiter, Juno, and Mercury, in the picture of Pandora; the Adam and Eve; or for exquiſite ideal beauty in the female form, his Venus, in which if he has not rivalled the Venus de Medicis, he has at leaſt avoided what he thought a defect in the ideal beauty of that ſtatue, the viſible marks of maternity. This exquiſite ideal, which from the Greek ſtatues, he is the firſt who has transferred on canvas, was the *fort* of Barry, for which his ſcientific and poetic mind amply qualified him. For the mechanicof colouring, though what he has adopted, ſeems always appropriate to his ſubjects, he is not ſo famous. But it cannot be ſaid that he is defective, unleſs the tinſel and glare of leſs accompliſhed painters ſhould be preferred to it. Of the ſubjects and ſtyle of his compoſitions, though the facility and playfulneſs of his pencil was ſuited to all the beauty, grace, and elegance, which female form ever exhibited on the canvas of Corregio, or Parmeggiano, yet he ſuffered not his mind to be led away by enchantments of this kind: the bent of his genius was after compoſitions of a grave nature. He delighted not to ſpeak

of

of his Venus, the Female Dance in his Harveſt Scene, or the Sporting Nymphs in his picture of the Thames, though the beauty of form, and the grace of action and attitude raviſhed every other eye; but he took praiſe on his ſubjects of the Olympic Games, and the Elyſium, becauſe he thought that theſe ſubjects, independent of the execution, deſerved praiſe from the ſolemn and uſeful leſſon they conveyed.

He had impreſſed himſelf very early in life with an idea of the dignity and ſolemnity of a painter's profeſſion. The art of painting, like that of poetry, profeſſes to pleaſe and to inſtruct. Its aim is accompliſhed when this double object is obtained; bu in his opinion the pleaſure ought in all caſes to be ſubſervient to the inſtruction: where the contrary prevailed, the art would become a pander to the paſſions, a meretricious guide into the regions of depraved taſte, frivolous and effeminate, like the age, whoſe corruption it was intended to promote. The artiſt, therefore, whoſe ambition was to overſtep his own time, and deſcend with credit and honour to poſterity, ought to cling to the chief object, moral inſtruction, without ſpurning or loſing ſight altogether of pleaſure, which might follow in the diſtance. This rule Mr. Barry obſerved with a ſteadineſs and rigour beyond any other artiſt of ancient or modern time. He may be ſtyled emphatically the Ethical Painter; for whether he ſought his ſubjects from the Pagan or Scriptural Hiſtory, whether they were the pure inventions of his own fancy, or drawn from recorded facts, in no inſtance has his pencil traced a line, but with a moral or inſtructive effect; ſo grave and guarded is he, that there is no inſtance in his pictures, where he has permitted himſelf the ſlighteſt levity in action or countenance ſufficient to raiſe a ſmile, much leſs of buffoonery, even in his lighteſt productions, to excite a laugh. In his picture of the Olympic Games, he has levelled a blow at buffoonery and wit in the perſon of Ariſtophanes, ſufficient to determine in what light he held this ſpecies of popular but trivial qualification.

In this reſpect the man never varied from the painter. Were his moments ever ſo free and ſocial, he never aimed at wit or broad humour. He might wiſh to raiſe admiration by his remarks, but he diſdained to excite a laugh; and a converſation which had only merriment for its object, ſoon diſguſted him; becauſe his golden rule was here reverſed, and inſtruction ariſing from general converſation was ſacrificed to mere pleaſure. With all this, if he liked his company, he was far from being churliſh or moroſe, but a cheerfulneſs beamed over him, which ſoon diſcovered how ſuſceptible he was of the ſatisfaction of giving and receiving inſtruction: And in this exchange he was on the whole a very fair trader, not arrogating more converſation than fell to his ſhare; though it often happened, if the ſubject was hiſtory, religion, or the fine arts, that moſt of it really fell to him, as he had moſt to ſay, and that, with an enthuſiaſm and warmth which ſeemed proportioned to the value of

of the ſubject, or to the contradiction, ſophiſms or quibble, that had previouſly rouſed him. Nothing was more eaſy than to make him animated and eloquent on any ſubject, where he felt the leaſt intereſt, and ſuch had been the extenſive circle of his ſtudies, that there were few ſubjects he did not feel ſome intereſt in.

The impreſſion which, as has been ſaid, he imbibed early of the ſerioufneſs of a painter's charge, grew with his ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and was foſtered by years and ſerious ſtudies. The levities of youth, the faſhions and ſnares of ſocial life had no allurements to win him from his purpoſe; and not merely what had a vicious tendency in the art, but what had not an uſeful one, met his averſion or diſreliſh. No perſuaſion or proſpect of emolument could have induced him (for example) to paint the jollity of a tavern ſcene, the uproar of a Middleſex election, the eager pleaſures of a bear-baiting, or a horſe-race; becauſe he looked on theſe pleaſures as vicious in themſelves, and unworthy of memorial or record, and thought that the pencil was proſtituted which perpetuated them, as giving conſequence to a depraved bent of the public mind which ought to be directed to nobler purſuits. Even in the buſineſs of portrait painting, though no man approved the motives of love, friendſhip, and reſpect, which had preſerved to us the reſemblances of perſons celebrated for birth, beauty, talents, or moral worth, more than he; yet he condemned the general rage after this branch of art, as ariſing from vanity; and where there was nothing to celebrate in form, feature, intellectual or moral excellence, as worſe than uſeleſs; becauſe art, in running after individual and vulgar nature, was diverted from its nobler purſuits, and the artiſt himſelf levelled to the condition of a mechanic, who was drudging for ſubſiſtence. He lamented the taſte of the public which commanded, and the ſituation of the artiſts which ſubmitted to ſuch works, and of courſe ſtrenuouſly reſiſted every temptation to embark in them. But the meed of fame and not wealth was his object; in purſuing and obtaining which, he has left a fine memorial of what every artiſt may do, who has any ſpark of the *Vis divinior* within him, who has application, time, and a determination to excel —and a glorious example of achieving great things with little means, by flinging aſide the incumbrances of caſual wants, and the vain allurements of ſociety, and devoting himſelf, like a hero, to the grand objects he had in view.

Theſe objects in a mind ſo creative, ardent, and richly fraught as Barry's, roſe like the Epics of Homer and Milton, into one vaſt and ſublime, yet connected and ſyſtematic whole. Illimitable as the ſubject ſeemed, his genius brought it within the neceſſary circle laid down by Ariſtotle for the epopee, of a beginning, a middle, and an end. This ſubject, which we ſtate as the moſt comprehenſive ever conſidered or undertaken by painter or poet, was no leſs than the complete hiſtory of the human mind in its various ſtages from barbarity to refinement, both with reſpect to its multiplied relations of man with

man,

man, and its more ſolemn relations of man with God; and in the final retribution awarded to all in a future world.

It is obvious that the former part of this work, to be complete, muſt have comprehended the whole of ethic and natural ſcience; the other branch would have comprehended the mythology of the Pagan world, and the theology of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian; and the concluding part, that which he has ſo ably and learnedly achieved in his picture of Elyſium.

In the ſtanzas of the Vatican ſprung this vaſt conception in the mind of young Barry, and what is ſingular, in front of the pictures of Raffael, intended by that immortal painter to repreſent part of the ſame ſubjects. We mention this circumſtance as a proof of the daring and enthuſiaſtic turn of this young man, of the conſciouſneſs of his own powers, and of the keenneſs of his glance, which diſcovered the failure and defects of his precurſor, and of the determination inſtantaneouſly aſſumed, of breaking a ſpear with him on his own ground. In moſt men ſuch a determination would have been preſumptuous, and would have ended like the heroic actions conceived over the fumes of wine, or the golden dreams of a ſelfiſh and vain fancy. But in Barry, to conceive and to execute admitted of no interval; and at Rome he began his deſign of Pandora, which was to eclipſe Raffael's Marriage of Cupid and Pſyche before an aſſembly of the gods, in the little Farneſe palace, and to ſerve as the firſt in a ſeries of theological ſcience. So far as vigour and juſtneſs of character in the delineation of each of the gods upon the pure Grecian models could go, he has ſucceeded and outſtripped Raffael; and he has ſucceeded in conveying a tale which was to ſerve as the firſt of a ſeries, repreſenting the relation the human mind had with the Deity in the Heathen world, and the prevailing belief in the origin of mundane happiness and miſery. Pandora was the firſt of women created—the Heathen Eve; and was endowed by the gods with all attributes neceſſary for enſuring ſatisfaction and happineſs, with one ſole injunction committed to her charge, which by violating ſhe was to entail pain and miſery on mankind. There is in the ſtory much to attach the attention of the philoſopher and ſcholar, as to the opinion of the ancients, how death and ſin came into the world; nor unintereſting to the divine, as conveying the univerſality of opinion in ancient times, that the Deity created human exiſtence innocent and pure, with means to inſure the duration of its own happineſs; but by diſobedience and perverſity, it entailed miſery on itſelf.

What picture or pictures he deſigned to follow this, in order more fully to pourtray the progreſſive errors of the human mind in the Pagan religion, we cannot ſay; but no doubt his ſyſtematic fancy would have completed this part of his ſubject, in order to open with a ſublimer effect on the hiſtory of the Moſaic and Chriſtian doctrines.

It is well known, that the purity of his taſte had led him to the brighteſt and deepeſt fountain of poetic and hiſtoric imagery for the delineation of the Moſaic ſyſtem of religion—that is, to the Paradiſe

diſe Loſt of Milton. To the genius of Milton he paid ſuch *adoration and homage*, that to riſe to the height of his deſcriptions, he thought would be the fame of his pencil, and the completion of a principal part of the ſubject he had in view. It was not a little to illuſtrate on canvas what the poet had conceived, and that in the grand, ſolemn, and ethical way which ſuch a poet had intended; yet Barry began his Miltonic deſigns with equal enthuſiaſm and effect; intending them but as a part of a great whole, which his own poetic fancy and power of invention were to ſupply.

The temptation of Adam is probably the only one which exiſts on canvas; and this he painted at Rome, which is mentioned as a corroborating proof, that at Rome he had formed his general ſubject. But he has left valuable drawings of the other parts, beginning with the triumph of Michael, and the caſting out of the evil angels from heaven; of Satan haranguing them after their fall; of his conflict with Death at the gates of hell; of his eſcape from the nether world, and arrival at the palace of Chaos and old Night; his arrival in Paradiſe; the deſcent of Uriel to inform Gabriel of the eſcape of an evil ſpirit; the detection of Satan by Ithuriel; our firſt parents after their fall; viſion of human miſeries enſuing on his poſterity, pointed out to Adam; the diſmiſſion from Paradiſe.

In the midſt of theſe horrid ſcenes of rebellion, diſobedience, divine anger, and puniſhment, which are too much in a continued ſeries of paintings for human feelings to reliſh; like the great poet whom he was following, Barry, knew where to introduce the repoſes, to bring back the calm deſired, and his deſigns of God the Son in the beneficent act of creating the world; of the angel in the bower converſing with Adam; of Adam and Eve in their ſtate of innocence and bliſs; of the ſame at their morning oriſons; fill the mind with a pleaſure in proportion to the agitation it had previouſly ſuffered.

It cannot with certainty be ſaid how many, and what other ſubjects he intended to take from the Paradiſe Loſt, to exemplify the Moſaic theology; but the deſigns he left behind him pourtray, as may be ſeen by the above-mentioned ſeries, the early relation of man with his Creator; the obedience enjoined and broken, and the conſequence which was foretold to happen, "of death brought into the world, and all our woe."

Perhaps certain ſubjects from the Bible, typifying more diſtinctly the nature of the faith and worſhip of the Jews, and their intimate connexion with the true God, together with examples of virtues rewarded and of vices puniſhed, might have fallen into his plan; but there is no authority for ſuch an aſſertion, for he has left no memorial behind him, nor is it remembered his having ſpoken of ſuch a part of his ſubject. Perhaps he reſerved many details of this kind until he came to the next part of his ſubject, the doctrines of the revealed religion of Chriſt; which he has been heard to ſpeak of with that love, enthuſiaſm, and rapture, that if the ſubjects could have been finiſhed before age had enfeebled his natural powers, it

muſt have been the moſt intereſting part of the whole, particularly to Chriſtians of the preſent day, who ſtand related to God by the holy myſteries of this religion.

It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Barry ſhould contemplate this diviſion of his ſubject with peculiar ardour, unction, and delight—he, whoſe faith on the myſteries of the incarnation and miracles of Chriſt was built on a rock. All who knew him, can testify with what ardour he dwelt on theſe ſubjects, and how eloquently and manfully he would withſtand every encroachment made by levity or infidelity on the doctrines of revelation. *Philoſophers* of the French ſchool, deiſts, and ſceptics of every kind, met with no quarter from him here. And as he was ſo well convinced of the futility of the pagan philoſophy, as having offered no permanent motives or rules for moral conduct, and of the abominations of the French philoſophy, as offering no motives but what have led to vicious; that his heart and mind gave into the Chriſtian religion with redoubled faith and ardour. And there is no doubt but this part and continuation of his ſubject would have carried with it all the intereſt and importance which belong to it, or which could have been ſtamped by genius, penetrated, enriched, and animated by knowledge and faith. It is a loſs to the arts, perhaps to mankind, that he never lived to finiſh this ſubject. It could be ſeen how vehemently deſirous he was of putting a finiſh to his main deſign, by the frequent and loud exclamation, "O God! how I long to have a place where I can be at my work!" Of this work it is painful to announce, that only detached parts remained, *Deſigns*—but ſuch as they were, they were finiſhed in his uſual great ſtyle of drawing, and conſiſted of the Annunciation; of the Nativity, after the manner of the Notte of Corregio; of the Baptiſm of Chriſt in the Jordan, an admirable drawing deſigned with ſimplicity, but grandly impreſſive; Pilate preſenting Chriſt to the Jews, and exculpating himſelf from any guilt in his blood; Judas caſting down the thirty pieces of ſilver, admirably expreſſive of remorſe and ſelf-condemnation, and of the haughty indifference and inſulting ſatisfaction of the high prieſts and elders.

To what extent did he mean to purſue the ſubject of the Chriſtian revelation? Did he intend painting the characteriſtic and chief *traits* in the life of our Saviour; to introduce the Ordination of the Sacraments; to exemplify and contraſt that proud, but unſound principle of the Stoic ſchool, to *bear and forbear*, with the natural, graceful, unaſſuming, and chief feature of the Chriſtian, made up of meekneſs of heart and a forgiving diſpoſition? It is impoſſible to ſay—he has left no memorial of his ultimate intentions; but from the detached and broken parts, it is probable that this was his intention, with ſuch intermediate links, that the ſubject would have flowed before the ſpectator's eye in one continued, inſtructive, and pleaſing ſtream, and ſuch as the conſolatory hiſtory of univerſal redemption might be ſuppoſed to repreſent.

In this ample and ſublime manner his wiſh and intention was to convey the progreſſive culture of the

the human mind under the two great diviſions of philoſophy and theology; and it may be ſaid, without any extravagant admiration of the man, that the ſchool of Athens and Diſpute of the Sacrament, convey but a ſcanty delineation of the two ſubjects, in compariſon with the learned, poetical, and ſyſtematic mode intended by Barry.

Raffael's range of ſubject is more confined, as he chooſes the moment of conſummation of human culture, the acme of philoſophy and theology. Barry's range is ſo ample, that it appears almoſt without limits, as he takes in the progreſſion of theſe ſubjects, ſuch as they appear in different periods of time or ſtages of ſociety. The one overſteps all bounds of probability, by diſregarding the unities of time, place, and action; for example, in the picture of the ſchool of Athens, individuals are brought together who never exiſted at one and the ſame period of time; they are aſſembled at Athens for no defined purpoſe, and with no circumſtance peculiar to Athens, and may be occupied as far as the ſpectator can determine, like the evil ſpirits after their fall, in

> "Vain Wiſdom all, and falſe philoſophy —
> "Finding no end, in wandering mazes loſt."

Whatever may be the grandeur, variety, and ſpirit of the figures, the dignity of the heads, the grand ſtyle of drapery, or the beauty of colouring, for in theſe things the inimitable Raffael is viſible, and Barry halts behind him; ſtill the ſame objections apply in the picture of the Diſpute of the Sacrament; the ſpectator remains to be informed who the actors are, what they are about, and how they came together at one place and time; and when he has had this information, he is not much wiſer or more ſatisfied. In no part of Mr. Barry's work are violations of the unities obſervable. Fiction no where ſoars above probability; becauſe where the ſcenes are on earth, his perſonages, almoſt all, are imaginary; or if real perſonages, he has made choice of ſuch as exiſted at or nearly the ſame period of time. There is but one inſtance to the contrary, which is in his picture of the Thames, where, to honour the memory of Captain Cooke, and to compliment his friend Dr. Burney, he has aſſociated them with Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake, and others, of an earlier period. To profit therefore by the free ſcope of general repreſentation of real perſonages, he places his scene in Elyſium, where probability is not overſtepped; where the action is uniform, which is the acquiſition and diſcuſſion of *reſerved* knowledge, though the individuals are variouſly and dividedly grouped. And the eye is carried over the different parts of this immenſe picture without fatigue or confuſion by the natural pauſes and breaks every where interſperſed, and at laſt conducts the imagination to that ſuppoſed centre, the throne of Deity, from whence life and immortality are brought to light.

If in the room of the Society of Arts, Mr. Barry has told his ſtory clearly, ſtrongly, and with as many requiſites of the epic as painting will admit, though not ſo amply as his expanded mind intended; ſince it is certain, if the

place

place and opportunities had allowed, his intention was to have introduced episodical parts, which had reference to other branches of culture in the human mind, such as jurisprudence and legislation, natural philosophy, poetry, &c.—so is it certain, that in the most important of all, as connecting man with his Creator, and as the source of his eternal felicity hereafter, or theology, he would have conducted his subject with due effect. He required only that countenance and encouragement of the public, which genius so laudably pants after and deserves.

But if he lived not to complete his great subject, the delay of which lay not with him so much as with the adverse circumstances under which he laboured, let it not be supposed that he spent his time idly or unprofitably; few men ever calculated the value of their time so rigidly as Mr. Barry: if he was a miser in any thing, it was in the careful economy of this treasure. It has been noticed how much he was dissatisfied, if the loose moments which mankind are willing to throw into the lap of social intercourse, and to abandon for any chance pleasures they can bring, were not spent profitably; that is, each moment bringing its charge of grave and useful instruction and delivering it up into the common stock for the benefit of the company. If such was his attention to the proper use of his social hours, we may well suppose that those appropriated to himself were not suffered to slip away unemployed; and indeed, after turning one's eye from his larger works of the pencil, to his lesser labours of the graver, from his canvas to his plates, we may be astonished that so much should have been accomplished by one man, solitary, unassisted, unpatronized, and unprotected; who, whether all his apprehensions were imaginary or real, had certainly enemies enough to qualify an expression he frequently used; that it was extraordinary he could ever accomplish what he had done, when he had so often to defend himself with one hand, while he painted with the other. Yet his spirit and industry carried him through a larger series of etchings or engravings than perhaps ever fell to the share of any man who had not made that branch of art his professed occupation. He has etched or engraved almost all his paintings, and also many of his other designs, which he intended, but had not place or opportunity to throw upon canvas. It is to be wished that he had engraved them all; for such is the strong and masterly style of his art, that it will not be easy to find an artist who can catch his manner and force of expression. This manner of etching or engraving is peculiar to Mr. Barry; it is coarse, but nervous, strong, and energetic. Here, as in every thing else, he disdained to please only; therefore all softness and delicacy of line, all fineness and finish, every thing to flatter the eye without reaching the mind, he flings aside, to fasten with more effect and depth on the main points of his design, and knows that his instrument conveys the tale usefully, if it conveys it strongly; and that adventitious ornament and finish may be a necessary appendage to weakness of subject, but can add nothing to that which is sufficiently

strong

ſtrong to ſupport itſelf. With various degrees of merit and excellence, which it is not the buſineſs here to enter minutely into, has he conducted a long ſeries of etchings or engravings; the principal and moſt important of which are thoſe which refer to his work at the Adelphi. All of theſe paintings he engraved, undertaking the work under the encouragement of a ſubſcription of ten guineas the ſet. This ſeries comprized what he called the ſmalleſt ſet; but he engraved the principal groups in the Elyſium, and that of the Diagorides in the Olympic Games, in a larger and finer ſtyle ſome years afterwards, introducing certain characters in his Elyſium whom he had unjuſtly, as he thought, omitted in the painting; ſuch as the perſon of Iſabella of Spain, the great princess, by whoſe magnanimity and patronage, Columbus accompliſhed his diſcovery of America; the perſon of Calvert Baron of Baltimore, the founder of the colony of Maryland, and wiſe legiſlator of that code which Penn afterwards adopted for the colony which he eſtabliſhed; and perhaps others, which we do not recollect.

The principal ſubject of his other engravings are, his Pandora, which he has left unfiniſhed.

Job reproved by his friends, dedicated to Mr. Burke.

The converſion of Polemon, dedicated to Mr. Fox. Polemon, an Athenian beau, reeling home from a night's debauch, enters at early dawn the lecture room of Xenocrates the philoſopher, at the moment he is diſcourſing on the wretchedneſs of intemperance, and folly of vanity; expecting when he entered a ſubject for ridicule, the young man's attention becomes ſuddenly fixed by the ſerioufneſs and poignancy of the philoſopher's remarks, and the artiſt ſeizes him at the moment that he is ſtealing from his head his garlands, and is in the poſture and attitude of a man who felt the ſhame of his conduct, and the workings of a rouſed reflection. The heads and figures of the group compoſing the audience are finely conceived. This deſign was undertaken in conſequence of ſome ſarcaſtic remarks made on the levities of the late Mr. Fox, by either Price or Prieſtley, in a club to which Barry belonged; theſe men looking on Mr. Fox without hope, while Barry defended him, and produced at the next meeting the above deſign, 1778.

Jonah, from the painting by Michael Angelo, 1801, dedicated to the late Duke of Bridgewater.

King Lear, from a painting done by Barry, for the Shakſpeare Gallery, 1776.

His preſent Majeſty delivering the patent to the judges of their office for life; and her Majeſty and the princeſſes patronizing education at Windſor, both intended for additional paintings in the great room of the ſociety at the Adelphi.

Philoctetes in the Iſle of Lemnos, from a painting he executed at Bologna, in 1770, and preſented to the Clementine Academy there, for the honour they had done him of electing him a member: this painting was engraved in 1785, by Roſapina; but the two prints bear no compariſon for energy of expreſſion.

Birth of Venus, 1776.

Head of the late Earl of Chatham, 1778.

Jupiter and Juno, from a painting by him.

Riſe of America, with the decline of Europe. An allegorical deſign he etched at the heat of the American war; when thoſe who eſpouſed the cauſe of the coloniſts, ſuffered their imaginations to run riot on the ſunſhine that was to bleſs America, and to lament the eternal gloom that was ſpreading on this ſide of the Atlantic; the worſt of all Barry's productions, 1776.

In the Miltonic Series, the Archangel Michael triumphing over Satan, the ſubject he had choſen for a painting in St. Paul's.

Satan riſing from the fiery gulph, and hurling defiance at the vault of Heaven.

Battle of Satan and Death, with Sin interfering.

Temptation of Adam.

Adam and Eve after their fall.

Milton dictating to Elwood the quaker.

Having ſpoken of him for his genius and learning, it may be neceſſary to trace ſome lines of him, for his virtues and foibles as a member of ſociety. The baſis of his temper was of a cheerful and good-humoured caſt; if he had been bred a mechanic, with employments ſucceeding to his wiſhes, there is ſcarcely a man who would have paſſed through life more cheerly or unconcernedly; but fate threw him on a profeſſion which, built up itſelf of ideal charms, generally charms away its votaries by a thouſand phantoms of ambitious hope, which are ſcarcely ever to be realized during life, or if realized, never worth the ſacrifice of repoſe which accompanies the purſuit of them. For one fortunate Rubens, ennobled and enriched by ſovereigns, or for one even-tempered Reynolds, who, as Dr. Johnſon obſerved, was the moſt invulnerable of men, we meet with numbers in the claſs of painters, whoſe happineſs in purſuit of fame has been broken up, and whoſe fame even came too late to be enjoyed. The more eminent their genius, the leſs happy their condition, as if Providence, in whoſe hands are genius and happineſs, proffered the one to withhold the other.

Barry inherited the gift with the hard conditions. His life had been, with reſpect to natural and common enjoyments, a life of privation; and with regard to the expectations he had formed, a life of diſappointment. Theſe circumſtances ſoured a naturally good temper, in ſpite of religion and philoſophy, of which he poſſeſſed no mean ſhare. Add to this (as he thought) a hoſt of men, who diſcovered an enmity to him, who were glad to obſtruct his views, and depreciate his merits, who felt elevated in proportion as he was depreſſed. It muſt not be denied, but much of this enmity Barry drew on himſelf. A man can never have a contemptuous opinion of others, with whom he is often obliged to act in life, that is not ultimately pernicious to him; and it is to be feared that Mr. Barry's opinion of contemporary artiſts was not ſo liberal, or conciliating, or becoming his own eminent place among them, as was to be wiſhed. As he was never a hypocrite to conceal his ſentiments, their reſentment became a matter of courſe; and except two or three friends, whom he retained among them,

them, the general claſs of theſe gentlemen was certainly hoſtile to him. The oppoſition he met with in the Royal Academy, to ſeveral uſeful ſchemes which he propoſed for the advantage of the academy, as a ſeminary for young painters, tended to foſter and augment the ill-will on both ſides. This is not a place for the hiſtory of their diſputes, which are detailed in ſeveral parts of his writings; but as they tended to inflame an irritable temper, (for of all men Barry belonged to the *genus irritabile vatum*) and ultimately by his expulſion from that body, to make him drink the cup of bitterneſs in his laſt years, it may be frankly aſſerted, that one of his greateſt misfortunes was his having been an Academician. It would have been better for him to have purſued his great deſigns without this (to him doubtful) honour: and though it would have deprived the world of the lectures, which form the principal object of this volume, yet it would have ſaved him from drinking of that noxious cup, which was voted, ſeemingly in defiance, if not in conſequence, of many of the ſame virtues which have endeared the memory of Socrates.

Let him not be traduced, however, by giving the reader the ſmalleſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that the aſperity of his temper was conſtant and habitual: no, it was only occaſional, when his mind brooded over the difficulties, the oppoſition, neglect, and diſappointments he had met with through life. And even here it was curious to obſerve, how ready he was at times to correct his failing, and even to glory in the trials he had ſuffered, quoting often, if not always profiting by, the beſt examples of endurance in the Stoics, of meekneſs under ſufferings in our Saviour, of patience in Socrates, of auſterity and ſelf-denial in the early fathers, and of that love of poverty and independence, which diſtinguiſhed the brighteſt characters in the Roman republic. His mind was treaſured with theſe examples, from which he ſought much of his conſolation. He adopted a ſhort maxim, which he was often wont to repeat, and which conſoled him alſo under the diſappointments he had ſuffered; it was that of Penn, *no croſs, no crown*; believing that buffetings, trials, and hardſhips, alone make the man, and the good man; and that every thing was accompliſhed when this latter was obtained; the reward being in the ſatisfaction of an unblemiſhed conſcience, and in the expected retribution of a happy immortality: that eaſe and ſenſual enjoyments of every kind ſapped the probabilities of obtaining this, by wedding the individual to the world, and enticing him to rely on the varniſhed arts of ſociety, and on pleaſures futile, fleeting, and unſubſtantial: that pure morality was at ſuch variance with the arts of life, or with the world, that no treaty could exiſt between them: there was no ſteering between both without ſacrificing one or the other. He had no opinion of virtues, therefore, that accommodated themſelves to the arts of ſociety: nay, the leaſt deviation from a virtue was a homage paid to vice, and was a ſin, differing but in degree from ſuch which mankind conſent to reprobate.

He would inſtance this in a

variety of ways, and draw his inſtances from the lives of men, who otherwiſe had paſſed for fair characters, but who ſuffered themſelves to be ſwayed occaſionally by private intereſt, pique, or ſome unlawful bias of the heart, at the expence of truth, juſtice, or probity. There was, it muſt be owned, a ſternneſs and ſeverity often in his maxims on this head, to which it was impoſſible for a human individual, not a recluſe, to tutor himſelf. He himſelf ſaw, and admitted the difficulties; but his anſwer always was, that the glory lay in thoſe difficulties, that they were the touchſtone of God, who with infinite wiſdom and goodneſs had placed beſide it *conſcience*, that monitor, which inſtructed the ſavage and philoſopher equally as to the rule of right and wrong. That a peaſant could not plead ignorance of, nor the moſt cunning caſuiſt argue away his real feelings on, the ſlighteſt deviations from right. That the degree did not alter the difference as to the violation towards God, of whoſe divine Being we could form no idea, but by his attributes; that God was truth, God was juſtice, mercy, benevolence, conſummate probity, and prudence; that wherever we gave up or deviated from theſe, we gave up and deviated from Him; that wherever we acted up to theſe virtues, and loved them, we loved and obeyed Him, and frail human nature was limited in proceeding farther.

Although no man's rule of faith could be more invariable and ſteady than Mr. Barry's, and to the principal doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion he was riveted, even to a degree which many of his Proteſtant friends juſtly thought bigoted, yet was he a Catholic after his own way, and at times was very liberal, particularly with reſpect to points of diſcipline in that church, reſembling the late Dr. Geddes, whom he has been heard very much to applaud for the pains which he had taken to ſoften down the aſperities of their church. It was a favourite opinion of his, which he had imbibed from the writings of Grotius, Boſſuet, Dr. Butler, and others, that a general reconciliation might take place between the Catholic and Proteſtant churches, without touching on any of the fundamental articles of faith, and by only ſacrificing on one ſide or the other certain non-eſſential and merely diſciplinal points, which perhaps tended more to fetter true religion, and keep up animoſities, than to any ſolid good. He was very zealous, and eloquently ſo upon this ſubject, arguing, that as ſtates had abandoned the pernicious error of waging war for the ſake of religion, ſo the preſent time was the moſt fitted for a general council of learned and candid divines to ſettle a reconciliation between the prevailing ſects. That on one hand the papal authority was ſo humbled, and on the other the general voice of infidelity and impiety ſo loud, that without ſuch an union of the churches, the Chriſtian religion was altogether endangered, to the ruin of ſtates, and diſſolution of all ſocial order. He was wont to attribute to the growth and multiplicity of ſects, the chief evils, particularly revolutionary ones, to kingdoms and ſtates, and would illuſtrate his point by the example of that convulſion which brought

brought Charles I. to the block, attributing it entirely to the ſectarian principles which grew out of the Reformation; that to the ſame principles which allowed every man to think for himſelf in matters of doctrine and faith, and to expound the ſcriptures as ſuited his ambition, or intereſt, aroſe by an imperceptible gradation the various opinions which have diſtinguiſhed, as he thought, Unitarians, Deiſts, and Atheiſts, of modern time, with all the antecedent and intermediate caſts, which went to form the moſt pernicious climax of errors in the human heart and head: that the French Revolution was the effect of theſe operations, which had pervaded almoſt entirely the upper orders in that kingdom, and by the manœuvres of the *philoſophes* had begun to penetrate the middle and lower ones. That as early as the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the trains were laid of this tremendous and peſtilential exploſion; but the ground had been unwittingly prepared in the former reign, by deſtroying the liberties, independence, and high character of the Gallican Church. It is not neceſſary to follow or defend him in theſe opinions; nor would they have been mentioned, but that his profound knowledge in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of France, entitled him to have an opinion, and there is nothing amiſs—but the tincture it receives from the religion he profeſſed. His mind delighted in difficulties, and he probably had employed as much thought on the practicability of an univerſal church, as ever the Abbé St. Pierre had done on that of a perpetual peace; led on like him enthuſiaſtically by the greatneſs of the object and its importance to the happineſs of man.

From the declamations he has been known to fall into, in favour of civil liberty, and in praiſe of the ancient Greek republics reſpecting the arts, many ran away with the notion that he was a republican, and diſaffected to monarchical inſtitutions. He often declaimed for victory, from occaſional love of oppoſition, or momentary pique and prejudice. Dr. Johnſon was known to do the ſame. But in his cooler moments he has been heard again and again to aſſert, that no governments could be worſe for a peaceful and virtuous man, than thoſe worthleſs Greek republics, as he called them. In the Athenian, which was the beſt, moral worth was always in danger from democratic turpitude. But to ſay no more, that man's republicaniſm will go for little, who invariably worſhipped the character and memory of Charles the Firſt, and deteſted the ſelfiſhneſs and hypocriſy of parties who planned and achieved his downfall. Though he abominated the memory of William III. yet he hailed the deliverance which was achieved by his coming, and ſpoke highly of the characters who brought about the great work of our conſtitution; which he conſidered as the wiſeſt fabric of government ever planned by the mind of man. It is neceſſary to ſay thus much, in order to vindicate him from aſperſions, which have occaſionally been uttered againſt him on this head.

In his enthuſiaſm after art, he was apt to over-rate his profeſſion, and to place its utility too high in the ſcale of human occupations, lamenting that an univerſal taſte

did not prevail for the higheſt ſtyle of *art*. No man was better fitted to ſhew that this ſtyle can only be underſtood, and conſequently reliſhed by the educated and poliſhed orders of ſociety, and that the maſs of mankind have ſomething elſe, and perhaps ſomething better to do, than to be gazing on pictures and ſtatues. This always was, and always will be the caſe. The bulk of Italians never heard of Correggio, or Raffael: who among our peaſantry know any thing even of a Milton? who among them will ever hear of a Reynolds, or a Barry?

There was a better reaſon for his lamenting that ſo much of the ſuperfluous wealth of individuals ſhould be thrown away upon the ſumptuary rather than the fine arts; upon inanities or monſtroſities; upon things which are not likely to impreſs poſterity with much reverence for the good ſenſe, or good taſte of the period.

His ordinary language of converſation was often coarſe and unpoliſhed, and he had acquired a bad habit of interſperſing it with oaths; yet we have ſeen him ſeveral times in the company of men of rank, when he put himſelf on his guard; and his language became not only correct, but poliſhed, and even courtly: if he could catch the forms of beauty for his canvas, he knew where they lay for language and ſentiment—and there is no doubt, if fortune had led him more under the eyes of the great, his manner would readily have transformed itſelf. Even as it was, people ſoon forgot his rough language and his oaths in the ſtrength of his mind; we have witneſſed many inſtances of this, and once ſaw a devout old lady entering the room where he was, hold him for ſome time in a ſort of horror. The converſation, however, happened to turn on the nature of Chriſtian meekneſs, which gave him an opportunity of opening on the character of our Saviour—with that power of heart and mind, and energy of words, that in ſpite of the oaths, which fell abundantly, the old lady remarked, that ſhe never heard ſo divine a man in her life, and deſired to know who he was.

So with reſpect to his dreſs, of which he was always very negligent, and even at times ſqualid, that ſtrangers would ſtare when they ſaw him in company, as if a beggar had been picked up and brought in. Yet his appearance was forgot, the moment he began to diſcourſe on any ſubject. Such are the effects produced by a vigorous and commanding mind, whoſe power, by the reveries it calls up, can agitate or compoſe the paſſions, ſuſpend the ſenſes, and aggrandize or annihilate the caſualties of time, place, and objects.

In his perſon he was rather under the common ſize, but with limbs well ſet together, and active even to the laſt. In his face one could ſee lines prematurely engraven by workings of an impaſſioned mind, ſo that he appeared older than he really was. There was ſomething very ſweet and agreeable in his ſmiles; but his looks, when rouſed by anger, were ferocious indeed. Of ſuch ſenſibilities was he compounded, that, according as things floated in his mind, it was not uncommon to ſee

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theſe oppoſite extremes at very ſhort intervals of time. It required no long acquaintance with him to ſee his character for frankneſs, boldneſs, and deciſion, as of one who deſpiſed ſubterfuge and contrivance of every kind, and who diſdained a lie from his heart, with all its ſubordinate colourings of ſimulation or diſſimulation: he was indeed a very honeſt man; but one of his greateſt characteriſtics was his fortitude, that quality of the heart which never ſuffered him to feel depreſſed in the midſt of his comfortleſs ſituation—a ſituation which the pooreſt man could not envy, and which few men could have ſuſtained ſo many years as he did—that is, in a houſe which preſented the picture of a ruin by its ſunken walls and broken windows, without a ſervant, without a bed that could be called a bed, in coldneſs, dirt, ſolitude, and poverty. The laſt is perhaps a ſtrong word, not applicable in a rigid ſenſe, and certainly not in his own opinion, who felt rich if he had but wherewith to procure food, raiment, and a ſhelter, deſpiſing other wants. He felt leſs for himſelf as to theſe wants than his friends felt for him; among whom, a nobleman of great and correct mind (as has been related) kindly thought it his duty to ſolicit for Mr. Barry the aſſiſtance of the public, as a debt due from that public to him. A ſum of money was accordingly raiſed by ſubſcription, but was inveſted too late to be of any uſe; and the probability is, that as the aſſiſtance had been withheld ſo long, in the pride of his heart Barry was not ſorry to eſcape without taſting the obligation.

Character of Barry. *From "Elements of Art," a Poem. By* M. A. Shee, *Eſq.*

A great work in art cannot now be the production of indigence and obſcurity, for it is the labour of years, purſued through many arduous ſtudies, and aſſiſted by a variety of models and materials; requiring a number of local and mechanical facilities, and attended conſequently with conſiderable expence. Who will ſuſtain the powers of genius through ſuch a progreſs? What are the tempting allurements to an exertion ſo arduous? The reaſonable hopes of honour and emolument to juſtify ſo ſerious a ſpeculation on the liberality of the day? The fate of thoſe who have tried the public feeling, will not tend much to recommend the experiment.

Barry, ambitious of renown in his art, and hopeleſs of any opportunity more favourable to his purpoſe, propoſed to adorn the great room of "the Society of Arts," with a ſeries of pictures, illuſtrative of the progreſs of man towards civilization and ſcience. To complete this extenſive work, he devoted himſelf to poverty and ſecluſion for ſeven or eight years; ſubſiſting on means ſcarcely adequate to the ſupport of nature in the humbleſt ſtation; and by its exhibition to the public, when finiſhed, he obtained, as the whole reward of his labours—five hundred pounds!!!

Nor did the affluence of honours compenſate for the penury of profit: notwithſtanding the zeal, the perſeverance, and the ability, which he diſplayed, the modern

Polygnotus * did not receive the thanks of his country; he had no honourable reſidence aſſigned to him in the different cities of the empire; he found it difficult to live, even on the humbleſt ſcale of expence, in that city which his genius has ſo much contributed to adorn, and died at laſt the object of a public ſubſcription.

It is impoſſible for candour to contemplate, without ſtrong feelings of admiration, the ardour and enthuſiaſm of this extraordinary man; who diſdaining the mercenary maxims of the world, breaking from the allurements of pleaſure, and the deluſions of vanity, could ſacrifice every object of vulgar ambition to the honourable purſuit of fame. It is impoſſible to view him, in the face of every evil that could ſhake a mind leſs firm, proſecuting his work, as the great ornament of modern literature has pathetically deſcribed himſelf on a ſomewhat ſimilar occaſion, "amidſt inconvenience and diſtraction, in ſickneſs and in ſorrow," without emotions of the higheſt reſpect for an ambition ſo exalted, an intrepidity ſo rare, and a ſpirit ſo independent, without ſentiments of unavailing regret, that errors of eccentricity on his part ſhould have diminiſhed the impreſſion of his merits; and that of apathy on the part of the public, ſhould have obſtructed their full diſplay, and prevented their juſt remuneration.

The merits and the manners of Barry were certainly little ſuited to the time, and ſtill leſs to the country in which he lived. As a man he would have been more diſtinguiſhed in the age of Pericles; as a painter, he would have been more eſteemed in the age of Leo; in Greece he might perhaps have been a ſage, as well as an artiſt; the leader of a ſect in philoſophy, and the founder of a ſchool of taſte. In England, he was only an oddity, at whom every body ſtared, whom few appreciated, and fewer ſtill underſtood.

In his art and in his manners, he alike miſtook, or rather diſregarded, what was eſſential to his time: in the former, he followed the Roman ſchool, when only the Venetian was admired; in the latter, he neglected urbanity, when urbanity was neceſſary to pleaſe, and allowed himſelf to be rough and independent amongſt thoſe, who always demand our reſpect, and often our obſequiouſneſs. He was an injudicious trader, whoſe commodities, though good in their kind, were brought to the wrong market; and though he found out his error, he diſdained to change his cargo, or conform to the prejudices of thoſe, whom he thought it his duty to direct, and his privilege to ſupply. But whatever may have been the defects of his perſonal character, his profeſſional views ſeem to have been liberal and dignified; conſiſtent with his principles, and his practice; directed to the advancement of his art, and

* Polygnotus having painted the Pœcile, a famous portico at Athens, refuſed to take payment for his work; and, as an acknowledgment of his genius and generoſity, the Amphictyons returned him thanks, and aſſigned him an honourable reſidence, at the public expence, in all the cities of Greece

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the glory of his country. If his ardour was inconſiderate, or intemperate, it was apparently diſintereſted: if he was violent and impracticable with his brethren, it was in the honeſt purſuit of public objects; objects, which all muſt admit to have been worthy of his zeal, however they may diſapprove of the indiſcretion which rendered it unſociable and abortive.

Neglect, mortification, and diſappointment, wrought on Barry their uſual effects in irritable and ambitious minds, he withdrew from the conteſt, not defeated, but diſguſted: he ſunk into himſelf with an indignant feeling of worth unregarded: a proud conſciouſneſs of having meant well, and merited better of his country.

A prey to moody meditation, and averſe from common intercourſe, he became every day more unſocial in his habits, moroſe in his temper, and ſuſpicious in his imagination. Like Rouſſeau, he fancied himſelf the object of a general conſpiracy; the common mark for all the arrows of envy, malevolence, and injuſtice. Every untoward circumſtance of his life, from the moſt trifling domeſtic moleſtation to the moſt ſerious difficulties and diſaſters, he aſcribed to the unceaſing machinations of a cabal, formed for his deſtruction, and combining all the means of miſchief in a courſe of unrelenting perſecution.

That the intractable coarſeneſs of his manners, the open and too often outrageous contempt which he expreſſed for the buſy, imbecile intrigues of his profeſſion, ſhould have made him enemies amongſt them, is more than probable. The ſly, and ſelfiſh tribe, who ſpeculate on public inſtitutions, and whoſe only ſkill conſiſts in the dexterity with which they can extract from them the means of private advantage, and perſonal influence; who meaſuring all men by their own ſtandard, conſider diſintereſted characters only as wholeſale hypocrites, and public ſpirit as impoſture, will always view with mortal averſion thoſe from whoſe probity and independence they can hope neither for connivance nor co-operation. But the unremitting and ſyſtematic malignity of which he conſidered himſelf the victim; the various ſpells which the necromancy of miſchief was hourly caſting around him, were the unhappy deluſions of an imagination irritated by brooding over real ills and fancied enmities. The general proſcription, however, in which his undiſtinguiſhed reſentment involved all that is reſpectable in his profeſſion, can be palliated or pardoned, only in conſideration of that mental malady, which unprincipled oppoſition firſt produced, and continued diſappointment ſubſequently exaſperated.

That the manners and habits of a man who differed ſo much from the ſociety in which he lived, ſhould, by ſome, be conſidered as a cunning device, to fix upon him the public attention, is not extraordinary, in an age when quackery has become ſo prolific in expedients of attraction. Barry, however, ſeems not to have merited this imputation. Eccentricity is ſometimes a natural defect of genius, but it is always a vice of affectation in thoſe who are pretenders to that quality: it is a flaw that may be occaſionally found

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in the ſterling coin, but it is an artificial mark impreſſed upon the counterfeit. They who affect ſingularity are, however, eaſily diſcovered; there is a method in their madneſs which always proves it to be aſſumed. He who can repreſs his whims to ſuit his intereſts; whoſe peculiarities know how to reſpect ſeaſon and circumſtance, perſon and place, wears his eccentricity as a maſk, and ſhould be treated with contempt as an impoſtor. But the ſingularities of Barry were not of this character, they were too intractable for policy, and too laſting for affectation. Thoſe marks muſt be deep, which neither intereſt nor time can obſcure, or obliterate. If it was a maſk which he put on, it appears never to have been taken off; if he acted a part, he was at leaſt conſiſtent, and obſerved the Horatian maxim, "ſervatur ad imum," &c.

Whatever we may think of his ſenſe, or his diſcretion, we muſt at leaſt give him credit for ſincerity, who perſiſts in his oddities at the expence of his intereſts; who is perverſe only to his own prejudice; and ſacrifices to the indulgence of caprice, all the ordinary hopes and pleaſures of ſociety.

An affectation purſued to ſuch ſerious conſequences, the poet has juſtly, though ludicrouſly, characteriſed in the following couplet:

> Who hangs himſelf, or beats his brains,
> The devil's in him if he feigns.

With poſterity, Barry will find more favour than he experienced from his contemporaries. His character will brighten in proportion as time ſhall remove thoſe ſtains of perſonal peculiarity, which ſo much diſfigured and obſcured it. They who ſhall ſee him only in his works, will regard him as a man of genius and virtue, neglected and undervalued in his time; as a painter, who ſought to revive the beſt æra of taſte, and aſpired to ſoar upon the nobleſt pinion of his art; as a patriot, who ably vindicated the inſulted character of his country, and endeavoured to rouſe the ſpirit of a mercenary age, to a juſter eſtimation and more liberal culture of thoſe ſtudies, upon her proficiency in which muſt depend, whether Britain ſhall be hereafter regarded as the boaſt or the Bœotia of the modern world.

Character of Opie. *By the ſame.*

By the death of Opie, the Britiſh ſchool of art has ſuffered a loſs, which will not, perhaps, be readily ſupplied. In whatever light we conſider him, whether as a man, an artiſt, or an academician, as a painter, a writer, or a reaſoner, there was a character of originality—a peculiar ſtrength about him, which always excited, and often rewarded attention.

Burſting at once from provincial ſecluſion into all the glare of metropolitan publicity, he may be ſaid to have commenced his career under unfavourable circumſtances; for he was looked upon as a wonder—was followed, for a time, by faſhion and affectation, with premature celebrity, and left, at the moment when he began to be worthy of the public favour, to meditate upon its inſtability.

Prodigies are always over-rated, and

and often ruined, by their injudicious admirers: but Opie had too much ſenſe to be ſpoiled by flattery, and too much ſpirit to be depreſſed by neglect; he converted his leiſure to his improvement, his genius roſe when it was reſcued from the crowd; and, though he ceaſed to be conſidered as a phenomenon, by flatterers and fools, he forced his way to a more rational and durable reputation, by vigorous efforts in the higher provinces of his art; and the ſober eſtimate of taſte placed him in the firſt rank of his profeſſion.

Emerging from an humble ſphere by his own ſtrength, and uninfluenced by thoſe prediſpoſing impreſſions, which generally reſult from the regular diſcipline of the faculties according to the forms of ſyſtematic inſtruction, his mind was ſtamped with a character of intrepid curioſity, of unyielding independence, from which, perhaps, his moſt conſpicuous merits were derived.

Self-taught in every thing, he took his own road to what he acquired, and, if it was not always the ſhorteſt and the beſt, it occaſionally offered to him views of his object, which rarely preſent themſelves to thoſe who travel in the beaten path. His art was more the reſult of his own obſervation, more independent of his predeceſſors, than that of any other artiſt of his time. What he poſſeſſed, he appeared to draw directly from nature, ſeldom admitting the intermediate agency of her eſtabliſhed favourites, and truſting boldly to the influence of his own powers. In direct intercourſe with her, he was always reſpectable, and often excellent; but he ſeemed neither inclined, nor qualified, to avail himſelf of the labours of thoſe from whom he might have learned to unite the taſte of ſelection to the power of imitation.

In ſome parts of his art, he roſe to great eminence: in the powerful relief of his object he may be ſaid to vie with Rembrandt, Caravaggio, and Velaſques. Sometimes, perhaps, this praiſe was obtained at the expence of merits more eſtimable; but in characters of age, and ſtrong expreſſion, where vigour of effect is peculiarly appropriate, he carried it to a degree of projection, which, if it has been equalled, has certainly never been ſurpaſſed.

In that particular quality of colouring called tone, he was alſo, at one period of his practice, conſpicuouſly ſkilled; the death of James the Sixth of Scotland, and ſome of his pictures painted for the Shakeſpeare Gallery, diſplayed a depth, and richneſs of hue, which are not always to be found in his ſubſequent works. The deſire of freſhneſs, and purity of tint, much influenced his pencil in the latter period of his life, and ſometimes occaſioned a crude and chalky effect of colouring, which impaired the general impreſſion of his merits.

His manner was broad, bold, and original; purſuing truth without prejudice, but generally without choice; faithful, but not minute in imitation; always forcible in effect, but often feeble in deſign.

As a man, he was reſpectable, and reſpected; rather unprepoſſeſſing in his appearance, but highly intereſting in his mind. Of a free and independent ſpirit; eaſy, though

though not poliſhed, in his deportment: advancing his claims without arrogance, and recommending them without ſervility. With a dignified diſdain of artifice, he refuſed to trick himſelf out in the airs of eccentricity; or to prop up his reputation by the common reſources of the coxcomb and the quack. No man ever had leſs of the actor in his manners, or the impoſtor in his art.

He contended with his rivals in open, honourable warfare; ſought no unfair advantage; planned no manœuvres of policy or ſurpriſe upon his competitors; employed no ſtage trick to catch the public attention, and make himſelf the principal figure in the ſcene. The notice, which his pencil could not command, he ſcorned to procure by any other means; and no artiſt of his time can boaſt a reputation more legitimately eſtabliſhed, or leſs indebted to policy, to party, or intrigue.

A ſhort time before his death he was appointed to the profeſſor's chair of painting, in the Royal Academy; and, if he had lived to digeſt and complete his courſe of lectures in that eſtabliſhment, his profeſſion would have derived inſtruction and delight from his unheſitating boldneſs of inveſtigation, his originality of remark, and ingenuity of argument. He was one of the few characters which are to be met with in ſociety, who ſee with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears. Untutored in the awe of authority, a name had no influence upon him when oppoſed to an argument. He was no venerator of time, nor reſpecter of prejudice: he was an original thinker, whoſe mind ruſhed fearleſsly forward in ſearch of truth, wherever it ſeemed likely to be found; and if the peculiarity of his opinions ſometimes excited ſurpriſe, and provoked oppoſition, the ingenuity with which they were maintained, ſeldom failed to ſhow great vigour of thought, and ſingular acuteneſs of obſervation.

Thoſe who lived in habits of intimacy with Opie, will cheriſh his memory with kindneſs; they will look back with pleaſure to thoſe hours that were cheared by his pleaſantry, or enlightened by his information. As a companion he was recommended by good ſpirits, good ſenſe, and good temper; and if his converſation was not always brilliant, or inſtructive, it was almoſt always ſtimulating and agreeable: rarely trite, even when moſt trifling; never degraded to common-place inſipidity, nor malignant, even when moſt ſevere. When he became familiar, and found himſelf at his eaſe, his humour frequently kindled into wit; and though he was as fond of diſputation, as he was forcible in argument, he ſeemed always as willing to ſport with the playful, as to ſpeculate with the profound.

He was a rough gem of genius, which when rubbed in the colliſion of life, always brightened into luſtre, and betrayed its internal richneſs through the diſadvantage of partial incruſtation.

Sketch of Mr. Romney's *Profeſſional Character, (by* G. Flaxman, *Eſq.) from the Life of* Romney. *By* W. Hayley, *Eſq.*

According

According to the maxim, that "every painter paints himself," each picture presents in some measure a transcript of its author's merits and defects. The judicious eye will easily discern whether the work was produced with sensibility, or want of feeling; the choice and treatment of the subject will discover whether his mind was elevated or low, as the detail of parts will explain in what branches of knowledge he was skilled or deficient, to what extent he had chosen and analysed the beauties of nature, and finally whether the work was accomplished by painful patient labour, or flowed with ease and rapidity, which increased the delight and exultation of the progress. These characteristics may be as easily traced in the works of Romney, as in those of any artist that ever existed. Modest in his opinion of his own talents, he practised no tricks or deception to obtain popularity; but as he loved his art fervently, he practised it honestly, with indefatigable study and application. The circumstances of his early life seemed wholly unpropitious to the study of painting. His school education was brief and common, as he was brought up to the business of a cabinet-maker. Yet these obstacles, great and insurmountable as they would have been to many, were by him converted into so many steps in the ascent to excellence. If his memory was not much exercised in learning words at school, some of his other faculties were not idle. His contemplative mind was employed in observing carefully, inquiring minutely into, and reflecting continually on, the objects around him, and thus by comparing and adding the results of his own observation, with the little he was taught, he gained perhaps as much useful knowledge as is commonly acquired, in the ordinary way, with greater assistance from books and masters. His employment of cabinet-making, which, to a common observer, would seem little better than an ingenious mechanical drudgery, led his inquisitive mind to contemplate the principles of mathematical science, and to acquaint himself with the elements of architecture. When he first began to paint, he had seen no gallery of pictures, nor the fine productions of ancient sculpture; but men, women, and children, were his statues, and all objects under the cope of heaven, formed his school of painting. The rainbow, the purple distance, or the silver lake, taught him colouring; the various actions and passions of the human figure, with the forms of clouds, woods, mountains, or valleys, afforded him studies of composition. Indeed, his genius bore a strong resemblance to the scenes he was born in; like them, it partook of the grand and beautiful; and like them also, the bright sun-shine and enchanting prospects of his fancy were occasionally overspread with mist and gloom. Among his early productions, two very opposite subjects proved the versatility of his talents. The comic arrival of Dr. Slop at Shandy-hall, was one; the other was the death of General Wolfe, painted the size of life, universally admired for its sentiment and nature by crowds of spectators at the first exhibition in the Strand. On his arrival

arrival in Italy, he was witneſs to new ſcenes of art, and ſources of ſtudy, of which he could only have ſuppoſed previouſly, that ſomething of the kind muſt exiſt; for he there contemplated the purity and perfection of ancient ſculpture, the ſublimity of Michael Angelo's Siſtine Chapel, and the ſimplicity of Cimabue's and Giotto's Schools. He perceived theſe qualities diſtinctly, and judiciouſly uſed them in viewing and imitating nature; and thus his quick perception and unwearied application enabled him, by a two years' reſidence abroad, to acquire as great a proficiency in art, as is uſually attained by foreign ſtudies of much longer duration. After his return, the novelty and ſentiment of his original ſubjects were univerſally admired. Moſt of theſe were of the delicate claſs, and each had its peculiar character. Titania with her Indian votareſs was arch and ſprightly; Milton dictating to his daughters, was ſolemn and intereſting. Several pictures of Wood Nymphs and Bacchants, charmed by their rural beauty, innocence, and ſimplicity. From the Triumphs of Temper, he painted ſeveral pictures of Serena, all beautiful in idea, and ſtriking in ſituation. But the moſt pathetic, perhaps, of all his works, was never finiſhed; Ophelia, with the flowers ſhe had gathered in her hand, ſitting on the branch of a tree, which was breaking under her, whilſt the melancholy diſtraction viſible in her lovely countenance, accounts for the inſenſibility to her danger. Few painters have left ſo many examples in their works of the tender and delicate affections, and ſeveral of his pictures breathe a kindred ſpirit with the Sigiſmonda of Corregio. His cartoons, ſome of which have unfortunately periſhed, were examples of the ſublime and terrible, at that time perfectly new in Engliſh art. The dream of Atoſſa, from the Perſians of Æſchylus, contraſted the death-like ſleep of the Queen, with the Bacchanalian fury of the Genius of Greece. The compoſition was conducted with the fire and ſeverity of a Greek bas-relief: the ghoſt of Darius, with the Perſians proſtrated before him, awed the ſpectator by grandeur and myſtery. As Romney was gifted with peculiar powers for hiſtorical and ideal painting, ſo his heart and ſoul were engaged in the purſuit of it, whenever he could extricate himſelf from the importunate buſineſs of portrait-painting. It was his delight by day, and ſtudy by night; and for this his food and reſt were often neglected. In trying to attain excellence in his art, his diligence was as unceaſing, as his gratification in the employment. He endeavoured to combine all the poſſible advantages of the ſubject immediately before him, and to exclude whatever had a tendency to weaken it. His compoſitions, like thoſe of the ancient pictures, and baſſo-relievos, told their ſtory by a ſingle group of figures in the front, whilſt the back ground is made the ſimpleſt poſſible, rejecting all unneceſſary epiſode, and trivial ornament, either of ſecondary groups, or architectural ſubdiviſion. In his compoſitions, the beholder was forcibly ſtruck by the ſentiment at the firſt glance, the gradations and varieties of which he traced through ſeveral characters, all conceived in an elevated ſpirit of dignity and beauty, with a lively

lively expreſſion of nature in all the parts. His heads were various: the male were decided and grand; the female lovely: his figures reſembled the antique; the limbs were elegant, and finely formed; his drapery was well underſtood, either forming the figure into a maſs, with one or two deep folds only, or by its adheſion and tranſparency, diſcovering the form of the figure, the lines of which were finely varied with the union or expanſion of ſpiral or caſcade folds, compoſing with, or contraſting the outline or chiaro-oſcuro; he was ſo paſſionately fond of Grecian ſculpture, that he had filled his ſtudy and galleries with fine caſts from the moſt perfect ſtatues, groups, baſſo-relievos, and buſts of antiquity: he would ſit and conſider theſe in profound ſilence by the hour; and beſides the ſtudies in drawing or painting he made from them, he would examine them under all the changes of ſun-ſhine and day-light; and with lamps prepared on purpoſe at night, he would try their effects, lighted from above, beneath, and in all directions, with rapturous admiration. No one could be more modeſt concerning himſelf; ſeldom ſpeaking of any thing he did, and never in reference to its merits. But he was exceedingly liberal reſpecting others, rarely finding faults in the works of his contemporaries, and giving cordial praiſe wherever he ſaw excellence. An inſtance of his conduct relating to Sir Joſhua Reynolds deſerves to be mentioned. Being preſent when ſome intimate friends were delivering their opinions on Sir Joſhua's picture of Hercules ſtrangling the ſerpents, painted for the Empreſs of Ruſſia,—"Gentlemen, (ſaid he) I have liſtened to all you have ſaid; ſome obſervations are true, and ſome are nonſenſe; but no other man in Europe could paint ſuch a picture." A peculiar ſhyneſs of diſpoſition kept him from all aſſociation with public bodies, and led to the purſuit of his ſtudies in retirement and ſolitude, which, at the ſame time that it encouraged habits of great temperance, allowed him the more leiſure for obſervation, reflection, and trying his ſkill in other arts, connected with his own. And indeed few artiſts, ſince the fifteenth century, have been able to do ſo much in ſo many different branches; for beſides his beautiful compoſitions and pictures, which have added to the knowledge and celebrity of the Engliſh ſchool, he modelled like a ſculptor, carved ornaments in wood with great delicacy, and could make an architectural deſign in a fine taſte, as well as conſtruct every part of the building. Although his ſhyneſs confined him to a few intimates, he was abundantly affectionate and gracious to them, of which the following inſtance ſhall ſpeak for the reſt. He was particularly delighted with youthful talents, and never neglected an opportunity of encouraging and recommending them. Once he endeavoured to preſs two hundred pounds on a young man going abroad to ſtudy, who was not in affluent circumſtances; and on the money being refuſed, he exerted himſelf by recommendation and every means in his power, until he actually did render him much more important ſervices.

Sketch

Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. John Whitaker, *by the Rev.* R. Polwhele.

Truro, Nov. 5.

On Sunday, the 30th ult. died at his rectory of Ruan-Langhorne, near Tregony, Cornwall, that great and good man, the Rev. J. Whitaker. He was born at Manchester, about 1735. He went early to Oxford; where he was elected fellow of C. C. C. and where he discovered in a very short time, those fine originalities, those peculiarities of mind, which afterwards so strongly marked him as an author and as a man. He took the degree of M.A. 1759; and proceeded B.D. 1767. His uncommon vigour of intellect at once displayed itself among his acquaintance; but, whilst his animated conversation drew many around him, a few were repelled from the circle by his impatience of contradiction, (a failing which almost always accompanies powers like his) and by the consciousness, it should seem, of their own inferiority. The character of his genius was, however, soon decided in literary composition. In 1771, Mr. W. published the first volume of his "History of Manchester," in quarto; a work which, for acuteness of research, bold imagination, independent sentiment, and correct information, has scarcely its parallel in the literature of this country. Nor does its composition less merit our applause, whether we have respect to the arrangement of the materials, the style, or the language. In some passages there is "supreme elegance," in others, a magnificence of thought, a force of expression, a glow of diction, truly astonishing. The introduction of Christianity into this island, in particular, is uncommonly beautiful. With regard to the general subject of the "Manchester," Mr. W. was the first writer who could so light up the region of antiquarianism as to dissipate its obscurity, even to ordinary spectators; his "Manchester" being perhaps the book in which the truth of our island history has been best elucidated by the hand of a master. It is rather singular that this work was, in the order of merit as well as time, the first of Mr. Whitaker's publications. In proportion as our author advanced in life, his imagination seems, by a strange inversion of what is characteristic of our nature, to have gained an ascendancy over his judgment; and we shall perceive more of fancy and of passion, of conjecture and hypothesis, in some of his subsequent productions, than of just opinion, or deliberate investigation. Mr. Whitaker's "Genuine History of the Britons asserted," an octavo volume, published in 1772, may be accepted as a sequel to "Manchester." It contains a complete refutation of "the unhappy Macpherson;" whose "Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland" is full of palpable mistakes and misrepresentations. In 1773 we find Mr. W. the morning preacher at Berkeley Chapel; to which office he had been appointed in November by a Mr. Hughes; but in less than two months was removed from that situation. This gave occasion to "The case between Mr. W. and Mr. Hughes, relative to the morning preachership of Berkeley Chapel;" in which Mr.

Mr. W. relates ſome remarkable particulars, and declares himſelf "unalterably determined to carry the matter into Weſtminſter-Hall." And we may be aſſured, that he uſed his utmoſt efforts to bring his determination into action. But the fervour of his reſentment threw him off his guard; and he expreſſed himſelf ſo indiſcreetly, that his "Caſe" was conſidered as a libel by the Court of King's Bench. During his reſidence in London, he had an opportunity of converſing with ſeveral of our moſt celebrated writers; among whom were the author of the "Rambler," and the hiſtorian of the Roman Empire. It does not appear, indeed, that Johnſon was much attached to Whitaker. Equally ſtrong in underſtanding, equally tenacious of opinion, and equally impaſſioned in converſation, it is not probable that they ſhould amicably coaleſce on all occaſions. In the Oſſianic controverſy, they were decidedly hoſtile. With Gibbon, Mr. W. was well acquainted; and the MS. of the firſt volume of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was ſubmitted to Mr. Whitaker's inſpection. But what was his ſurpriſe, when, as he read the ſame volume in print, that chapter, which has been ſo obnoxious to the Chriſtian world, was then firſt introduced to his notice! That chapter Gibbon had ſuppreſſed in the MS. overawed by Mr. Whitaker's high character, and afraid of his cenſure. And in fact, that the feeble Deiſt ſhould have ſhrunk from his indignant eye, may well be conceived, when we ſee his Chriſtian principle and his manly ſpirit uniting in the rejection of a living of conſiderable value, which was at this time offered him by an Unitarian patron! He ſpurned at the temptation, and pitied the ſeducer! Of his integrity, however, ſome recompence was now at hand; and, about the year 1778, he ſucceeded, as fellow of Corpus Chriſti College, to the rectory of Ruan-Lanyhorne, one of the moſt valuable livings in the gift of that college; and into Cornwall he went, to reſide on his rectory. There, it might have been expected, that retirement and leiſure would greatly favour the purſuits of literature, and that, though "The Converſer" (to uſe an expreſſion of Mr. W.) had diſappeared, the author would break forth with new energies. But Ruan-Lanyhorne was, for ſeveral years, no tranquil ſeat of the muſes. That pleaſant ſecluſion was now the ſcene of conteſt, but of conteſt which, (in the opinion of the writer of this memoir,) was abſolutely unavoidable. Mr. W. had propoſed a tythe compoſition with his pariſhioners, by no means unreaſonable. This they refuſed to pay; but Mr. W. was ſteady to his purpoſe. A rupture enſued between the parties; the tithes were demanded in kind, diſputes aroſe upon diſputes; animoſities were kindled; and litigations took place. That Mr. W. was finally victorious, afforded pleaſure to the friends of the rector, and to the friends of juſtice and truth; yet it was long before harmony was reſtored to Ruan Lanyhorne. That his literary ſchemes had been ſo ſadly interrupted, was the ſubject of general regret. But the conſcientious paſtor looked with a deeper concern to the ſpiritual welfare

welfare of his parishioners. He saw with sorrow their aversion to his preaching; their indifference to his instructions; their repugnance to his authority; and "he laboured more abundantly;" till, after a few years, he had the satisfaction to perceive a visible alteration in the behaviour of the principal parishioners; and a mutual good understanding was established between the pastor and his flock. His cordial, his familiar manner, indeed, was always pleasing to those whom prejudice had not armed against him; and in proportion as they became acquainted with his kind disposition, the transitoriness of his resentments, and, after injuries, his promptness to forgive, and anxious wish to be forgiven; they endeavoured more and more to cultivate his friendship, and at length loved and revered him as their father. Nothing can more fully display the warmth of his affections, his zeal as a minister of Christ, or his impassioned style of eloquence, than the "Sermons upon Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell," which he published in 1783; after having preached these to his parishioners, we doubt not with a voice and manner to penetrate the conscience, and strike conviction into the soul, to awaken the tears of penitence, and elevate the hopes of the Christian to the abodes of immortality. That he should have published so little in the line of his profession is, perhaps, to be regretted; though his "Origin of Arianism" be a large volume, it is a controversial tract, full of erudition and ingenious argumentation. We have read no other work of Mr. W. in divinity, except "The Real Origin of Government" (expanded into a considerable treatise, from a sermon which he had preached before Bishop Buller, at his Lordship's primary visitation), and "The Introduction to Flindell's Bible." This has been much admired as a masterly piece of eloquence. In the mean time the Antiquary was not at rest. His "Mary Queen of Scots," published in 1787, in three octavo volumes, his "Course of Hannibal over the Alps defended, 1794" 2vols. 8vo. "The Real Origin of Government, 1795" 8vo. a very singular pamphlet. "The Origin of Arianism;" his "Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall;" his "Supplement to Mr. Polwhele's Antiquities of Cornwall;" his "London," and his "Oxford" (both as yet in MS.) furnish good evidence of an imagination continually occupied in pursuits which kindled up its brightest flame, though not always of that judgment, discretion, or candour, which, if human characters had been ever perfect, we should have expected from a Whitaker. In criticism, however, (where, writing anonymously, he would probably have written as temper or caprice suggested) we find him, for the most part, candid and good natured; not lavish of censure, nor yet sparing of applause; and affording us, in numerous instances, the most agreeable proofs of genuine benevolence. Even in the instance of Gibbon, where he has been thought severe beyond all former example, we have a large mixture of the sweet with bitterness. It was the critique on Gibbon that contributed greatly to the reputation

tion of "The Engliſh Review," in which Mr. W. was the author of many valuable articles. To his pen alſo "The Britiſh Critic" and "The Antijacobin Review" were indebted for various pieces of criticiſm. But the ſtrength of his principles is no where more apparent than in thoſe articles where he comes forward, armed with the panoply of truth, in defence of our civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. It was there he ſtruck his adverſaries with conſternation, and we beheld the hoſt of jacobins ſhrinking away from before his face, and creeping into their caverns of darkneſs. But we are here, perhaps, betrayed into expreſſions too violent for plain proſe, which reminds us of another part of our friend's literary character—we mean his poetical talent. That he contributed ſome fine pieces of poetry to "The Cornwall and Devon Poets," is well known. Theſe were publiſhed in two ſmall octavo volumes; and the editor has in his poſſeſſion a ſufficient quantity of good verſe, by Mr. Whitaker, to fill forty or fifty pages of a third volume, now in contemplation. We have thus (with rapid glances, and in a manner too deſultory to be perfectly ſatisfactory to ourſelves) reviewed the productions of our old and valued friend; and hailed him in the ſeveral departments of the hiſtorian, the theologiſt, the critic, the politician, and the poet. Verſatility, like Whitaker's, is, in truth, of rare occurrence; but ſtill more rare is the ſplendour of original genius, exhibited in walks ſo various. Not that Mr. W. was equally happy in them all. His characteriſtic traits as a writer were, acute diſcernment, and velocity of ideas which acquired new force in compoſition, and a power of combining images in a manner peculiarly ſtriking, and of flinging on every topic of diſcuſſion the ſtrongeſt illuſtration. With little ſcruple, therefore, we hazard an opinion, that though his chief excellence be recognized in antiquarian reſearch, he would have riſen to higher eminence as a poet, had he cultivated in early youth the favour of the muſes. Be this, however, as it may; there are none who will deem us extravagant in pronouncing, that Mr. W. was "a great" literary character. That he was "good" as well as great, would ſufficiently appear in the recollection of any period of his life; whether we ſaw him abandoning preferment from principle, and heard him "reaſoning of righteouſneſs and judgment to come," until a Gibbon trembled; or whether, amongſt his pariſhioners, we witneſſed his unaffected earneſtneſs of preaching, his humility in converſing with the poor cottagers, his ſincerity in aſſiſting them with advice, his tenderneſs in offering them conſolation, and his charity in relieving their diſtreſſes. It is true, to the ſame warmth of temper, together with a ſenſe of good intentions, we muſt attribute an irritability at times deſtructive of ſocial comfort, an impetuouſneſs that brooked not oppoſition, and bore down all before it. This precipitation was in part alſo to be traced to his ignorance of the world; to his ſimplicity in believing others like himſelf—preciſely what they ſeemed to be; and, on the detection of his error, his anger at diſſimula-

tion or hypocriſy. But his general good humour, his hoſpitality, and his convivial pleaſantry, were ſurely enough to atone for thoſe ſudden burſts of paſſion, thoſe flaſhes which betrayed his "human frailty," but ſtill argued genius. And they who knew "how fearfully and wonderfully he was made," could hear from a Whitaker what they would not ſo well have tolerated in another. In his family, Mr. W. was uniformly regular; nor did he ſuffer, at any time, his literary cares to trench on his domeſtic duties. The loſs of ſuch a man muſt be deemed, as it were, a chaſm both in public and private life. But, for the latter, we may truly ſay, that if ever wife had cauſe to lament the kind and faithful huſband, or children* the affectionate parent, or ſervants the moſt indulgent maſter, the family at Ruan Lanyhorne muſt feel their loſs irreparable†. That he ſhould have lived to the age of 73, is rather to be wondered. For, ſtrong as was his bodily conſtitution, his mind, ever active and reſtleſs, muſt have worn out (we ſhould have preſumed) even that athletic frame, long before the period aſſigned to man's exiſtence. Amidſt his ardent and indefatigable reſearches into the Antiquities of London, his friends detected the firſt ſymptoms of bodily decay. His journey to London, his vaſt exertions there in procuring information, his energetic and various converſation with literary characters, brought on a debility, which he little regarded till it alarmed him in a ſtroke of paralyſis. From this he never recovered in ſuch a degree as to be able to reſume, with any good effect, his ſtudies or occupations. But, for the laſt year, his decline has been gradual, and it was ſuch as we have contemplated with pleaſure; ſince we have ſeen him ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, yet invariably ſupported by the faith of a Chriſtian. His indeed was the reſignation, the cheerfulneſs becoming a primitive diſciple of that Jeſus, in whoſe mercy he repoſed, and to whom only he looked for acceptance. And he who would deſire comfort from the proſpect of death ſhould keep in view our venerable friend, when, at that awful hour which aſſures us of his happineſs, at peace with himſelf, his fellow-creatures, and his God, he ſank as into quiet ſlumber, without a trouble or a pain, and with a ſmile on his countenance expired.

A ſhort Account of James Tytler. *By Mr. Cromek. From Reliques of Robert Burns. By R. H. Cromek.*

James Tytler‡ was the ſon of a country clergyman in the preſbytery of Brechin, and brother

* Two amiable daughters.

† Mrs. W. was a Miſs Tregenna, of an ancient Cornish family.

‡ Burns, in a remark on one of the Scotch ſongs, mentions him, as "an obſcure, tippling, but extraordinary body, commonly known by the name of Balloon Tytler, from his having projected a balloon. A mortal, who though he drudges about Edinburgh as a common printer, with leaky ſhoes, a ſky-lighted hat, and linen breeches, as unlike as George-by-the-grace-of-God, and Solomon-the-ſon-of-David, yet the ſame drunken mortal is author and compiler of three-fourths of Elliot's pompous Encyclopædia Britannica, which he compoſed at half-a-guinea a week!"

to

to Dr. Tytler, the tranſlator of Callimachus. He was inſtructed by his father in claſſical learning and ſchool divinity, and attained an accurate knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and an extenſive acquaintance with biblical literature and ſcholaſtic theology. Having diſcovered an early predilection for the medical profeſſion, he was put apprentice to a ſurgeon in Forfar, and afterwards ſent to attend the medical claſſes at Edinburgh. While a medical ſtudent he cultivated experimental chemiſtry and controverſial theology with equal aſſiduity. Unfortunately his religious opinions, not deemed orthodox, or Calviniſtical, connected him with a ſociety of Glaſſites, and involved him in a marriage with a member of the ſociety, which terminated in a ſeparation. He now ſettled at Leith, as an apothecary, depending on the patronage of his religious connections; but his ſeparation from the ſociety, which happened ſoon after, with an unſteadineſs that was natural to him, diſappointed his expectations. When he ceaſed to be a Glaſſite, he ceaſed not to be a firm believer in the Chriſtian revelation, and a zealous advocate of genuine Chriſtianity; but he never afterwards held communion with any denomination of Chriſtians. The neglect of his buſineſs was the unavoidable conſequence of his attention to religious diſſentions; and having contracted debts to a conſiderable amount, he was obliged to remove to Berwick, and ſubſequently to Newcaſtle. In both places he was employed in preparing chemical medicines for he drug gifts; but the liberality of his employers being inſufficient to preſerve an increaſing family from the evils of penury, he returned to Edinburgh in the year 1772, in extreme poverty, and took refuge from the moleſtation of his creditors within the precincts of the ſanctuary of Holyrood Houſe, where debtors are privileged from arreſts. At this period his wife deſerted him and their five children, the youngeſt only ſix months old, and returned to her relations. He ſolaced himſelf for the privation of domeſtic happineſs, by compoſing a humorous ballad, entitled "The Pleaſures of the Abbey," which was his firſt attempt in poetry. In a deſcription of its inhabitants, the author himſelf is introduced in the 16th and 17th ſtanzas. In the avocation of an author by profeſſion, which he was now compelled to aſſume, he diſplayed a verſatility of talent, and a facility in writing, unexampled in the tranſactions of the preſs. He commenced his literary career by a publication, entitled "*Eſſays on the moſt important Subjects of Natural and Revealed Religion*," which iſſued from the aſylum for debtors, under the peculiar circumſtances of being compoſed by himſelf, at the printing caſe, from his own conceptions, without a manuſcript before him, and wrought off at a preſs of his own conſtruction, by his own hands. He left this ſingular work, which was to be completed in two volumes, octavo, unfiniſhed, and turned aſide, to attack the opinions of a new religious ſect, called Bereans, in a "*Letter to Mr. John Barclay, on the Doctrine of Aſſurance*," in which he again performed

performed the functions of author, compoſitor, and preſſman. He next ſet forth with ſuch aſſiſtance as he could find, a monthly publication, entitled, "*The Gentleman and Lady's Magazine*," which was ſoon abandoned for "*The Weekly Review*," a literary miſcellany, which, in its turn, was diſcontinued in a very ſhort time. Theſe publications, unavoidably diſfigured with many typographical deformities, made him known to the bookſellers; and from them he afterwards found conſtant employment in compilations, abridgments, tranſlations, and miſcellaneous eſſays. He now ventured to leave the miſerable apartments which he had long occupied in the ſanctuary for debtors, for more comfortable lodgings, firſt at Reſtalrig, and afterwards in the city; and if his prudence and ſteadineſs had been equal to his talents and induſtry, he might have earned by his labours a complete maintenance, which never fell to his lot. As he wrote for ſubſiſtence, not from the vanity of authorſhip, he was engaged in many works which were anonymous, and in others which appeared with the names of his employers. He is editor or author of the following works: "*The Weekly Mirror*," a periodical publication, which began in 1780. "*A Syſtem of Geography*," in octavo. "*A Hiſtory of Edinburgh*," 12mo. "*A Geographical, Hiſtorical, and Commercial Grammar*," two vols. 8vo. "*A Review of Dritchken's Theory of Inflammation*, 12mo. with a practical dedication. "*Remarks on Mr. Pinkerton's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Scotland*," 8vo. "*A Poetical Tranſlation of Virgil's Eclogues*," 4to. "*A General Index to the Scots' Magazine.*" "*A Syſtem of Chemiſtry*," written at the expence of a gentleman, who was to put his name to it, unpubliſhed. He gave his aſſiſtance in preparing the Syſtem of Anatomy, publiſhed by A. Bell; and was an occaſional contributor to the "*Medical Commentaries*," and other periodical publications of the time. He was the principal editor of the ſecond edition of the "*Encyclopedia Britannica*;" and finiſhed, with incredible labour, a large proportion of the more conſiderable ſcientific treatiſes and hiſtories, and almoſt all the minor articles. He had an apartment aſſigned him in the printing-houſe, where he performed the offices of compiler, and corrector of the preſs, at a ſalary of *ſixteen ſhillings a week!* When the third edition was undertaken, he was engaged as a ſtated contributor, upon more liberal terms, and wrote a larger ſhare in the early volumes than is aſcribed to him in the general preface. It was his misfortune to be continually drawn aſide from the buſineſs of his employers, by the delight which he took in proſecuting experiments in chemiſtry, electricity, and mechanics, which conſumed a large portion of his time and money. He conducted for ſome time, with ſucceſs, a manufacturing proceſs, of which he was the inventor, but after he had diſcloſed his ſecret to the gentleman at whoſe expence it was carried on, he he was diſmiſſed, without obtaining either a ſhare in the buſineſs, or a ſuitable compenſation for his ſervices. He was the firſt in Scotland who adventured

adventured in a fire-balloon, conſtructed upon the plan of Montgolfier. He aſcended from Cornely Garden, Edinburgh, amidſt the acclamations of an immenſe multitude, and deſcended at a diſtance of a quarter of a mile, owing to ſome unforeſeen defect in the machinery. The failure of this adventure deprived him of the public favour and applauſe, and increaſed his pecuniary difficulties. He again had recourſe to his pen for ſubſiſtence, and amidſt the drudgery of writing, and the cares which preſſed on him daily, he exhilarated his ſpirits, at intervals, with a tune on the Iriſh bagpipe, which he played with much ſweetneſs, interpoſing, occaſionally, a ſong of his own compoſition, ſung with great animation. A ſolace of this kind was well ſuited to the ſimplicity of his manners, the modeſty of his diſpoſition, and the integrity of his character, ſuch as they were before he ſuffered his ſocial propenſities to violate the rules of ſobriety. Forgetting his old friends, he aſſociated with diſcontented perſons, and entered into a deliberate oppoſition of the abuſes of government, in "*A Pamphlet on the Exciſe*," and more ſyſtematically in a periodical publication, entitled, "*The Hiſtorical Regiſter*," which gratified malignity, by perſonal invective and intemperance of language. He was concerned in the wild irrational plans of the Britiſh convention, and publiſhed "*A Hand-Bill, addreſſed to the People*," written in ſo inflammatory a ſtyle, as rendered him obnoxious to the government. A warrant was iſſued to apprehend him, and he left his native country, and croſſed the Atlantic for America, where he fixed his reſidence in the town of Salem, in the ſtate of Maſſachuſets, where he eſtabliſhed a newſpaper in connection with a printer, which he continued till his death, which happened in the year 1805, in the 58th year of his age.

Account of the Origin, &c. of the Wahabees. From Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, &c. By George Viſcount Valentia.

It is now above forty years ſince a new ſect ſtarted up in Arabia, which has rapidly increaſed, and is likely to cauſe a greater change, in the political ſituation of that country, than any event ſince the time of Mohammed. Abdul Waheb, a private individual, born, according to Niebuhr, in El Aiâne, a town of the diſtrict of Darale, in the province Nedjed-el-Ared, has given his name to his followers, who are from him called Wahabees. This extraordinary man, for many years, ſtudied the ſciences in Arabia; and after travelling through Perſia, and reſiding for ſome time at Basra, returned to his native country, and proclaimed himſelf the reformer of the Muſſulman religion. The province of Nedjed was at this time divided into a multitude of ſmaller tribes, each governed by its own Sheik. To theſe, Abdul Waheb pointed out the abuſes which had crept into the Muſſulman religion, particularly the worſhipping of ſaints, and the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and other exhilarating articles. He repro-

bated the doctrine of the two ſects of the Sunnis, with reſpect to the denying that the Koran was either created, or exiſting from all eternity, but admitting that it was inſpired by God, as a guide for the conduct of mankind. However, as the greater part of the ſheiks were Sunnis, he conciliated them by acknowledging the authority of the ſayings of Mohammed. My good friend, the Hadjè Abdallah, who was avowedly a Wahabee, and was in Mecca at the time it was taken by Suud, gave me their profeſſion of faith, which is as follows:

"There is only one God, he is God, and Mohammed is his prophet. Act according to the Korân, and the ſayings of Mohammed. It is unneceſſary for you to pray for the bleſſing of God on the prophet, oftener than once in your life. You are not to invoke the prophet to intercede with God in your behalf, for his interceſſion will be of no avail. At the day of judgment it will avail you. Do not call on the prophet, call on God alone."

Theſe doctrines rapidly ſpread among the different tribes, whoſe power was nearly equal, and tended gradually to the recognition of a ſupremely controlling power in the perſon of the reformer, which completely deſtroyed the former balance of power, and gave to Abdul Waheb a preponderating influence in the north-eaſt part of Arabia. The ſheiks, who did not acknowledge either his ſpiritual or temporal power, at length united againſt him, and under the command of the ſheik of Lachſa, who was alarmed for his own ſafety, attacked him in his native city. Abdul Waheb defended himſelf ſucceſsfully on this occaſion; and on another, when his enemies marched againſt him with 4000 men. Abdul Waheb from this time gradually extended his territories, and his faith. Sheik Mekrami, of Nedjeren, was one of his moſt powerful followers, and, according to the conjecture of Mr. Niebuhr, contributed greatly to his proſperity; a circumſtance that was confirmed by Hadje Abdallah, who met the Sheik twenty-ſeven years ago at Mecca, and had much converſation with him.

Abdul Waheb was too able a man to leave neglected any means of increaſing the activity of his followers; following, therefore, the example of Mohammed, and fully aware of the influence which ſelf-intereſt has over the human mind, he added to the inducements of religious zeal, the temptation of plunder, by declaring, that all the property belonging to thoſe who were unconverted, was unholy, and to be confiſcated for the uſe of their conquerors. Numbers, therefore, to ſave their property, profeſſed themſelves Wahabees before he marched againſt them, and immediately began to attack their neighbours, in order to oblige them to change their religion, or give up their property. By theſe means Abdul Waheb ſecured to himſelf the ſupreme power over the whole province of Nedjed, while by his moſt powerful ſervant, Sheik Mekrami, he carried his hoſtilities into Yemen. On his death he was peaceably ſucceeded in his ſpiritual and temporal power by his ſon, Abdulu-ziz.

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I have not been able to learn the date of Abduluziz's acceſſion, but he reigned till May, 1803, when he was aſſaſſinated, while at prayers in a moſque at Darail, his capital, by an Arab, whoſe daughter he had forcibly carried from her home many years before. The Arab immediately ſold all his property, and with a patient perſeverance followed the footſteps of his oppreſſor, whom, at length, though his ſpiritual and temporal ſovereign, he ſacrificed to his private revenge.

During the reign of Abduluziz, the religion of his father was extended over the greater part of the peninſula of Arabia, either by the arms of his ſon Suud, or by his followers. Many Arab tribes of the Great Deſert alſo recogniſed him as their religious head; and even in temporal concerns, indirectly admitted his authority, by remitting him a proportion of their plunder, for charitable purpoſes, when they took poſſeſſion of the celebrated burying-place of Hoſſein, at Arbela, and, according to their invariable practice, deſtroyed his magnificent tomb, ſo highly venerated by the Perſians, and the other followers of Ali.

The ſheriffe of Abou Ariſh had, as I have formerly mentioned, been appointed by the imaum of Sana, dola of Loheia, where he ſoon became independent. The different ſheiks, who held many of the diſtricts of Yemen, under a kind of feudal tenure, which admitted the right of the ſoil to be in the imaum, but who hardly paid him any thing for it, were encouraged by the ſucceſs of the ſheriffe of Abou Ariſh, and threw off even the appearance of obedience. The imaum was too weak to conquer them; but they had a more powerful opponent in the Wahabee, who ſoon reduced the ſheriffe of Abou Ariſh to obedience, and to the neceſſity of adopting their religion, plundered him of his whole property, and then told him to go and indemnify himſelf in Yemen. He followed their advice, or rather orders; and recognizing Suud as his ſovereign, carried devaſtation, in his name, to the gates of Mocha. Beit-el-Fakih, and the greater proportion of the coffee country, are his, and Hodeidah, alone, prevents him from ſecuring the Tehama from Loheia to the ſtraits of Bab-el-mandeb. Although this place remain to the imaum, as a poſſeſſion it is uſeleſs; ſince the dola was obliged to burn the town, to prevent the houſes from being occupied in the attack on the forts. In the latter his ſoldiers remained perfectly ſafe, as the Wahabee had no cannon; but he will, probably, ſoon be obliged to embark, and fly to Mocha in ſearch of food, when Mocha itſelf muſt expect to be attacked.

Mecca and Medina have been ſo long recogniſed as the two principal cities of Arabia, that the Wahabee, who aſpired to the ſovereignty of the whole country, were particularly anxious to ſecure them. Galib, the preſent ſheriffe, is a monſter of iniquity, having ſcrupled no means to accumulate treaſure, and having poiſoned two pachas, and a young prince of the Maladives, who came in a veſſel of his own to Jidda, on his way to Mecca. He was, of courſe, unpopular, and his ſubjects by no means inclined to

defend

defend him. Even his brother-in-law, Mozeifé, had ſo little confidence in him, that on being ſent on a miſſion to Darail, he quitted his own party, and became a Wahabee. Abduluziz, conceiving this a good opportunity to attack the holy cities, early in January, 1803, intruſted Mozeifé with the command of 12,000 men, who fought ſeveral battles with his brother-in-law, and conſtantly defeated him. In February of the ſame year he laid ſiege to Tayif.

Galib, who had here his fineſt palaces, and moſt flouriſhing gardens, haſtened to its relief, and defended it for ſeveral days, till his nephew Abdullah ſecretly retired in the night to Mecca, when, conſcious of the deteſtation in which he was held by his ſubjects, and dreading leſt they ſhould place Abdullah in his ſtead, he abandoned Tayif, having ſet his palaces on fire. Mozeifé immediately entered, and his followers commenced their uſual devaſtations. Eight hundred males were put to the ſword, but the harems were reſpected. Many houſes were burned, and the whole were plundered; but the treaſure of the ſheriffe had been conveyed to Mecca, with his wives and followers. All the holy tombs were deſtroyed, and among them that of Abdullah Ebn Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, an edifice celebrated throughout Arabia for its pre-eminent beauty and ſanctity. The grave itſelf, and the ſtone which covered it, were not diſturbed. Mozeifé, as a reward for his treachery, was appointed governor. Abduluziz had no intention that Mecca, Medina, and their ſea-ports of Jidda and Yambo, ſhould be held by any deſcendant of the prophet as a viceroy under him; he therefore ſent his eldeſt ſon Suud to command the victorious army at Tayif, which marched ſo unexpectedly againſt Mecca, on the 26th of April, 1803, that the ſheriffe, panic-ſtruck, determined to retire, with all his treaſures, to Jidda. He effected this in the night, leaving his brother to make the beſt terms he could with the enemy. On the following day, Mecca, for the firſt time ſince Mohammed entered it in 629, was obliged to ſubmit to a hoſtile invader, who, however, ſtrictly conformed to the terms of capitulation, and neither plundered nor injured the inhabitants. The religious prejudices of the Wahabees were greatly offended by above eighty ſplendid tombs, which covered the remains of the deſcendants of Mohammed, and formed the great ornament of Mecca. Theſe were levelled with the ground, as was alſo the monument of the venerable and reſpected wife of the prophet, Hadija. The coffee-houſes next felt the deſolating zeal of the reformers. The hookahs were piled in a heap, and burned; and the uſe of tobacco and coffee was prohibited under ſevere penalties. The holy places were plundered of their valuable articles, but the caaba remained uninjured. The Wahabees have aſſerted, that the veneration paid to the black ſtone was idolatrous; and diſapproved of the ceremonies practiſed by the pilgrims at the ſtone of Abraham, which is placed near the well of Zemzem, and is ſuppoſed to have on it the mark of the patriarch's foot, while he ſtood

ſtood there to build the caaba. Into this mark the water is poured from the well, for the pilgrims to drink. Suud ſeems to have juſtly eſtimated the benefits which Mecca enjoyed from the annual influx of pilgrims; he, therefore, acted with moderation, and confirmed the cadi whom the grand ſignior had appointed. He alſo wrote to him the following letter:

"SUUD TO SELIM.

"I entered Mecca the 4th day of Moharem, in the 1218th year of the Hejira. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I deſtroyed all the tombs which they idolatrouſly worſhipped. I aboliſhed the levying of all cuſtoms above two and a half per cent. I confirmed the cadi, whom you had appointed to govern in the place agreeably to the commands of Mohammed. I deſire that, in the enſuing years, you will give orders to the pachas of Shaum, Syria, Mizr, and Egypt, not to come accompanied by the mahamel *, trumpets, and drums, into Mecca and Medina. For why? Religion is not profited by theſe things. Peace be between us; and may the bleſſing of God be unto you! Dated on the 10th day of Moharem." This anſwers to our 3d of May.

On the 11th of May, Suud marched againſt Jidda; but the delay at Mecca had given time to the Sheriffe to prepare for his reception, by bringing on ſhore all the cannon from the veſſels in the harbour, and planting them on the walls. An attempt was made by the Wahabees to ſtorm the town, but it failed; Suud, however, continued to cut off all ſupplies, even of water; in conſequence of which, numbers periſhed by thirſt, in the nine days that the blockade continued; and at length the ſheriffe was forced by the inhabitants to offer a ſum of money to Suud, on condition of his abandoning the ſiege. The arrangements were actually made for the payment of a lac and thirty thouſand dollars, when the intelligence arrived of the death of Abduluziz, which induced Suud to return inſtantly to Darail, leſt any rival ſhould diſpute the ſucceſſion. Jidda was thus ſaved, and even Mecca fell again under the controul of the ſheriffe; but Tayif, the moſt lovely ſpot in Arabia, a ſpot ſo unlike the ſurrounding country, that the Arabs believe it to have been a part of Syria, detached and dropped during the general deluge, ſtill remained in the hands of Mozeifé.

In 1804 Medina, with its treaſure, which had accumulated for ages, by the donations of the faithful, became a prey to the Wahabees; and the tomb of the prophet ſhared the fate of thoſe of of his deſcendants. Jidda was again attacked, but without ſucceſs, as the ſheriffe had received ſupplies from Egypt. Yambo fell, but was retaken on the ſea-ſide. The pacha of Syria forced his way through the undiſciplined troops of Suud, and the uſual ceremonies were performed by the faithful at the holy caaba; probably for the laſt time; for the numerous hordes of the Wahabees

* The rich and ornamented covering for the caaba.

now

now cover the Deſert with their flying ſquadron, and render a paſſage too dangerous to be attempted.

The Johaſſen Arabs, who acknowledge the religious ſupremacy of Suud, have occaſionally entered the Red Sea; and, ſhould they obey his call, and appear with their powerful naval force before Jidda, reſiſtance would be unavailing, and the deſcendants of the prophet would ceaſe to reign in Arabia. The imaum of Muſcat has periſhed in battle, and his ſon is ſaid to be under the controul of a Wahabee guardian. Yemen has no natural means of reſiſting the vaſt power of her opponent, and muſt ſink under the imbecility of her government. In the vaſt peninſula of Arabia, the little ſtate of Aden alone offers any rational means of reſiſtance to the power of the Wahabees, by the wiſdom of her ſovereign, and the bravery of his little army. Gratitude calls upon the Britiſh to prevent his ruin; for to them he has ever been an attached and uſeful ally. During the expedition to the Red Sea, his port was open to them; and, on General Murray's quitting Perim, the Britiſh troops were, with an unbounded confidence, admitted within his walls. On the appearance of the Johaſſen fleet in his harbour, in 1804, while a large Surat veſſel was lying there, he ſent his ſoldiers on board to protect her from the pirates, and obliged them to put to ſea, without receiving any ſupplies, though they offered him half of the plunder they had already made, if he would permit them to remain. Theſe repeated acts of friendſhip now call for a return, which it is perfectly in the Britiſh power to afford.

The Wahabees, conſcious of their want of arms and ammunition, and fully convinced of the benefit they would receive from a trade being opened between India and their ports, have made repeated offers to the Bombay government, of granting immunities and excluſive privileges to the Britiſh merchants, if they would eſtabliſh a factory at Loheia; they would, therefore, willingly comply with any requeſt in favour of the ſultaun of Aden, as an ally of the Britiſh, and would, with little regret, give up an attack on a power, whom they have hitherto found capable of reſiſting them.

No anſwer has as yet been given to the applications of the Wahabees; and the Bombay government behold, without concern, a revolution, which is again connecting the diſunited Arabs under one ſupreme maſter. It is a circumſtance well worthy of remark, that this has, for the firſt time ſince the death of Ali, occurred at a moment, when the ſurrounding kingdoms of Aſia and Africa are ſunk into the ſame ſtate of imbecility and diſtraction, to which they were reduced under the Romans, when the diſſolute and lukewarm Chriſtians were obliged to yield to the ardent and zealous followers of Mohammed.

Low as the power of the Turkiſh empire is now fallen, I do not expect that the Wahabees will completely prevail againſt it, unleſs, by a communication with Europeans, they obtain ſupplies of arms and ammunition, and, with them, a portion of European diſcipline

diſcipline. I conſider Arabia, however, as loſt for ever to the ſultaun; and, conſequently, that he has ceaſed to be the head of the Muſſulman religion. The order of Mohammed, that his followers ſhould, once in their lives, viſit Mecca, can no longer be performed. The ſacred city has heard the din of hoſtile arms, and is in poſſeſſion of a prince who denies to Mohammed that veneration which he has received for 1200 years. His deſcendants will ſoon ceaſe to reign; and although the Koran may be revered for a longer period throughout a portion of Aſia, the mighty fabric of Iſlamiſm muſt be conſidered as having paſſed away, from the moment that Suud entered Mecca on the 27th of April, 1803.

Deſcription of Calcutta.

From the ſame.

The town of Calcutta is at preſent well worthy of being the ſeat of our Eaſtern government, both from its ſize, and from the magnificent buildings which decorate the part of it inhabited by Europeans. The citadel of Fort William, commenced by Lord Clive immediately after the battle of Plaſſey, is a very fine work, but greatly too large for defence. The eſplanade leaves a grand opening, on the edge of which is placed the new government houſe, erected by Lord Welleſley, a noble ſtructure, although not without faults in the architecture; and, upon the whole, not unworthy of its deſtination. The ſums expended upon it have been conſidered as extravagant by thoſe who carry European ideas and European economy into Aſia: but they ought to remember that India is a country of ſplendour, of extravagance, and of outward appearances; that the head of a mighty empire ought to conform himſelf to the prejudices of the country he rules over; and that the Britiſh, in particular, ought to emulate the ſplendid works of the princes of the houſe of Timour, leſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed that we merit the reproach which our great rivals, the French, have ever caſt upon us, of being alone influenced by a ſordid, mercantile ſpirit. In ſhort, I wiſh India to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-houſe; with the ideas of a prince, not with thoſe of a retail dealer in muſlins and indigo.

On a line with this edifice is a range of excellent houſes, chunamed and ornamented with verandahs. Chouringee, an entire village of palaces, runs for a conſiderable length at right angles with it, and, altogether, forms the fineſt view I ever beheld in any city. The Black Town is as complete a contraſt to this as can well be conceived: its ſtreets are narrow and dirty; the houſes of two ſtories, occaſionally brick, but generally mud, and thatched, perfectly reſembling the cabins of the pooreſt claſs in Ireland.

Twenty years ago, during a famine, the population of Calcutta was eſtimated at 500,000. I have little doubt that it now amounts to 700,000. The moſt remarkable ſight of the kind I ever beheld, was the throng that fills theſe ſtreets in an evening. I drove for three miles through them without finding a ſingle opening, except what was made by the ſervants preceding

preceding the carriage. The Strand in London exhibits nothing equal to it, for the middle is here as much crowded as the ſides. In the year 1742, the Mahratta ditch was commenced, to protect the inhabitants from the incurſions of that power, then ravaging the whole of Bengal, and beſieging Aliverdi Khan in his capital of Moorſhadabad. It was intended to ſurround the whole of our territories, a circumference at that time of not more than ſeven miles; yet now it ſcarcely forms the boundary of this capital of our Eaſtern poſſeſſions. The firſt fort was erected here in 1696. Our factories were then at Hoogly, but were moved two years afterwards. This little fort, which fell through the cowardice of its governor, and the want of military knowledge in the remaining officers, into the hands of Seraja-ud-Dowlah, in 1757, is now uſed as a cuſtom-houſe; and that ſpot, which could then hold our trade, our military ſtores, and a great part of the inhabitants, is now too ſmall for the convenience of our revenue officers. The black hole is now part of a go-down, or warehouſe: it was filled with goods, and I could not ſee it. A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the unfortunate perſons who there periſhed. It alſo records the infamy of thoſe, who, by removing their ſhips from the vicinity of the fort, left ſo many brave men at the mercy of a madman.

The air of Calcutta is much affected by the cloſeneſs of the jungle around it. The natives have formed a complete belt, which commences near the town, and extends in every direction full four miles deep. This is planted with fruit-trees, and is completely impervious to the air. The country is a perfect flat, every where interſected by nullahs, and here and there a ſmall lake, rendering the plantation more inſalubrious. Lord Welleſley has made one or two wide roads through the middle, which, I am informed, has ſenſibly improved the atmoſphere. More ought to be made, and, if poſſible, the marſhes ſhould be drained; this would improve the roads, which, in general, are very bad, impeding the conveyance of proviſions to market. The place is certainly leſs unhealthy than formerly, which advantage is attributed to the filling up of the tanks in the ſtreets, and the clearing more and more of the jungle; but, in my opinion, it is much more owing to an improved knowledge of the diſeaſes of the country, and of the precautions to be taken againſt them; and likewiſe to greater temperance in the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and a ſuperior conſtruction of the houſes. Conſumptions are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute, in great meaſure, to their inceſſant dancing, even during the hotteſt weather. After ſuch violent exerciſe they go into the verandahs, and expoſe themſelves to a cool breeze and damp atmoſphere.

A quay has lately been formed in front of the cuſtom-houſe, and promiſes to be a great improvement. Many objections have been made to its erection, probably by intereſted perſons. It is aſſerted that veſſels cannot lie cloſe to it with ſafety, as a north-weſter, or gale from any quarter, may drive them againſt it; but it is obvious

that

that the ſame force would drive them on ſhore, were the quay out of the way. The expence of unſhipping the ladings was enormous, and will be completely obviated if the plan of embankment is carried the whole length of the town. This is now in agitation, and I hope will be reſolved upon. It has been ſaid that ſand will accumulate againſt it, which ſeems to me an extraordinary idea, ſince I conceive the current will not fail to keep it clear, and that the only danger is of its being undermined. An extenſion of the cuſtom-houſe itſelf, and of its eſtabliſhment, will ſoon be neceſſary; at preſent the delay is conſiderable, from the vaſt increaſe of traffic.

Since I left Calcutta in March, the iron rails round the government-houſe have been finiſhed. The ſpace now to be cleared will certainly have a noble effect; and the writers' buildings being newly repaired, form a good object from the end of the ſtreet that leads from the northern front. Theſe buildings would have been bought by government for the purpoſe their name imports, but too much money was aſked for them.

The ſociety of Calcutta is numerous and gay; the fêtes given by the governor-general are frequent, ſplendid, and well arranged. The chief juſtice, the members of council, and Sir Henry Ruſſel, each open their houſes once a week for the reception of thoſe who have had the pleaſure of being preſented to them.—Independently of theſe, hardly a day paſſes, particularly during the cool ſeaſon, without ſeveral large dinner parties being formed, conſiſted generally of thirty or forty: the convivial hoſpitality which prevails on theſe occaſions, would render them extremely pleaſant, were they more limited; but a ſmall and quiet party ſeems unknown in Calcutta. A ſubſcription aſſembly only exiſts, but ſeems unfaſhionable. It is, however, the only place of public amuſement, and I ſee no hopes of any other being eſtabliſhed; for the faſhionable world of Calcutta is unfortunately ſo divided into parties, that it is improbable any plan of public amuſement could be brought forward, which would not meet with oppoſition.

It is uſual in Calcutta to riſe early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleaſant before ſun-riſe. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call tiffing, and then generally go to bed for two or three hours. The dinner hour is commonly between ſeven and eight, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight, or later. The viands are excellent, and ſerved in great profuſion, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the birds and beaſts of prey, to whoſe ſhare a conſiderable proportion of the remains falls; for the lower order of the Portugueſe, to whom alone they would be ſerviceable, cannot conſume the whole; and the religious prejudices of the native ſervants prevent them from touching any thing that is not dreſt by their own caſt. To this circumſtance is to be attributed the amazing flocks of crows and kites, which, undiſturbed by man, live together in amicable ſociety, and almoſt cover the houſes and gardens. In their profeſſion of ſcavengers,

vengers, the kites and crows are aſſiſted during the day by the adjutant-bird, and at night by foxes, jackals, and hyenas, from the neighbouring jungles. The wines chiefly drank are Madeira and claret; the former, which is excellent, during the meal; the latter afterwards. The claret being medicated for the voyage, is too ſtrong, and has little flavour.

The uſual mode of travelling is by palanquins; but moſt gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and horſes, of which the breed is much improved of late years. It is univerſally the cuſtom to drive out between ſun-ſet and dinner. The muſſalchees, when it grows dark, go out to meet their maſters on their return, and run before them at the rate of full eight miles an hour, and the numerous lights moving along the eſplanade, produce a ſingular and pleaſing effect. It was formerly the faſhion for gentlemen to dreſs in white jackets on all occaſions, which were well ſuited to the country; but being thought too much an undreſs for public occaſions, they are now laid aſide for Engliſh cloth. The architecture of all the houſes is Grecian, which I think by no means the beſt adapted to the country, as the pillars, which are generally uſed in the verandahs, require too great an elevation to keep out the ſun during the greater part of the morning and evening, although the heat is exceſſive at both thoſe periods. In the rainy ſeaſon it is ſtill worſe, as the wet beats in, and renders them totally uſeleſs. The more confined Hindoo or Gothic architecture would ſurely be preferable.

On Lord Welleſley's firſt arrival in this country, he ſet his face decidedly againſt horſe-racing, and every other ſpecies of gambling; yet at the end of November, 1803, there were three days' races at a ſmall diſtance from Calcutta. Very large ſums were betted, and of courſe were loſt by the inexperienced. There are a few ſteady and practiſed gamblers, who encourage every ſpecies of play among the young ſervants of the company, and make a conſiderable profit by their imprudence. As thoſe are marked characters, I wonder they are not ſent away.

The moſt rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal, is the increaſe of half-caſt children: they are forming the firſt ſtep to colonization, by creating a link of union between the Engliſh and the natives. In every country where this intermediate caſt has been permitted to riſe, it has ultimately tended to the ruin of that country. Spaniſh America and St. Domingo are examples of this fact. Their increaſe in India is beyond calculation; and though poſſibly there may be nothing to fear from the ſloth of the Hindoos, and the rapidly declining conſequence of the Muſſulmans, yet it may be juſtly apprehended that this tribe may hereafter become too powerful for controul. Although they are not permitted to hold offices under the company, yet they act as clerks in almoſt every mercantile houſe, and many of them are annually ſent to England to receive the benefit of an European education. With numbers in their favour, with a cloſe relationſhip to the natives, and without an equal proportion of that puſillanimity and indolence which is natural to them, what may not in

time

time be dreaded from them? I have no hesitation in saying that the evil ought to be stopped; and I know no other way of effecting this object, than by obliging every father of half-cast children to send them to Europe, prohibiting their return in any capacity whatsoever. The expence that would thus attend upon children, would certainly operate as a check to the extension of zenanas, which are now but too common among the Europeans; and this would be a benefit to the country, no less in a moral than in a political view.

After making these observations, I turn with much satisfaction to the brighter parts of the character of my Eastern countrymen. I can truly affirm, that they are hospitable in the highest degree, and that their generosity is unbounded.—When an officer of respectability dies, in either the civil or military service, leaving a widow or children, a subscription is immediately set on foot, which in every instance has proved liberal, and not unfrequently has conferred on the parties a degree of affluence, that the life of the husband or parent could not for years have insured them. The hearts of the British in this country seem expanded by opulence: they do every thing upon a princely scale; and consequently do not save half the money that might be done with a narrower economy. The beginning, however, of a fortune being once made, it collects as rapidly as a snow-ball. In seven years, or less, a capital is doubled; so that ten thousand rupees given to a child at birth, is a handsome independence by the time it arrives at the age of twenty-one.

The supreme court is held in deserved repute, and the business is conducted with due decorum. The chief interpreter has been permitted to act as a police magistrate, in consequence of which his deputy sometimes appears in causes, the importance of which calls loudly for his master. The court, when I was there, was once delayed two hours by a confusion of the terms *repaid* and *advanced*, made by this man, in a cause in which General Martin's executors were defendant. I had the satisfaction of hearing the court order them to pay two lacs and a half to the plaintiff, a shroff of Lucknow. The affair was one of the general's frauds, who had borrowed the money of him, and several other natives, to lend it to Asoph-ud-Dowlah: and on his being repaid, he refused to return them their share; and they dared not complain, as the Nawaub would instantly have seized it. They, however, kept his bond, and recovered on it with interest.

It will hardly be believed, that in this splendid city, the head of a mighty Christian empire, there is only one church of the establishment of the mother country, and that by no means conspicuous, either for size or ornament. It is also remarkable, that all British India does not afford one episcopal see, while that advantage has been granted to the province of Canada; yet it is certain, that from the remoteness of the country, and the peculiar temptations to which the freedom of manners exposes the clergy, immediate episcopal superintendance can no where be more requisite. From the want of this it is painful to observe, that the characters of too many of that

order are by no means creditable to the doctrines they profess; which, together with the unedifying contests that prevail among them, even in the pulpit, tend to lower the religion, and its followers, in the eyes of the natives of every description. If there be any plan for conciliating the minds of the natives to Christianity, it is so manifestly essential it should appear to them in a respectable form at the seat of government, that I presume all parties will allow, that the first step should be to place it there upon a proper footing.

Since my return to England, I find that an episcopal establishment for India, upon a very large scale, has been publicly recommended by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan. Were its expediency in other respects agreed upon, I fear the present state of the revenue in that country would render such a serious addition to the expenditure unjustifiable; but the maintenance of one bishop could not reasonably be objected to; for, with a revenue of eleven millions, it becomes a duty to appropriate a part to religious purposes, and not a mere consideration of eligibility; I therefore concur with the doctor, in an earnest wish that such an appointment should take place without delay. In the contemplation of such a measure, I shall state my ideas relative to the situation, authority, and duties of a bishop for India.

I conceive it to be essentially requisite that the person appointed to this sacred office, should devote himself to it for life, renouncing every expectation of returning to England in advanced years, and enjoying himself in indolence upon a pension. He should consider the tie connecting him with his diocese as indissoluble, and place all his felicity in performing his duties with fidelity and honour. He should be free from the rage of proselyting, that he may be able to observe with impartiality the conduct of those whose zeal leads them to attempt the conversion of the Hindoos, and that he may prevent a recurrence of that violation of their prejudices, which has so recently been practised by some of the missionaries; a conduct highly reprehensible, which, if persevered in, will certainly induce them to decline all instruction, if it does not provoke them to expel the British from India. He should be invested with the full power of suspending and ordering home any of his delinquent clergy, without which it would be impossible for him to maintain effectual discipline; and if a right of appeal against his sentence were thought advisable to be granted, it should be either to an archbishop, or to the king in council; since a power of reversal lodged in the India company, might be found as detrimental in ecclesiastical, as it is in civil affairs. Even delicacy should induce them to decline it, since it is scarcely possible that all could be unprejudiced judges in the case of a person appointed by themselves.

I should be much inclined to urge the propriety of extending to the whole clergy of India the principle of perpetual residence; but in order to induce men of real merit to accept an office requiring them to abandon the hopes of returning to their native country, a stipend should be annexed to it, sufficient to enable them to support a mode of living correspondent to their

their dignity, and make an adequate proviſion for their families. If a penſion were allowed for the widows, it would be an additional motive to the truly reſpectable, and would render a large ſalary leſs neceſſary.

In every view, political as well as religious, it is highly deſirable that men of liberal education and exemplary piety ſhould be employed; who, by their manners, would improve the tone of ſociety in which they lived, and, by the ſacredneſs of their character, operate as a check on the tendency to licentiouſneſs that too frequently prevails.

The ſplendour of epiſcopal worſhip ſhould be maintained in the higheſt degree our church allows. On the natives of India, accuſtomed to ceremonial pomp, and greatly ſwayed by external appearances, it would impreſs that reſpect for our religion, of which, I am ſorry to ſay, they are chiefly, by our neglect of it at preſent, deſtitute; the natural effect of which has excited a doubt in the mind of the Hindoo, of our own belief in that faith we are ſo anxious to preſs upon him.

The native inhabitants of Calcutta may indeed, from the ſight of one ſolitary church, believe that we have a national religion; but I know of nothing that can give this information to the reſt of our eaſtern ſubjects. Whilſt the Muſſulman conquerors of India have eſtabliſhed moſques in every town of their dominions, the traveller, after quitting Calcutta, muſt ſeek in vain for any ſuch mark of the religion of their ſucceſſors.

Another great obſtacle to the reception of Chriſtianity by the Hindoos, is the admiſſion of the Parias into our church, among whom the chief converſions have been made; ſince nothing can be more ſhocking to their ideas than the equality thus produced between the higher and lower caſts. As long as this diſtinction continues to exiſt, it will be impoſſible to obliterate ſuch notions; and any innovation attempted by government in this reſpect, would be reſiſted with the utmoſt force of prejudice.

Although the Hindoos have adopted from us various improvements in their manufactures of ſalt-petre, opium, and indigo, and have made rapid advances in the knowledge of ſhip-building, practical mathematics, and navigation; yet none of theſe acquirements have interfered with their religious prejudices. The inſtant theſe are touched, they fly off from all approximation to their maſters, and an end is put to farther advancement. Nothing is therefore more to be avoided than alarming their jealouſy on this head, and exciting the ſuſpicion that government means, in any manner, to interfere in the buſineſs of proſelyting. The Brahmins are a very powerful body; they are both an hereditary nobility, and a reigning hierarchy, looked up to with the higheſt veneration by the inferior caſts, and poſſeſſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhing privileges; they will conſequently oppoſe with their whole influence any attempt to ſubvert that ſyſtem, upon which all their ſuperiority depends. They have already taken alarm at the proceedings of the miſſionaries in Bengal, and other parts; and, if driven to extremities, will doubtleſs excite

a formidable diſaffection to our government among the natives. On the contrary, the former wiſe policy of treating them with reſpect, and giving a full toleration to their ſuperſtitions, was often attended with the happy effect of making them the inſtrument of enforcing uſeful regulations in the country; for they have never ſcrupled, when required, giving a ſanction to the orders of government to ſuppreſs hurtful practices, as in the caſe of the ſacrifice of children at Saugur, and in many other inſtances. We ſhould alſo be aware, that although the compariſon between the Muſſulman intolerance, and our contrary ſpirit, was ſo much in our favour, as to have had a powerful efficacy in attaching them to the Britiſh government, knowing that they had only one choice of maſters; yet were this difference of policy taken away, their habits and manners, which are more congenial to thoſe of the Muſſulmans, would probably induce them to prefer their government to ours.

Character of the Cingaleſe. From the ſame.

The Cingaleſe are diſtributed into many caſts, and ſubdiviſions of caſts. Of theſe, the firſt is that of the Vellelas, or cultivators of the land; from the two ſuperior claſſes of which are choſen Modeliars, and principal native officers of the government; from the inferior, the lower officers, and laſcaryns, or militia men. The caſt of fiſhermen is numerous and powerful, but the Mahommedans alſo carry on the occupation. The other caſts are diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral trades, which they follow excluſively: thus the waſhermen only waſh cloaths, and the barbers only ſhave; and, upon a late quarrel between theſe two caſts, the waſhermen remained unſhaven, and the barbers in their foul cloaths, till Mr. North, diſguſted with their appearance, mediated a peace between them. The Chalias, or cinnamon peelers, are a numerous and turbulent caſt. They are not originally of this iſland, but, from their importance, obtained great privileges from the Dutch government. Theſe were aboliſhed by Mr. North, who gave them additional pay as a compenſation. Their lands were free of taxes, and their cauſes were judged by their own chief, who was called Captain Cinnamon; a title which Mr. North took himſelf. The governor is *ex-officio* head of the Vellelas, as the chief ſecretary is of the fiſhermen. Of the others there are native heads.

The higher caſts are extremely jealous of their privileges, and ſeverely puniſh thoſe of the lower caſts who preſume to uſurp them. A man who ventured to cover his houſe with tiles, without being entitled to that diſtinction, had it pulled down to the ground by order of his ſuperior; and a poor taylor, whoſe love of finery led him to be married in a ſcarlet jacket, was nearly killed at the church door. The privilege of caſts extends to the dreſs of the females, and many are prohibited from wearing a petticoat below their knees, or covering their breaſts. Vanity is the predominant paſſion of the Cingaleſe; they are

are therefore continually attempting to dreſs above their condition, which occaſions perpetual diſputes.

The Malabars, who inhabit the northern part of our ſettlement, and a branch of whom were on the throne of Candy before the late revolution, are alſo divided into caſts, but not the ſame as thoſe of the Cingaleſe. Beſides theſe, who are chiefly Chriſtians in name, there are two numerous caſts of Mahommedans: firſt, the Lebbies, or African merchants, who were regarded by the Dutch as ſtrangers, and taxed at twenty-four ſhillings each per annum, which impoſt the Britiſh government took off. They are active and induſtrious. Mr. North introduced a Mufti to determine their cauſes, but, like his brethren, he took bribes, and was diſmiſſed, and the governor became himſelf their judge. Second, the Malays, who may be ſubdivided into princes, ſoldiers, and robbers; though indeed the latter deſignation may, without injuſtice, be extended to all of them. Of the princes, ſome are depoſed ſovereigns of Java, or the circumjacent iſles, or of the peninſula of Malacca, whom the jealouſy of the Dutch had baniſhed to this country, till it might be thought proper to reinſtate them, and ſend hither their ſucceſſors. There are alſo the wives or relatives of ſuch as have died during their baniſhment. The ſoldiers are in Britiſh pay, and the Malays are excellent in that capacity. Though they have a high ſenſe of honour, which makes their reſentment fatal, when they think themſelves injured; they will ſubmit, without a murmur, to military puniſhment. They form a counterpoiſe to the natives, with whom they are not at all connected, yet are not ſufficiently numerous to be dangerous. Their conduct during the Candian war was highly to their credit; they did not deſert the Britiſh officers till theſe had deſerted themſelves, and, even then, the chiefs preferred death to diſhonour.

The Cingaleſe are a finer race of men than the Bengaleſe, and are more elegant than the Rohillas or Rajahpouts. They rarely ſit in a crouching poſture, and, conſequently have good calves to their legs. Their dreſs is by no means inelegant. The lower orders leave the body naked to the hips; a large cloth, folded round them, reaches below the knees: it is uſually of a handſome pattern, or white, with a border. Occaſionally a ſimilar piece is thrown over the ſhoulders. The head is covered with a handkerchief. The females cover the loins like the men: the caſts, to whom it is permitted, wear a white chemiſe, that cloſes before, and extends to the hips: the others draw a piece of cloth tight juſt above the breaſts, and let it hang down. The expreſſion of their countenances is fine; their ſkin nearly black; and their hair, of which they are very proud, is long, black, and not coarſe.

The vices of the Cingaleſe ſeem to be the creation of their late maſters. Oppreſſion has had much influence in forming their character, of which indolence is the moſt prominent feature. This quality has been ſuppoſed natural to them; and a general prejudice has prevailed, that a Cingaleſe muſt be compelled to labour. But, under the Dutch government, they had

no choice but to be poor and idle, or work for nothing; and it is no wonder that they preferred the former: now that their property is secured to them, they gradually become more industrious. Concubinage with a white is reckoned no disgrace to a native female. She goes by his name among her own people, and is respected for the property she brings. She walks before her father and mother to church or mass, and, if a Catholic, easily obtains absolution from a half cast Portuguese priest, who knows nothing of his religion but its ceremonies. Thus loose manners are prevalent, through the influence of the Europeans.

A great part of the Island of Ceylon having been long under the controul of the Portuguese and Dutch, a considerable number of the inhabitants have, at least externally, conformed to the religion of their masters. The Portuguese, with the usual intolerant zeal of the Roman Catholics, destroyed the temples of Boodh throughout their dominions; and, substituting a mode of worship well calculated by its splendour and parade to captivate the imagination, made proselytes of a great proportion of the people. The Dutch went about the business more coolly, and held forth the temptation of requiring the profession of the Protestant faith as a qualification for all public offices. They also wisely established schools throughout the country, in which the youth were educated in Christian principles. Their clergy, though only ten in number, were active, and their labours were assisted by the missionaries from Tranquebar. Thus Christianity spread widely, especially among the Vellelas, or noble class; and the Protestant natives have been estimated at above 240,000; whilst the Catholics are supposed to be still more numerous. Many of these, indeed, are only nominal Christians, who retain a great reverence for the rites of paganism, and the doctrines of Boodh. When at a distance from the inspection of government, they consult the priests with confidence, both as conjurors and physicians. Mr. North mentioned to me a curious anecdote relative to the remaining attachment to the ancient religion. In one of his progresses through this island, he had occasion to examine a man upon oath, and asked him of what religion he was. He replied, a Christian. Of what sect? A Dutch Christian. You believe then in Buddah? Yes, certainly. Mr. North did not swear him as a Protestant. I have no doubt, however, that even this nominal Christianity is an advantage, as it has an effect in destroying their prejudices, and their children become real believers by means of education in the schools.

Customs, Manners, &c. of Abyssinia. From Mr. Salt's Narrative, in Viscount Valentia's Travels.

A good deal of attention is paid to ceremony at Antalow. Most of those who come into the presence of the Ras uncover themselves to the waist; others expose only to the breast, and afterwards replace their garments. Mussulmans are permitted to appear before him with their heads covered,

as alſo the prieſts, and ſome few of the Chriſtian chiefs. All mechanics, or people employed in buſineſs, ſuch as cooking, &c. wear a cloth about their heads. No one in public addreſſes the Ras without riſing from the ground, and uncovering to the waiſt; but, after the firſt addreſs, they are often permitted to ſpeak ſitting. This does not hold good, however, in their private parties, where they are all huddled together on the ground in a moſt happy equality. Equals ſalute each other by kiſſing whenever they meet, and repeat their compliments over and over again, like their neighbours the Arabs. With all their freedom, they are ſcrupulous obſervers of the laws of good-breeding eſtabliſhed among themſelves, and are particularly attentive to their friends, eſpecially at meals, where they make it a point to feed each other. The Ras wears a ſmall piece of the fineſt cloth upon his head, and has always ſix or ſeven ſlaves in attendance, one of whom bruſhes the flies away with a choury made of cow's tail; the buſineſs of another is to replace his garment, when it falls down from off his ſhoulders, unleſs the miniſter ſhould be preſent, to whom this office then devolves. All ranks appeared to ſtand in great awe of his authority, except a few favourite ſlaves, who ſeemed to be perfectly at their eaſe; among them were two blacks from Sennaar, who had the broad Negro features, and whoſe hair, the Ras once obſerved, was like black pepper.

In the deciſion of cauſes, which ever party may be in the wrong, it generally turns to the advantage of the Ras, who decides the matter. The parties begin by denying each other's ſtatement: one then proceeds to ſay, that if he is found in the wrong he will forfeit to the judge a quantity of ſalt, a mule, ſlaves, or gold, or whatever the other may be willing to ſtake upon his veracity. The other having agreed to a fixed penalty, the cauſe is put off until farther evidence is brought, when the party in the wrong is convicted and puniſhed, only by the loſs of what he had voluntarily pledged himſelf to riſk; they then kiſs the ground three times, and retire.

I was informed that land deſcends by inheritance from father to ſon, and if there is no ſon to the brother: but that all the children and relations have a claim to a maintenance. In default of kindred, people often make over their land to a friend, to be ſold; half the produce going to the poor, and half to the prieſts. The Ras never thinks of removing any chief, or interfering with him, ſo long as the eſtabliſhed tribute is paid. There are many of his relatives to whom he has granted land, free of all rent, among whom are Barrambarras Toklu, and Baſha Guebra Eyatt. I enquired, if there ſhould be another Ras, whether they would be compelled to pay tribute? To which I was anſwered, no! they will plead not having paid it to the former.

Great men take as many wives as they pleaſe; but it is difficult to get rid of them, owing to their connections, who always reſent any affront offered to the women. Shum Waldo, in particular, had forty wives, and left behind him one hundred children. Having divorced one of his wives,

her father made ſtrong remonſtrances on the ſubject, and repeating this too often, the haughty Shum's temper was at laſt ſo much enraged, that he made an attempt, in his anger, to kill the old man, by firing a matchlock at him. Marriages are very eaſily made up; the parties go to any friend's houſe, and there enter into an engagement with each other, without the preſence of a prieſt being neceſſary.

So far from enjoying a free intercourſe with the males, as is aſſerted by Mr. Bruce, it is certain that the married women are watched with ſome caution by their huſbands, and even occaſionally ſecluded from male ſociety, as in the caſe of Ozoro Mantwaub. So alive is the Ras to the feelings of jealouſy, that he has never acknowledged his only ſon, a child about three years old, in conſequence of a ſuſpicion of his mother's fidelity. Mr. Bruce has been equally incorrect in ſtating that baſtards, or the offspring of a connection between the maſter and a domeſtic ſervant, can inherit the father's property. They are, in fact, conſidered as little better than menials; except that they are not obliged to work. They are ſavage in their treatment of children, yet reſpectful towards women, whom nevertheleſs they, in our opinion, treat with little regard to decency in their converſation; but the groſs and diſguſting ſcenes which Mr. Bruce deſcribes as following a brinde feaſt, I firmly believe exiſted only in his own imagination. His account of the fleſh cut out of living animals was repeatedly inquired into by our party; all to whom we ſpoke denied its ever being done. Raw fleſh had been obſerved by all travellers, before Mr. Bruce, as the common food of the Abyſſinians, but Mr. Bruce makes no diſtinction between the two; or rather wiſhes to confound them together, that he may have the countenance of Poncet and the Jeſuits; but none of them ever mentioned the eating of fleſh ſtripped from a living animal, though Mr. Bruce is impudent enough to ſay that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even prieſts, throughout all the country. The feaſt given by the Ras on the grand review of his troops, at which we were preſent, was a moſt convincing proof to the contrary.

Calves and lambs are not eaten; but I doubt if this be not done from the prudential motive of keeping up the ſtock of cattle, the conſumption of which is enormous. Wild fowl is alſo a prohibited article, which ſeems to be the adoption of a Jewiſh cuſtom. Hogs are not kept tame; but, in oppoſition to the Jews, they ſeem to have no objection to them wild; a quarter was preſented to Captain Rudland, while reſiding with the Ras at Mucculluck. With Muſſulmans they will neither eat, drink, nor ſmoke, but have no objection to do ſo with ſtrangers, when convinced they are Chriſtians. They are leaſt particular with reſpect to drinking, as I have repeatedly ſeen them drinking out of the ſame cup. The Muſſulmans will eat of the bread and fiſh from the Ras's table, and even in his preſence. The higher orders are extremely regular in attending to the eſtabliſhed faſt days, which take up one-third of the year; but this does

does not hold good with the lower orders, who devour, rather than eat, whatever they can get, at all times. They are charitable in aſſiſting the diſtreſſed; our ſervants often ſaved bread to give to beggars, which, at the time that we returned from Adowa, were very numerous, ſitting by the highway. Even to dogs they are very humane, though they diſlike them, permitting them to have free acceſs to their houſes.

We had ſeveral ſtrong inſtances of their honeſty to us, which might, however, have been cauſed by fear; for we witneſſed many inſtances of their roguery, in attempting to convey away articles belonging to the houſes we ſtopped at. They are all exceedingly ſuſpicious of each other; which pretty ſtrongly proves that the lower claſſes are addicted to pilfering. All are eager for preſents, which they frequently rather demand, than requeſt.

When I found that I muſt give up all hopes of penetrating beyond the Tacazze, I took every occaſion to make enquiries of ſuch perſons as were likely to give me any intelligence reſpecting the Nile. Their accounts generally agreed with each other, but it appeared to me, that they ſpoke from what they had heard, and not from perſonal knowledge. Its ſituation near the village of Geeſh; the marſhineſs of the plain, the elevation of the ſpot whence it flows above the ſurrounding country, its circuit from Gojam, its courſe being diſtinguiſhable through the lake Dembea, were points familiar to them all; but they differed conſiderably as to the number of fountains from which it ſprings, ſome ſpeaking of three, others of four, and one perſon of five; but this, they ſaid, depended on the ſeaſons; for if much rain fell, the accumulation of water would force open freſh paſſages. Hadjee Hamed had been half way there when ſent by the Iteghé to recover Mr. Bruce's loſt property, when he firſt attempted to viſit the ſources of the Nile; but he confeſſed that he had no curioſity to go on; and like all the others to whom I had ſpoken to on the ſubject, appeared to attach ſome degree of myſtery to Yagoub's anxiety, about what appeared to them all ſo unintereſting.

Both Chriſtians and Muſſulmans ſpoke in high terms of the magnificence of Gondar, and the ſplendour of the court, when the King and Ras were together; but as the ſcale of their ideas was extremely different from our own, it was difficult to eſtimate rightly their aſſertions. From their flattering account of Adowa, I was completely deceived until I reached that place; and I ſhould ſuſpect that a viſit to Gondar would be productive of the ſame diſappointment. The town has neither wall nor fortification. The principal building is the palace, to which are attached four churches, one at each corner. In the reſt of the town, it is ſaid, there are no leſs than forty-two. For the comparative ſplendour of theſe buildings they are indebted to the Portugueſe, who erected them during the continuance of their power, and have left them as models for the artiſans of the preſent time. The want of wood, and the difficulty of procuring ſtone, have rendered the little ſcience which

ſtill

ſtill glimmers in this country almoſt uſeleſs; for they are ignorant of the art of making brick. A few Greek artiſans are generally to be found in the country, but they are little better than the native workmen. The rooſing of the houſes, and the neatneſs of the thatching, are moſt to be admired, but this is entirely done by the Faleſha, or Jews.

The royal family are no longer confined to the mountains of Wechné, or Way-gne; this cuſtom having been aboliſhed ſome years ago. They are now living dependent on the chiefs of the different provinces.

The charming Ozoro Eſther is dead, but a daughter of her's is living at Gondar. Tecla Mariam, her companion, the beautiful daughter of the ſecretary of that name, Ayto Alo, Ayto Conſu, and moſt of the other friends of Mr. Bruce, are alſo no more; but the families of the two laſt are living at the capital, in conſiderable ſplendour.

The manufactures of Abyſſinia are but of trifling importance. They have the cotton plant in many parts, particularly round Adowa; but they are unacquainted with the method of ſeparating the cotton from the ſeed, and therefore import it from India, in a ſtate fit for working up into their dreſſes. Coarſe carpets are made in Samen, and at Gondar, from the wool and hair of the ſheep and goats, which are dyed red, and light blue; the former from a tree called haddie, the latter from a plant reſembling indigofera: they alſo procure a yellow dye from the mocmoco, and a black from an earth: they have no dark blue.

Knives are made at Adowa, ſpears and razors at Antalow; iron they procure from Sennaar and Walkayt, a diſtrict about ſix days journey from Adowa, and alſo from Berbera, between which place and Gondar a conſiderable trade is carried on; the Abyſſinians carrying with them ivory, ſlaves, and horſes, and bringing back iron, cotton, and India goods: the latter make their way to Ras-el-Feel, where the kafila from Sennaar halts and makes its purchaſes. The profit the Abyſſinians receive is ſuppoſed to be one hundred per cent. on theſe articles, which have before been loaded to at leaſt an equal amount either at Mocha or Aden. Kafilas travel between Darfur, Funge, and Gondar; but I was not able to obtain any accurate information of the different articles in which they trade.

Deſcription of a Review and a Brinde Feaſt, at Antalow, in Abyſſinia. From the ſame.

This day being conſidered as the principal day of muſter, I went with Captain Rudland, after breakfaſt, to the Ras, but Mr. Carter was too unwell to accompany us. On this occaſion, I clothed myſelf in an Abyſſinian garment, and Captain Rudland in his Britiſh uniform. We found the Ras ſeated in a ſmall verandah, in front of a building, converted to the purpoſe from a butler's hall, which overlooked a walled inclo-

ſure,

ſure, about three hundred yards in circumference. Around him were ſeated many of his principal chiefs. He received us with his uſual attention, ſeemed much gratified by our change of dreſs, and placed us immediately beſide him on his couch.

It is difficult to deſcribe the ſcene that enſued. The outer part of the incloſure was lined with crowds of the inhabitants, and others had mounted the walls, which ſoon were completely covered with them. Oppoſite the Ras was a gateway, in a room over which ſat a number of officers of ſtate, appointed to regulate the review. Through this gateway the chiefs came in ſeparately, one after the other, each with his reſpective followers. Firſt entered the cavalry, with the chief at their head, galloping round the circus, and brandiſhing their ſpears with great agility. The dreſſes of theſe conſiſted, for the moſt part, of kincaubs, embroidered damaſk, flowered with gold, or black velvet ſtudded with ornaments of ſilver, thrown as a ſcarf over their ſhoulders, and faſtened with a gold claſp acroſs the breaſt. Round their heads they wore bandages, formed of yellow, green, or red ſatin, tied behind, long, and ſtreaming looſely as they rode. Some, inſtead of this ornament, had only fillets of ſkin round their heads, the hairs of which ſtanding upwards, gave an additional wildneſs to their appearance. Some few had horns of gold, either perpendicular above their foreheads, or projecting forwards: and ſeveral, on the upper part of their arm, had a ſilver diſk, of both which Bruce has given a repreſentation. Others wore bracelets of ſilver, in the ſhape of a horſe-collar, round their right arms, equal in number to the enemies they had ſlain. The horſes were richly capariſoned, and bore on their fronts the bloody garments of foes ſlaughtered by their riders. Each chief, after riding round the circus ſeven or eight times, preſented himſelf directly before the Ras, in a menacing attitude, recited in pompous language the actions he had performed, and concluded by throwing down before him the indubitable trophies of his valour, which had before been hanging above the bracelets on his right arm*. One chief brought only a knife, that he had taken from his opponent. The chiefs are not the only ones who thus preſent themſelves before the Ras, for every ragged raſcal, among the foot ſoldiers, who enter in a throng after the horſemen, has the ſame privilege. Among the latter, horrible to relate, were ſome wretches, probably followers of the camp (for they were not ſoldiers), ſavage enough to produce unqueſtionable evidence that boys, not men, had been the victims of their fury. At this I expreſſed to the Ras my abhorrence ſo ſtrongly, that, actuated by the ſame feel-

* Ludolf, ſpeaking of this cuſtom among the Galla, from whom the cuſtom is probably derived, ſays, "Adhuc neceſſe eſt indicium cœſi hoſtis poſt pugnam afferre. Primo quidem capita ceu honeſtiſſimam corporis partemattulêrunt; at poſtquam de ſexu imberbium dubitareter, turpiſſimum viris amputavêre. Res dicta fœda numerant et cumulant exercitus coram. Hac ratione ſcire non poteſt hoſtis an ſocius fuerit occiſus."

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ings, he refuſed them thoſe marks of his approbation which he had invariably ſhewn to others. The inferior warriors were clad in ſkins, chiefly thoſe of ſheep, ſome of which were bordered with blue and red, of different ſhades. Intermixed with the foot ſoldiers, who were moſtly armed with ſpears and ſhields, the matchlock men came, in moſt irregular order, to the number at leaſt of fifteen hundred, whoſe geſtures were, if poſſible, more ludicrous than thoſe of the ſpearmen, imitating, as it appeared to me, men hunting wild beaſts among the buſhes; the concluſion of their frolic was firing their muſquets as nearly as poſſible to the legs of their opponents, then drawing their knives, and making a blow to finiſh the murderous execution of their matchlocks. There were in this way many ſingle mock fights between ſpearmen and muſqueteers; but it was always managed that the latter ſhould prove victorious. This extraordinary review was concluded by the marching in on one ſide of the Ras's band, mounted on mules, and beating the heavy drums, and on the other of men bearing the ornaments of the church, walking in proceſſion.

This day greatly biaſſed our opinion in favour of the horſemanſhip of the Abyſſinians: I think them, in this reſpect, fully equal to the Arabs, and, conſidering the ſtirrups that they uſe, which are merely ſmall rings of iron, into which they put the two large toes, this is no ſlight praiſe. In the uſe of the ſpear they are particularly expert, and they have a peculiar method of vibrating it in the hand, which has a very warlike and claſſical appearance. In fine, they ſeem to be as complete horſemen as poſſible without diſcipline, of which indeed they are totally ignorant. If Ras Michael Suhul could bring 5000 matchlocks into the field, the ſtrength of Tigré muſt have dwindled away ſince that time very conſiderably, under the preſent Ras, which I believe to be the caſe; as he permits his tributes to be paid in cloth, inſtead of fire arms. It is probable that he has no matchlocks in ſtore, for on this very day, when a damaged one was brought him, he ſupplied its place by taking another out of the hands of one of his ſoldiers.

It is neceſſary, in order to give a complete idea of the dependence of the chiefs upon the Ras, to ſtate, that ſeveral of thoſe who were the moſt elegantly dreſſed, and attended by the moſt numerous followers, were men holding ſituations in the Ras's houſehold, ſuch as the chief of the maize, of the bread, and others.

There were a few, however, very haughty and imperious in their manners, among whom the moſt remarkable was Fit Aurari Zogo, a man of very handſome perſon and expreſſive countenance. This warrior obliged at leaſt two hundred perſons, who were ſitting between himſelf and the Ras, to move, before he would condeſcend to make his addreſs, which he at laſt did in a very proud and dignified manner, turning his horſe round and round, and at each time reſuming what he had before ſaid. After the ſoldiers there were a great many unarmed elderly men, cultivators of the ground, who came and made their obeiſance before

fore the Ras. During this laſt ceremony he ſat very unconcerned, taking little notice of any excepting two of the moſt conſpicuous. During the review, the Ras was extremely attentive, and his notice of the chiefs was acutely diſtributed in proportion to their power. As we were going away, he ſtopped us all to witneſs a Galla dance and ſong, with which he was particularly amuſed. The review being concluded, the principal chiefs came up and joined the Ras, among whom I noticed a Galla Muſſulman, who had twenty-nine rings of ſilver on his arm; and many of the other chiefs had from ten to twenty.

From this exhibition we adjourned to the great hall, where every thing was prepared for a grand feaſt. A long table was placed in the middle of the hall, at the upper end of which, in a receſs, the floor of which was raiſed about half a foot above the level of the room, was a couch, with two large pillows, covered with ſtriped ſatin, and behind this ſtood a lower couch, covered with a handſome ſkin. The Ras led the way, leaning on two of his principal chiefs, and took his ſeat on the higher couch, inviting us at the ſame time to occupy the couch behind. The chiefs in the mean time ranged themſelves on their haunches, (for there were no benches), on each ſide of the table, and behind the Ras, crowding in two or three ranks towards the upper end of the room. The ſides of the table were covered to the height of a foot by piles of teff bread, in the form of round thin pancakes, about two feet and a half in diameter, and down the middle of the table was ranged a ſingle row of diſhes, conſiſting of hot curry, made of fowl, mutton, ghee, and curds. A quantity of fine wheaten bread, in large rolls, was prepared for the uſe of the Ras; theſe he broke, and firſt diſtributed to us, and afterwards to ſome of the chiefs by whom he was ſurrounded. This ceremony ſerved as a ſignal to begin the feaſt; upon which ſeveral female ſlaves, placed at different parts of the table (having previouſly waſhed their hands in the preſence of the Ras), dipped the teff bread into the curries, and other diſhes, and diſtributed it among the gueſts. A man, whoſe particular buſineſs it was, performed the ſame office for the Ras, who immediately handed a portion to us, and then to ſome of the chiefs, who, on receiving it, got up and bowed: balls alſo, made of curds, greens, and teff bread, mixed together, were handed about.

During this time the cattle were killing on the outſide of the hall. This is done by laying the beaſt down on the ground, and with a jambea knife nearly ſeparating the head from the body, pronouncing at the ſame time, "Bis m'Allah Guebrah Menſus Kedus," a ſtyle of invocation that ſeems to be borrowed from the followers of Mohammed. The ſkin is then ſtripped with all poſſible expedition from one ſide of the animal, and the entrails, lights, liver, and tripes, are taken out, which latter the attendants voraciouſly devour as their perquiſite, ſometimes even without paying much attention to the trouble of cleaning them. The fleſh of the animal, of which the rump and heart are conſidered as prime

prime delicacies, is cut into large pieces, and, while the fibres are yet quivering, is brought in to the gueſts, who, by this time, have conſumed as much as they pleaſe of the curries and other diſhes.

The brinde, as this raw fleſh was called, was in irregular pieces, but commonly adhering to a bone, by which the attendants carried it; it was then handed round to the chiefs, who, with their crooked knives, cut off a large ſteak, which they afterwards diſſected very dexterouſly into ſtrips, about half an inch in diameter, holding it at the ſame time between the two ſore fingers of the left hand.

Having thus prepared their meat, they took it up with the left hand, and put it into their mouths; ſuch at leaſt was the uſual practice with the Ras and all the chiefs, whom we had an opportunity of obſerving, on this, and many other occaſions. I mention theſe ſeemingly trifling particulars, to ſhew that Bruce is miſtaken when he aſſerts, that "no man in Abyſſinia, of any faſhion whatever, feeds himſelf, or touches his own meat;" indeed, ſo far from this delicacy being obſerved, it is extremely common for the higheſt chiefs to hold their neighbours brinde, and not unfrequently even the women, as we afterwards particularly obſerved at the table of Guſmati Iſchias, who was one of the firſt faſhion at Gondar, when Bruce was there. If the piece happened not to pleaſe the perſon who cut it off, he handed it to a dependent behind him, from whom it ſometimes paſſed to a ſeventh hand, if not approved.

While the brinde was ſerving up, of which the quantity conſumed is ſcarcely credible, the maize was diſtributed about very plentifully in bruſhes, or Venetian glaſſes; horns being uſed only for booza. The firſt party being ſatisfied, retired from table, and was ſucceeded by another of inferior rank, by which the remains of the brinde were conſumed. After them came a third, a fourth, and even a fifth party, who were obliged to content themſelves with the coarſe teft bread, and a ſingle horn of booza, and were driven away by the maſter of the ceremonies before they had taken their fill. Near the concluſion of the feaſt, the Ras ſent off from the table large quantities of teft bread, for the followers of thoſe chiefs moſt in favour. The whole ended with a violent ſcramble for the laſt cakes, during which it ſeemed to be a point of etiquette to make as much uproar and confuſion as poſſible. During the feaſt there were a few boys permitted to remain, by favour, under the table, to pick up what fell from the gueſts; but if any one be diſcovered there who has not permiſſion, he is beaten ſeverely with blows given with the elbow. There were alſo one or two men with ſmall croſſes in their hands, which they held out, intimating thereby that they were at that time obliged to faſt.

Deſcription of the Cuſtoms, Manners, &c. &c. of the Inhabitants of Weſt Barbary. From An Account of the Empire of Marocco. By James Gray Jackſon, Eſq.

The inhabitants of the Emperor of Marocco's dominions, may be divided

divided into four claſſes, namely, Moors, Arabs, Berebbers, (which latter are probably the Aborigines,) and Shelluhs.

The *Moors* are the deſcendants of thoſe who were driven out of Spain; they inhabit the cities of Marocco, Fas, Mequinas, and all the coaſt towns, as far ſouthward as the province of Halra. Their language is a corrupt Arabic, intermixed with Spaniſh.

The *Arabs* have their original ſtock in Sabara, from whence they emigrate to the plains of Marocco, whenever the plague, famine, or any other calamity depopulates the country ſo as to admit a new colony, without injuring the territory of the former inhabitants. Theſe Arabs live in tents, and ſpeak the language of the Koran, ſomewhat corrupted. They are a reſtleſs and turbulent people, continually at war with each other; in one province a rebellious kabyle, or clan, will fight againſt a neighbouring loyal one, and will thus plunder and deſtroy one another, till fatigued by the toils of war, they mutually ceaſe, when, the next year perhaps, the rebellious clan will be found fighting for the Emperor againſt the former loyal one, now become rebellious. This plan of ſetting one tribe againſt another is an act of policy of the Emperor, becauſe, if he did not, in this manner, quell the broils continually breaking out amongſt them, he would be compelled, in order to preſerve tranquillity in his dominions, to employ his own army for that purpoſe, which is generally occupied in more important buſineſs.

The *Berebbers* inhabit the mountains of Atlas north of the city of Marocco, living generally in tents; they are a robuſt, nervous people, having a language peculiar to themſelves, which differs more from the Arabic, or general language of Africa, than any two languages of Europe differ from each other; it is probably a dialect of the ancient Carthaginian. In travelling through the Berebber Kabyles of Ait Imure, and Zemure Shelluh, I noticed many who poſſeſſed the old Roman phyſiognomy. The general occupation of theſe people is huſbandry, and the rearing of bees for honey and wax.

The *Shelluhs* inhabit the Atlas mountains, and their various branches ſouth of Marocco; they live generally in towns, and are, for the moſt part occupied in huſbandry like the Berebbers, though differing from them in their language, dreſs, and manners; they live almoſt entirely on (aſſoua) barley meal made into gruel, and barley roaſted or granulated, which they mix with cold water, when travelling: this is called Zimeta. They occaſionally indulge in *cuſcaſoe*, a nutritive farinaceous food, made of granulated flour, and afterwards boiled by ſteam, and mixed with butter, mutton, fowls, and vegetables. Many families among theſe people are reported to be deſcended from the Portugueſe, who formerly poſſeſſed all the ports on the coaſt; but who, after the diſcovery of America, gradually withdrew thither. Weſt of Marocco, near Dimenet, on the Atlas mountains, there is ſtill remaining a church, having inſcriptions in Latin over the entrance, ſuppoſed to have been built by them, which, being ſuperſtitiouſly reported to

be

be haunted, has escaped destruction. Their language is called Amazirk.

The Moors as well as the other natives of this country, are generally of a middle stature; they have not so much nerve as the Europeans, and are, for the most part, thick and clumsy about the legs and ancles, inasmuch that a well formed leg is seldom seen among them; this may proceed from their constantly sitting cross-legged, with their legs under them, like the tailors of Europe, or perhaps from their wearing no covering to their legs, which are thus exposed to all weathers. Deformed persons are rarely met with; the loose Arabian dress covers deformity, and their mode of bringing up children, (every thing being left to follow nature,) generally prevents it. Corns and deformed feet are unknown; the toes take their natural growth, and are as useful to the mechanics as their fingers. Lame people are seldom seen; but the blind are more numerous than in Europe. Both sexes have very fine teeth. Their complexion, from frequent intermarriage, or intercourse with the Soudanic race, is of all shades, from black to white. The women of Fas are as fair as the Europeans, with the exception of their eyes and hair, which are universally dark*. Those of Mequinas are generally so handsome, that it is a rare thing to see a young woman in that city, who is not pretty. With large, black, and expressive sparkling eyes, they possess a healthy countenance, uniting the colours of the lily and the rose, that beautiful red and white so much admired by foreigners, in our English ladies; indeed their beauty is proverbial, as the term Mequernasia† is applied to any beautiful woman of elegant form, with black sparkling eyes, and white teeth; they also possess a modesty and suavity of manners rarely met with elsewhere. It is extraordinary that the inhabitants of two great and populous cities, situated within a day's journey of each other, should discover such a physiognomical difference, as is apparent between the females of Fas, and those of Mequinas, the former being generally of a sallow or pale complexion. The women of Duguella are ordinary and diminutive, whilst the men are the reverse; being tall, and well limbed, with regular features. The men of Temsena, and Sharvia, are a strong, robust race, of a copper colour; their women possess much beauty, and have features highly expressive; and the animation of the countenance is increased by the use of El Rahol filelly, with which they tinge their eye-lashes and eye-brows, as already described. In these provinces they are particularly fond of dying their hands and feet with a preparation of the herb Henna, which gives them a beautiful orange colour, and in hot weather, imparts a pleasing coolness and softness to the hands, by preventing, in a considerable degree, the quickness of perspiration.

The Moorish dress resembles

* Whenever a blue, or grey-eyed Mooress is seen, she is always suspected to be the descendant of some Christian renegade.

† Mequinasia, a woman of Mequinas.

that

that of the ancient patriarchs, as repreſented in paintings; that of the men conſiſts of a red cap and turban, a (Kumja) ſhirt, which hangs outſide of the drawers, and comes down below the knee, a (caftan) coat which buttons cloſe before, and down to the bottom, with large open ſleeves; over which, when they go out of doors, they throw careleſsly and ſometimes elegantly, a hayk or garment of white cotton, ſilk or wool, five or ſix yards long, and five feet wide; the Arabs often diſpenſe with the caftan and even with the ſhirt, wearing nothing but the hayk. The Berebbers wear drawers, and a cloak of dark blue cloth, called a ſilham. The poor and penurious are contented with the Burnoſe, or black cloak of woollen cloth, of a cloſe texture, made ſo as to reſiſt the rain. To this dreſs is added a pair of yellow ſandals. The dreſs of the women nearly reſembles that of the men, except in the adjuſtment of the hayk, or ſurtout covering, and in the (Rahayat) ſlippers, which are ſcarlet or red. The hair is concealed in a black ſilk handkerchief, over which they wear ſhawls or handkerchiefs of various gay colours; they wear bracelets, and armlets above the elbow, and maſſive rings of ſilver round their ancles; their ear-rings are of gold, about the thickneſs of a gooſe's quill, and ſet with precious ſtones, or coloured glaſs, the ring being about ſix inches in circumference: they wear alſo a number of necklaces, ſome large, and others ſmall, and a variety of rings on their fingers.

In their dreſs, they are fond of ſtriped ſilk and cotton of peculiar patterns.

The people belonging to the court have a particular dreſs, never appearing before the Emperor in a hayk, but in a ſilham, or large cloak of white woollen cloth; and in the preſence of a baſhaw or governor, the hayk is thrown over the ſhoulders, which at other times is thrown looſely over the cap, a mode of ſalutation ſimilar to that of taking off the hat among Europeans. The religion of the Emperor of Marocco's dominions is Iſlaemiſm or Mohammediſm, which was firſt planted in Weſt Barbary by the renowned Muley Dris Zerone, on the ſpot where the town and ſanctuary of that name is built, being eaſt of Mequinas, at the weſtern foot of the Atlas, near an ancient and magnificent ruin, called by the Arabs (Kaſſar Farawan) the ruins of Pharaoh; from hence aſſuming the name of (Deene el Waſah) the unconfined law, it quickly ſpread itſelf to the ſhores of the Atlantic ocean, to Beed-el-jerréde, Tigin Meſſa, Suſe, and Sahara. At the beginning of the preſent reign of Sudy-Soliman ben Mohammed, a very conſiderable body of people who profeſſed Deiſm, ſprung up and ſpread themſelves over the northern provinces, exclaiming (la Ieeah ila Allah) there is no God but the true God; in diſtinction to the Iſlaem or Mohammed prophet. The Emperor, however, by diſcouraging ſuch tenets, found no difficulty in ſilencing this ſect.

Throughout the country are diſcovered buildings of an octagonal form, with domes of ſtone, or plaiſtered with lime; theſe are called (Zawiat) Sanctuaries; and attached to each is a piece of ground, unincloſed, for the interment of the dead. The prieſt or

ſaint, who is called el fakeer, or maraboot, ſuperintends divine ſervice and the burial of the dead, and is often referred to for the adjuſting of diſputes or controverſies. Criminals taking refuge in theſe conſecrated places are ſcreened from the hand of juſtice; and the opulent men of the country often, for ſecurity, depoſit their treaſure in them. The toleration of the weſtern Arabs and Moors is ſuch, that the Emperor, (although religiouſly diſpoſed himſelf) will allow, on proper application being made, any ſect which does not acknowledge a plurality of gods, to appropriate a place to public worſhip;* and even the more ignorant and bigotted Mohammedans maintain, that every man ſhould be allowed to worſhip God according to his own conſcience, or agreeably to the religion of his anceſtors. They have a rooted contempt for all who change their religion, even if it be to Iſlaemiſm; ſuch people are diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of (el Aluge) Renegades, who, after having embraced the Mohammedan faith, are obliged to practiſe a ſyſtem of diſſimulation, and to affect more than ordinary contempt for Chriſtians, in order to appear Iſlaemized; and to prevent their being haraſſed and upbraided for their want of faith in Mohammed.

This people have a particular averſion to the ſound of bells, originating, perhaps, from their being peculiar to the (Ajemi) Barbarians,† as they denominate Chriſtians; or becauſe Mohammed reprobated the ancient trumpet of the Jews, as well as the rattle of the oriental Chriſtians, and ſubſtituted the human voice to call people to prayer: accordingly, a man (denominated El muden) goes to the top of the tower of earth (Jamâa) of the moſque, and exclaims with a loud voice, firſt to the eaſt, or towards Mecca, and then to the ſouth, weſt, and north, the following words (allah kabeer! A'ſhed en la illa ila allah Mohammed arraſule, allah; hoi ala esſla, allah kabeer, allah) God is great; witneſs that there is no God but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet: come to prayers: God is great. God! *

This religious ceremony is performed ſeveral times a day, and the different prayers are called (ſala' at el ſejir) prayers at the dawn of day: (ſala'at el dohor) prayers at half-paſt one o'clock, p. m.; (ſala'at el aſſar) prayers at four o'clock, p. m. (ſala'at el mogorb) prayers at ſun-ſetting; and (ſala'at el aſhaw) prayers an hour and an half after ſun-ſetting. The principal of theſe prayers is the Sala' at el dohor, when all ſuch as are deſirous of being thought true Mohammedans go to the (Jamâa) moſque, on entering which, every one muſt take

* Beſides the Catholic eſtabliſhments in Morocco and Mequinas, before mentioned, there is one at Tangier, and another at Mogodor.

† Ajem, in Arabic, ſignifies Barbarian. Ajimi, in the ſame language, ſignifies the Europeans. Waſh kat douce belajemi? Do you ſpeak the Barbarian or European language?

* Mohammedans utter the word Allah with great reſpect, ſounding it long, and making a full ſtop after uttering it; they never uſe the pronoun to ſignify the Supreme Being, but always repeat the noun, and generally begin and end all religious ſentences with the word Allah

off his ſlippers. Every (ima) † Friday the mufti preaches a diſcourſe on religion, ſimilar to the ſermons of Chriſtian prieſts. The moſques have ſquare towers adjoining the body of the building; the principal ſide faces Mecca, on which is erected a flag-ſtaff; and a white flag, called (el alem) the ſignal, is hoiſted every day at twelve o'clock, to warn the people out of hearing or at a great diſtance, to prepare by the neceſſary preliminary ablutions*, to proſtrate themſelves before God at the Dohor ſervice of prayer. At the dawn of day on every (ima) Friday, the (muden) man who announces the prayers from the ſummit of the principal moſque, chants a hymn out of the Koran, which being ſcientifically ſung, and in the ſtillneſs of the morning, makes a wonderful impreſſion on the mind. This hymn is concluded by the annunciation of the unity of God, and the glory of heaven; impreſſing the mind of the Mohammedan with that grand fundamental principal of Iſlaemiſm, the unity of God.

The people of this Empire being born ſubjects of an arbitrary deſpot, they may be ſaid to have no eſtabliſhed laws; they know no other than the will of the prince, and if this ſhould deviate, as it ſometimes does, from the moral principles laid down in the Koran, it muſt be obeyed. Where the Emperor reſides, he adminiſters juſtice, in perſon, generally twice, and ſometimes four times a week, in the (m'ſhoire) place of audience, whither all complaints are carried: ‡ here acceſs is eaſy; he liſtens to every one, foreigners or ſubjects, men or women, rich or poor; there is no diſtinction, every one has a right to appear before him, and boldly to explain the nature of his caſe; and although his perſon is conſidered as ſacred, and eſtabliſhed cuſtom obliges the ſubject to proſtrate himſelf, and to pay him rather adoration than reſpect, yet every complainant may tell his ſtory without the leaſt heſitation or timidity; indeed, if any one is abaſhed, or appears diffident, his cauſe is weakened in proportion. Judgment is always prompt, deciſive, plauſible, and generally correct.

In places remote from the Emperor's court, the (Kalif) vice regent, or baſhaw, has his m'ſhoire*,

† Ima is the Arabic name appropriated to Friday, or the Mohammedan day of reſt; from the radical word Jamaa, to collect or gather together. The Mohammedans name the days of the week, firſt day, ſecond day, and ſo on; calling Sunday, El hed, i.e. the firſt day; El thenine, the ſecond day, or Monday, &c. They do not entirely ſhut their ſhops on Friday, but work leſs than on any other day; they refuſe, however, altogether to work for Chriſtians, unleſs particularly or clandeſtinely feed, when they will condeſcend to do almoſt any thing.

‡ O believers! before ye pray, waſh your faces, your hands, and your arms to the elbow, and wipe yourſelves from head to foot. Vide Koran.

* It is cuſtomary here, as in the Eaſt, for every perſon to accompany his complaint with (el Heddia) a preſent ſuited to his condition; and none muſt appear without ſomething, as it would be not only contrary to the eſtabliſhed uſages, but highly diſreſpectful: even ſuch a trifle as three or more eggs is accepted.

† In the city of Fas, the governor regulates the police, and decides all military diſputes; juſtice is adminiſtered by the cadi, or chief judge, who is guided by the laws of the Koran; he has under him ſeveral (l'ukil) attornies, ſome of whom manage civil controverſies, others miſdemeanours, and others matters relating to religion, marriages, and divorces.

where he adminiſters juſtice, ſometimes according to the laws of the Koran, and at others, as his caprice dictates; for the ſame imperious deſpotiſm which the Emperor too frequently exerciſes over his baſhaws, and alkaids, is exerciſed by them over thoſe who fall under their government; and the ſame is done again by their ſubalterns, when they have it in their power; thus tyranny proceeds progreſſively from the prince to the loweſt of his officers: theſe petty tyrants are diſperſed over the whole empire, and often give ſanction to their extortions by effecting them in the name of their maſter; the accumulation of wealth is the grand object of all their deſires; when they learn from their emiſſaries, or ſpies, that an individual has acquired conſiderable property, they contrive to find out ſome cauſe of accuſation againſt him, and by that means extort money from him. It often happens, however, that thoſe who amaſs the greateſt ſums in this way, enjoy them but a very ſhort time; ſome unexpected order from the Emperor, accuſing them of crimes or miſdemeanors, is made a pretext for depriving them, in their turn, of their ill-gotten wealth, which his majeſty never fails to inform them can be of no uſe to them, being more than ſufficient to procure the neceſſaries of life, and ought therefore to belong to the (Biet el mel el mooſelmin) moham medan treaſury, into which it is accordingly delivered, never more to return to its former poſſeſſors.

The influence of this mode of government upon the people is ſuch as might naturally be expected: they are ſuſpicious, deceitful, and cruel; they have no reſpect for their neighbours, but will plunder one another whenever it is in their power; they are ſtrangers to every ſocial tie and affection, for their hearts are ſcarcely ſuſceptible of one tender impreſſion; the father fears the ſon, the ſon the father; and this lamentable miſtruſt, and want of confidence diffuſes itſelf throughout the whole community.

The pride and arrogance of the Moors is unparalleled; for though they live in the moſt deplorable ſtate of ignorance, ſlavery, and barbariſm, yet they conſider themſelves the firſt people in the world, and contemptuouſly term all others barbarians. Their ſenſuality knows no bounds: by the laws of the Koran, they are allowed four wives, and as many concubines as they are able to ſupport, but ſuch is their wretched depravity, that they indulge in the moſt unnatural and abominable propenſities;* in ſhort, every vice that is diſgraceful and degrading to human nature, is to be found amongſt them.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that ſome of the well educated Moors are courteous and polite, and are poſſeſſed of great ſuavity of manners. They are affable and communicative where they repoſe confidence; and if in converſation, the ſubject of diſcuſſion be ſerious, and the parties become warm in diſpute, they have generally the

* By the laws of the Koran, theſe crimes are puniſhable by death; but they are ſo generally indulged in, as to be mutually connived at.

prudence

prudence to turn the ſubject in a delicate manner, they are ſlow at taking offence, but when irritated, are noiſy and implacable.

There is one noble trait in the character of this people which I cannot avoid mentioning, that is, fortitude under misfortune; this the Moor poſſeſſes in an eminent degree; he never deſpairs; no bodily ſuffering, no calamity however great, will make him complain; he is reſigned in all things to the will of God, and waits in patient hope for an amelioration of his condition. In illuſtration of this, I will take the liberty to relate the following anecdote, as it will alſo tend to ſhow the great riſks to which merchants are expoſed in traverſing this country.

A Fas merchant (with whom I had conſiderable tranſactions) went, with all his property, on a commercial ſpeculation from Fas to Timbuctoo; and after remaining at the latter place a ſufficient time to diſpoſe of and barter his effects for gold duſt and gum of Soudan, he ſet out on his return to Fas; after paſſing the Deſert, he began to congratulate himſelf on his good fortune and great ſucceſs, when ſuddenly a party of Arabs attacked the (cafila) caravan, and plundered all who belonged to it, leaving the Fas merchant deſtitute of every thing but what clothes he had on his back. During the interregnum, between the death of the Sultan Yezzid and the proclamation of the preſent Sultan Soliman, this man was plundered again on his way to Mogodor, whither he was going to diſcharge ſome debts, and to diſpoſe of gum and other Soudanic produce. Four wives and a numerous family of children rendered his caſe peculiarly diſtreſſing; yet, when condoling with him a few days after his misfortunes had happened, he very patiently obſerved (aſh men dona, Allah bra; u la illah, il a Allah), what remedy is there? God willed it ſo, and there is none but God. This man afterwards collected together what merchandize he could procure on credit, and proceeded again to Timbuctoo, where he realized much property, and travelling therewith through Wangura and Houſſa to Egypt, he was plundered a third time of all he poſſeſſed, near Cairo, and reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs: this laſt misfortune he bore with the ſame fortitude as the former. He is now, however, one of the principal merchants eſtabliſhed at Timbuctoo.

The Moors are equal by birth, they know no difference of rank, except ſuch as is derived from official employment*, on reſigning which the individual mixes again with the common claſs of citizens; the meaneſt man in the nation may thus aſpire, without preſumption, to the hand of the

* Perſons bearing the name of Mohammed, which is generally given to the firſt male child born in marriage, are always addreſſed by the title of Seedy; which anſwers to Signor, or Monſieur; even the emperor himſelf obſerves this towards the meaneſt ſubject that may happen to appear before him; when the name is Achmet, Aly, Said, Koſſem, &c. this honourable diſtinction is obſerved or not, according to the ſituation and character of the perſon addreſſed. The Jews, however, whatever their condition, muſt address every Mooſelmin with the term Seedy, or incur the danger of being knocked down; while, on the other hand, the loweſt Mooſelmin would conſider it a degradation to addreſs a Jew of the higheſt rank or reſpectability by this title.

daughter of the moſt opulent, and accident, or the caprice of the prince, may precipitate the latter into miſery, and elevate the former to proſperity and honour.

The children, whoſe mode of education is equal throughout the empire, on attaining the eighth year (not the eighth day, as ſome have aſſerted,) are circumciſed, and then begin to ſtudy the Koran, to learn the uſeful arts, the care of flocks, the tillage of the ſoil, or the exerciſe of arms; thoſe engaged in the latter are particularly noticed by the emperor, and if they diſcover a Machiavellian, or deſpotic policy, they are generally promoted to the government of ſome province, or town.

The Moors are, for the moſt part, more cleanly in their perſons, than in their garments. They waſh their hands before every meal, which, as they uſe no knives or forks, they eat with their fingers: half-a-dozen perſons ſit round a large bowl of *cuſcaſoe*, and after the uſual ejaculation (Biſmillah) "In the name of God!" each perſon puts his hand to the bowl, and taking up the food, puts it, by a dexterous jerk, into his mouth, without ſuffering his fingers to touch the lips. However repugnant this may be to our idea of cleanlineſs, yet the hand being always waſhed, and never touching the mouth in the act of eating, theſe people are by no means ſo dirty as Europeans have ſometimes haſtily imagined. They have no chairs or tables in their houſes, but ſit croſs-legged on carpets and cuſhions; and at meals, the diſh or bowl of proviſions, is placed on the floor.

The women are not leſs cleanly than the men; for beſides performing the uſual ablutions before and after meals, they waſh their face, hands, arms, legs, and feet, two or three times a day, which contributes greatly to heighten their beauty. The poorer claſſes, however, look deplorable, and excite diſguſt. The faces of the old women appear ſhrivelled, from the immoderate uſe of coſmetics and paint during their youth.

The uſual games are leap-frog, jumping, and foot-ball; the laſt is the favourite diverſion, at which they do not ſeek to ſend the ball to a goal, but kick it up, and amuſe themſelves with it, without any definitive purpoſe.

Of their military exerciſes the (cab el borode) riding full ſpeed and firing, is the only one; this is performed by all thoſe who keep horſes; a party ſtarts off together, and running full gallop, fire their muſkets, and ſtop ſhort cloſe to ſome wall, thoſe being conſidered the beſt horſemen who approach neareſt the wall, and ſtop ſhorteſt; they then return, load again, and renew the race. But the Moors are not very fond of games or diverſions; they are often ſeen ſitting in the ſtreets for hours together, ſometimes in a dull lethargic humour, at others ſo vociferous with each other, that a perſon unacquainted with their manner, would ſuppoſe they were going to fight.

When a Mooſelmin is inclined to marry, he makes enquiry of ſome confidential ſervant reſpecting the perſon of his miſtreſs, and if he receives a ſatisfactory deſcription of the lady, an opportunity is ſometimes procured to ſee her at a window, or other place;

place; this interview generally determines whether the parties are to continue their regards; if the ſuitor be ſatisfied with the lady, he ſeeks an occaſion of communicating his paſſion to the father, and propoſes to marry his daughter. The father's conſent being obtained, he ſends preſents to the lady, according to his circumſtances, which, being accepted, the parties are ſuppoſed to be betrothed, and marriage follows.

Of the marriage ceremony much has been ſaid by various authors. The bridegroom is mounted on a horſe, with his face covered, ſurrounded by his friends, and thoſe of the parents; who run their horſes, and fire their muſkets at the feet, or face of the bridegroom; the (tabla) kettle-drum, the triangle, (the erb'eb) an inſtrument ſimilar to the Greek lyre, having, however, but two ſtrings, and a rude kind of flutes, form the band of muſic; whilſt the friends of the married party dance and jump about, twirling their muſkets in the air, and otherwiſe diſcovering their ſatisfaction. This ceremony being terminated, the parties go to the houſe of feaſting, where the evening is paſſed in conviviality, till the bride and bridegroom retire to reſt. The ſheets are afterwards produced ſomewhat indecently, as a proof of the virginity of the bride, and exhibited in triumph to the relations.

It is not expected that the woman ſhould have a fortune, or a ſettlement; but if the father be rich, he generally gives a dowry to his daughter, and a quantity of pearls, rubies, diamonds, &c. The dowry remains the property of the female, and in caſe of a ſeparation, by conſent of the huſband, is returned to her: theſe ſeparations proceed from various cauſes, as barrenneſs, the diſappointment of expectation, or incompatibility of temper. Separation, however, not originating in the above cauſes, is reprobated as immoral and diſreputable. A plurality of wives is allowed in all Mohammedan countries; the lawful number is limited by the Koran to four, in addition to which, they are allowed as many concubines as they can ſupport; in this latitude of luxury, however, they ſeldom indulge. The emperor, the princes, and ſome of the baſhaws, have often four wives, but *even with them* this number increaſes *gradually;* thus the firſt wife, after having had a child, or when her bloom has paſſed, or the marks of age appear, makes way for a young one, who is taught to reſpect the former, who ſtill remains miſtreſs of the houſehold. When the ſecond lady loſes her bloom, ſhe is ſupplanted by a third, and the third by a fourth; ſo that the rich and independant Mooſelmin, however old he be himſelf, has generally a young wife, or a young concubine *, to cheriſh him; and this, they ſay, enables them to enjoy life a little longer than the Chriſtians; for, they maintain, that as an old woman deſtroys the vigour of a man, a young woman increaſes it; but theſe luxurious debauchees, theſe

* Theſe young wives and concubines often find opportunity clandeſtinely to cuckold their men, or huſbands.

devotees to the pleaſures of the fair ſex, from their irregular exceſſes, are often, about the age of fifty, and ſometimes before, totally incapable of performing the duties of the matrimonial contract; under theſe circumſtances, ſtimulating drugs, and aromatic compoſitions, are in vain reſorted to, and the wretched man becomes at once the victim of inflamed deſire and impotency.

It muſt not, however, be imagined, that this inſatiable deſire for young females pervades the maſs of the people; Mooſelmin, in general, are ſatisfied with one wife, and, in a tract of country, poſſeſſing a population of 100,000 ſouls, a hundred men will ſcarcely be found who keep four. Such is the ſtate of polygamy in this country.

With regard to the (kadeam *) concubines, they are generally black women, purchaſed originally at Timbuctoo; they reſide in the houſe with the wives, performing the menial offices of the domeſtic eſtabliſhment. The children of theſe concubines, when not the maſter's offspring, are born ſlaves, and inherited by him, who either keeps them for the purpoſe of marrying them to ſome black ſlave of his own, or ſells them in the public market-place; this latter mode of diſpoſing of them, however, is ſeldom practiſed, except in caſes of neceſſity; for although the law gives great latitude to maſters having ſlaves, yet the children are generally brought up under the mother's care, and become members of the family; by ſerving at an early age in domeſtic occupations, they earn their living by their work; for in a country where the neceſſaries of life are prohibited from exportation †, for the purpoſe of enabling the ſubjects to live comfortably with a little income, the expence of maintenance is inconſiderable: ſo that a large and numerous family is a bleſſing, and the more numerous, the greater the bleſſing. Living on ſimple food, for the moſt part of the farinaceous kind, their appetites are eaſily ſatisfied; their wants are few; and their reſources many.

The women are not ſo much confined as has been generally imagined; they frequently viſit their relations and friends ‡, and have various ways of facilitating intrigues; thus, if a lady's (rahayat) ſandals be ſeen at the door of an apartment, the huſband himſelf dare not enter; he retires into another room, and directs the female ſlave to inform him when her (lela) lady is diſengaged, which is known by the ſandals being taken away.

When an ill-diſpoſed huſband becomes jealous or diſcontented with his wife, he has too many opportunities of treating her cruelly; he may tyrannize over her without controul; no one can go to her aſſiſtance, for no one is authorized to enter his harem

* The k guttural; for when not guttural, the word ſignifies old, or worn out.

† The ſupply of the garriſon of Gibraltar with bullocks, &c. excepted.

‡ Women of rank, who reſide in the towns, ſeldom walk abroad, it being conſidered a degradation to the wife of a gentleman to be ſeen walking in the ſtreet: when, however, they are going to pay a viſit, they have a ſervant, or ſlave, to accompany them.

without

without permiſſion. Jealouſy or hatred riſes ſo high in the breaſt of a Moor, that death is often the conſequence to the wretched female who has excited, perhaps innocently, the anger of her huſband. The fate of thoſe women who are not ſo fortunate as to bear a male child is too often to be lamented; thoſe who do, are treated with extraordinary reſpect, the father being careful not to ill treat the mother of his ſon and heir. A father, however fond of his daughter, cannot aſſiſt her, even if informed of the ill-treatment ſhe ſuffers; the huſband alone is lord paramount: if, however, he ſhould be convicted of murdering his wife, he would ſuffer death, but this is difficult to aſcertain, even ſhould ſhe bear on her the marks of his cruelty, or daſtardly conduct, for who is to detect it? Inſtances have been known where the woman has been cruelly beaten and put to death, and the parents have been informed of her deceaſe as if it had been occaſioned by ſickneſs, and ſhe has been buried accordingly: but this difficulty of bringing the man to juſtice, holds only among the powerful baſhaws, and perſons in the higheſt ſtations: and theſe, to avoid a retaliation of ſimilar practices on *their* children, ſometimes prefer giving their daughters in marriage to men of an inferior ſtation in life, who are more amenable to juſtice.

The inhabitants of this empire are ſubject to many loathſome and diſtreſſing diſeaſes. Children are frequently affected with baldneſs, and the falling ſickneſs, which, however, gradually leave them as they grow up; the women are very ſubject to the latter, which they call *m'jinen*, that is, poſſeſſed with a ſpirit.

The head-ache is common, but it is only temporary, ariſing uſually from a ſudden ſtoppage of perſpiration, and goes off again on uſing exerciſe, which in this hot climate immediately cauſes perſpiration. The ſtomach is often relaxed with heat, and becomes extremely painful; this they call, improperly, (ugah el kulleb) the pain of the heart. They are frequently complaining of gripings, and univerſal weakneſs, which are cauſed probably by the water they continually drink; they complain alſo of (ugah el adem) the bone-ache, which is occaſioned by their ſitting on the ground without ſhoes.

Schirrous ulcers, and other eruptions, often break out on their limbs and bodies, from the heated ſtate of their blood, which is increaſed by the too conſtant uſe of ſtimulants, for whenever they ſit down to meat, the firſt enquiry is, (waſh ſkune) is it ſtimulating? and if they are anſwered in the negative, they will not touch it, be it ever ſo good and ſavoury. Theſe eruptions in time turn to leprous affections.

The moſt general diſorder, however, is the venereal diſeaſe, which is ſaid to have been unknown among them, till the period when Ferdinand, king of Caſtile, expelled the Jews from Spain, who coming over to Marocco, and ſuffering the Africans to cohabit with their wives and daughters, the whole empire was as it were *inoculated* with the dreadful

dreadful diſtemper; they call it *the great diſeaſe* *, or *the woman's diſorder*; and it has now ſpread itſelf into ſo many varieties, that, I am fully perſuaded, there is ſcarcely a Moor in Barbary, who has not more or leſs of the virus in his blood. They have no effectual remedy for it; they know nothing of the ſpecific mercury; but uſually follow a courſe of vegetable diet forty days, drinking, during that time, decoctions of ſarſaparilla, which affords them a temporary relief. As the heat of the climate keeps up a conſtant perſpiration, thoſe who have this diſorder, do not ſuffer ſo much from it as perſons do in Europe; and this, added to their abſtaining in general from wine, and all fermented liquors, may be the cauſe of their being enabled to drag through life, without undergoing a radical cure, though they are occaſionally afflicted with aches and pains, till their diſſolution. I have heard many of them complain, that they had never enjoyed health or tranquillity ſince they were firſt infected. If any European ſurgeon happen to preſcribe the ſpecific remedy, they generally, from ſome inaccuracy of interpretation, want of confidence, or other cauſe, neglect to follow the neceſſary regimen; this aggravates the ſymptoms, and they diſcontinue the medicine, from a belief of its inefficacy.

Leproſy, called Jeddem, or Murd Jeddem, is very prevalent in Barbary; people affected with it are common in the province of Haha, where oil argannick is much uſed, which, when not properly prepared, is ſaid to be a great heater of the blood. The lepers of Haha are ſeen in parties of ten or twelve together, and approach travellers, to beg charity. In the city of Marocco, there is a ſeparate quarter, outſide the walls, inhabited by lepers only. In paſſing through this place, I obſerved that its inhabitants were by no means diſfigured in perſonal appearance, excepting that they generally have no eye-brows; the women, when young, are extremely handſome: they are ſometimes fluſhed in the face, and at others pale; when they appear abroad, they aſſiſt their complexion with (el akker) rouge, and (el kahol) lead ore, with which latter they blacken their eye-laſhes and eye-brows, and puncture the chin from the tip to the middle of the lower lip; but this practiſe, which they think increaſes their beauty, certainly diſfigures them.

Leproſy being conſidered epidemical, thoſe who are affected with it are obliged to wear a badge of diſtinction whenever they leave their habitations, ſo that a ſtraw hat, with a very wide brim, tied on in a particular manner, is the ſignal for perſons not to approach the wearer; the lepers are ſeen in various parts of Barbary ſitting on the ground, with a wooden bowl before them, begging, and in this way they collect ſometimes a conſiderable ſum for ſuch a country. They intermarry with each other, and although the whole ſyſtem is ſaid to be con-

* In Arabic, el murd el kabeer, or el murd En'ſâli.

taminated,

taminated, yet they do not diſcover any external marks of diſeaſe, except the before-mentioned paucity, or total want of eye-brows. On any change of weather, and particularly if the ſky be overcaſt, and the air damp, they will be ſeen ſitting round a fire, warming their bones, as they term it; for they ache all over till the weather reſumes its wonted ſalubrity. The elephantiaſis has been thought a ſpecies of leproſy, for it debilitates and hardens the epidermis of the legs, which ſwell, and appear rugous.

Perſons affected with the elephantiaſis and hydrocele, are frequently met with, particularly about Tangier, the water of which is ſaid to occaſion the latter, and thoſe who are recently affected with it, affirm, that it leaves them on removing from the place*. During my ſtay once at Tangiers, after travelling through the country, I obſerved one of my ſervants labouring under the diſorder. On ſpeaking to him about it, and regretting that there was no phyſician to afford him relief, he laughed, and made light of it, ſaying, he hoped I would not ſtay long at Tangiers, as it was occaſioned by the water of the place, and would leave him as ſoon as we departed; which was actually the caſe, for two days after our departure, it had almoſt entirely ſubſided.

Caſes of dropſy and hernia are ſometimes met with, though the latter is not ſo frequent as in Europe. They have no effectual remedy for any of the before-mentioned diſeaſes; their whole materia medica conſiſts, with little exception, of herbs and other vegetables, from their knowledge of the virtues of which, much might be learned by European phyſicians.

Gun-ſhot wounds are cured by the actual cautery.

The plague, which appears neceſſary to carry off the overplus of increaſing population, viſits this country about once in every twenty years; the laſt viſitation was in 1799, and was more fatal than almoſt any ever before known.

The Mohammedans never poſtpone burying their dead more than twenty-four hours; in ſummer it would be offenſive to keep them longer, for which reaſon they often inter the body a few hours after death. They firſt waſh it, then lay it on a wooden tray, without any coffin, but covered with a ſhroud of cotton cloth; it is thus borne to the grave by four men, followed by the relations and friends of the deceaſed, chaunting (La Allah illa Allah wa Mohammed raſſul Allah.) There is no God but *the true* God, and Mohammed is his prophet. The head is placed in the grave towards Mecca, and the head and foot of it are marked by two ſtones. It is unlawful to take fees at an interment; the bier belongs to the (jamâa) moſque, and is uſed, free of expence, by thoſe applying for it. The cemetery is a piece of ground *unencloſed*, attached to ſome ſanc-

* I only mention this, from its being the popular and generally received opinion of the natives; the caſe of my ſervant would, indeed, ſeem to favour ſuch an opinion, but his cure was probably owing to other cauſes.

tuary,

tuary, outside of the town; for the Mohammedans do not allow the dead to be buried among the habitations of the living, or in towns; they highly venerate the burying places, and, whenever they pass them, pray for the dead.

The etiquette of the court of Marocco does not allow any man to mention the word *death* to the emperor, so that if it be necessary to communicate to him the news of any Mohammedan's decease, they say, (ufah amenah) "he has completed his destiny," or his life, to which (Allah cê erhammoh) "God be merciful to him," is the reply. When a Jew dies, the Moors express it by (maat bel hasan) "the son of a cuckold is dead;" on the death of a Christian, who bore a good character, they say, (maat mesquin) "the inoffensive, or negative man is dead;" but if he was unpopular, or disliked, (maat el kaffer) "the infidel is dead."

Account of the City and Government of Timbuctoo.

From the same.

TIMBUCTOO, the great emporium of central Africa, has, from time immemorial, carried on a very extensive and lucrative trade with the various maritime States of North Africa, viz. Marocco, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, Egypt, &c. by means of (akkabaahs) accumulated caravans, which cross the great Desert of Sahara, generally between the months of September and April inclusive: these akkabaahs consist of several hundred loaded camels, accompanied by the Arabs, who let them to the merchants for the transport of their merchandize to Fas, Marocco, &c. at a very low rate. During their route, they are often exposed to the attacks of the roving Arabs of Sahara, who generally commit their depredations as they approach the confines of the Desert.

In this tiresome journey, the akkabaahs do not proceed in a direct line across the trackless Desert to the place of their destination, but turn occasionally eastward or westward, according to the situation of certain fertile, inhabited, and cultivated spots, interspersed in various parts of Sahara, like islands in the ocean, called Oas, or Oases; these serve as watering-places to the men, as well as to feed, refresh, and replenish the hardy and patient camel: at each of these Oases, the akkabaah sojourns about seven days, and then proceeds on its journey, until it reaches another spot of the same description. In the intermediate journies, the hot winds, denominated Shume, are often so violent, as considerably, if not entirely, to exhale the water carried in skins by the camels for the use of the passengers and drivers; on these occasions, the Arabs and people of Soudan affirm that 500 dollars have been given for a draught of water; and that ten or twenty are commonly given when a partial exhalation has occurred.

In 1805, a caravan proceeding from Timbuctoo to Tafillet, was disappointed, in not finding water at one of the usual watering-places, when, horrible to relate, the whole of the persons belonging to it, 2000 in number, beside 1800 camels, perished of thirst! Accidents of this sort account for the vast quantities of

of human and other bones, which are found mingled together in various parts of the Deſert.

The intenſe heat of the ſun, aided by the vehement and parching wind driving the looſe ſand along the boundleſs plains, gives to the Deſert the appearance of a ſea, the drifting ſands reſembling exactly the waves of the ocean, and hence aptly denominated by the Arabs (El Bahar billa mâa) a ſea without water.

It is generally affirmed that the guides, to whom the charge of conducting theſe numerous accumulated caravans is committed, in their route to and from Marocco, direct their courſe by the ſcent of the ſandy earth; but I could never diſcover any reaſonable foundation for ſuch an opinion, and apprehend it to be an artful invention of their own, to impoſe on the credulity of this ſuperſtitious and ignorant people, and thus to enhance the value of their knowledge. Theſe guides poſſeſs ſome idea of aſtrology, and the ſituation of certain ſtars, and being enabled by the two pointers to aſcertain the polar ſtar, they can, by that unvarying guide, ſteer their courſe with conſiderable preciſion, preferring often travelling in the night, rather than under the ſuffocating heat of the ſcorching meridian ſun.

When the akkabaah reaches Akka, the firſt ſtation on this ſide of the Deſert, and ſituated on the confines thereof, in Lower Suſe, which is a part of Bled-el-jerrêde, the camels and guides are diſcharged, and others there hired to proceed to Fas, Marocco, Terodant, Tafillet, and other places.

The akkabaahs perform the traverſe of the Deſert, including their ſojournments at El-wahs, or Oaſes, in about 130 days. Proceeding from the city of Fas, they go at the rate of three miles and a half an hour, and travel ſeven hours a day; they reach Wedinoon, Tatta, or Akka, in eighteen days, where they remain a month, as the grand accumulated akkabaah proceeds from the latter place.

In going from Akka to Tagaſſa (the *g* ſhould be pronounced guttural), they employ ſixteen days, here ſojourning fifteen days more to repleniſh their camels; they then proceed to the Oaſis and Well of Taudeny, which they reach in ſeven days; here again they remain fifteen days: their next route is to Arawan, another watering-place, which they reach in ſeven days; here they ſojourn fifteen days, and then proceed and reach Timbuctoo the ſixth day, making a journey of fifty-four days actual travelling, and of ſeventy-five days repoſe, being altogether, from Fas to Timbuctoo, one hundred and twenty-nine days, or four lunar months and nine days.

There is another akkabaah which ſets out from Wedinoon and Sok Aſſa, and traverſing the Deſert between the black mountains of Cape Bojador and Gualata, touches at Tagaſſa, El Garbie (both *g*'s guttural, or Weſt Tagaſſa, and ſtaying there to collect ſalt, proceeds to Timbuctoo. The time occupied by this akkabaah is five or ſix months, as it goes as far as Jibbed-el-biëd, or the White Mountains, near Cape Blanco, through the Deſert of Mograffra and Woled Abuſſebah, to a place called Agadeen, where it ſojourns twenty days.

The akkabaahs which croſs the Deſert,

Deſert, may be compared to our fleets of merchant veſſels under convoy, the (ſtata) convoy of the Deſert being two or more Arabs, belonging to the tribe through whoſe territory the caravan paſſes: thus, in paſſing the territory of Woled Abuſſebah, they are accompanied by two Sebayées, or people of that country, who, on reaching the confines of the territory of Woled Deleim, receive a remuneration, and return, delivering them to the protection of two chiefs of Woled Deleim; theſe again conducting them to the confines of the territory of the Moraffra Arabs, to whoſe care they deliver them, and ſo on, till they reach Timbuctoo: any aſſault made againſt the akkabaah during this journey, is conſidered as an inſult to the whole clan to which the (ſtata) convoy belongs, and for which they never fail to take ample revenge.

Beſides theſe grand accumulated caravans, there are others which croſs the Deſert on any emergency, without a ſtata, or guard of ſoldiers; but this is a perilous expedition, and they are too often plundered near the northern confines of the Deſert, by two notorious tribes, called Dikna and Emjot. In the year 1799, an akkabaah, conſiſting of two thouſand camels loaded with Soudanic produce, together with ſeven hundred ſlaves, was plundered and diſperſed, and many were killed. Theſe deſperate attacks are conducted in the following manner: a whole clan picket their horſes at the entrance of their tents, and ſend out ſcouts to give notice when an akkabaah is likely to paſs; theſe being mounted on the Heirie, or Shrubba Er'reeh, quickly communicate the intelligence, and the whole clan mount their horſes, taking with them a ſufficient number of (niag) female camels, to ſupply them with food (they living altogether on the milk of that animal;) they place themſelves ſomewhere in ambuſh near an Oaſis, or watering-place, from whence they iſſue on the arrival of the akkabaah, which they plunder of every thing, leaving the unfortunate merchants entirely deſtitute.

Thoſe who have philoſophy enough to confine their wants ſolely to what nature requires, would view the individual happineſs of the people who compoſe the caravans with approbation. Their food, dreſs, and accommodation, are ſimple and natural: proſcribed from the uſe of wine and intoxicating liquors by their religion, and exhorted by its principles to temperance, they are commonly ſatisfied with a few nouriſhing dates, and a draught of water; and they will travel for weeks ſucceſſively without any other food: at other times, a little barley meal and cold water is the extent of their proviſion, when they undertake a journey of a few weeks acroſs the Deſert; living in this abſtemious manner, they never complain, but ſolace themſelves with a hope of reaching their native country, ſinging occaſionally during the journey, whenever they approach any habitation, or whenever the camels appear fatigued: theſe ſongs are uſually ſung in trio, and in the chorus all the camel-drivers, who have a muſical voice, join; it is worthy obſervation, how much theſe ſongs renovate the camels, and the ſymphony and time they keep ſurpaſſes what any one would imagine, who had not heard them.

In

In traverſing the Deſert, they generally contrive to terminate the day's journey at l'Aſaw, a term which they appropriate to our four o'clock, P. M. ſo that between that period and the ſetting ſun, the tents are pitched, prayers ſaid, and the (Laſhaw) ſupper got ready; after which they ſit round in a circle, and talk till ſleep overcomes them, and next morning, at break of day, they proceed again on their journey.

The Arabic language, as ſpoken by the camel-drivers, is peculiarly ſweet and ſoft; the guttural and harſh letters are ſoftened, and with all its energy and perſpicuity, when pronounced by them, it is as ſoft, and more ſonorous, than the Italian; it approaches the ancient Korannick language, and has ſuffered but little alteration theſe twelve hundred years. The Arabs of Moraffra, and thoſe of Woled Abuſſebah, frequently hold an extempore converſation in poetry, at which the women are adepts, and never fail to ſhew attention to thoſe young Arabs who excel in this intellectual and refined amuſement.

The articles tranſported by the company of merchants trading from Fas to Timbuctoo, are principally as follows: various kinds of German linens, viz. plattilias, rouans, brettanias, muſlins of different qualities, particularly muls, Iriſh linens, cambricks, fine cloths of particular colours, coral beads, amber beads, pearls, Bengal raw ſilk, braſs nails, coffee, fine Hyſon teas, refined ſugar, and various manufactures of Fas and Tafilelt, viz. ſhawls and ſaſhes of ſilk and gold, hayks of ſilk, of cotton and ſilk mixed, of cotton and of wool; alſo an immenſe quantity of (hayk filelly) Tafilelt hayks, a particularly light and fine manufacture of that place, and admirably adapted to the climate of Soudan; to theſe may be added red woollen caps, the general covering of the head, turbans, Italian ſilks, nutmegs, cloves, ginger, and pepper, Venetian beads, cowries, and a conſiderable quantity of tobacco and ſalt, the produce of Barbary and Bled-el-jerrêde.

The produce of Soudan, returned by the akkabaahs for the above articles, conſiſts principally in gold duſt, twiſted gold rings of Wangara, gold rings made at Jinnie, bars of gold, elephants' teeth, gum of Soudan (guza Saharawie), grains of Sahara, called by Europeans grains of Paradiſe, odoriferous gums, called el b'kor'h Sodan, much eſtimated by the Arabs for fumigating, to which they aſcribe many virtues; a great number of ſlaves, purchaſed at Timbuctoo, from the Wangareen, Houſſonian, and other ſlatees, who bring them from thoſe regions which border on the Jibbel, Kumra, or Mountains of the Moon, a chain which, with little or no intermiſſion, runs through the continent of Africa, from the weſt to the eaſt, viz. from Aſſentee in the weſt, to Abyſſinia in the eaſt.

Oſtrich feathers and ambergris are collected on the confines of the Deſert, and are added to the merchandize before mentioned.—The gold jewels of Jennie are denominated by the Arabs El Herrez, from the ſuppoſed charm they contain; they are invariably of pure gold, and ſome of them of exquiſite workmanſhip, and of various forms, but hollow in the middle, for the purpoſe of containing the

Herrez,

Herrez, or amulet, which conſiſts of paſſages from the Koran, arranged in ſome geometrical figure, on paper, which being incloſed in the gold jewel, is ſuſpended from the neck, or tied round the arms, legs, or elſewhere. Theſe charms have various and particular powers attributed to them, ſome inſuring the wearer againſt the effects of an evil eye, others from an evil mind; ſome are intended to ſecure a continuation of proſperity and happineſs, or to avert misfortune, whilſt others ſecure to the wearer health and ſtrength. This ſuperſtition, and predilection for charms, pervades the greater part of Africa: thus, in the northern maritime ſtates, in Suſe, and other parts of Bled-el-jerrêde, the fakrees, or ſaints attach half a hundred Herrez (without, however, the gold covering, for which they ſubſtitute a leathern one) to different parts of their body, and even to the horſes: at Marocco I have ſeen eleven round one horſe's neck. The inhabitants of theſe countries imagine no diſorder incident to mankind can attack either man or beaſt, without the aid of ſome (jin) ſpirit, or departed ſoul, or (drubba d'lain) an evil eye.

The ſlaves brought by the akkabaahs are more or less valuable in Barbary, according to their beauty and ſymmetry of perſon, and alſo according to their age, and the country from whence they are procured; thus a Wangareen ſlave is not worth ſo much as one from Houſſa; the former being a groſs, ſtupid people, little ſuperior in underſtanding to the brute creation, whilſt thoſe of Houſſa are intelligent, induſtrious, acute, and poſſeſs a peculiarly open and noble countenance, having prominent noſes, and expreſſive black eyes: thoſe of Wangara, on the contrary, have large mouths, thick lips, broad, flat noſes, and heavy eyes. A young girl of Houſſa, of exquiſite beauty, was once ſold at Marocca, whilſt I was there, for four hundred ducats, whilſt the average price of ſlaves is about one hundred, ſo much depends on the fancy or the imagination of the purchaſer!

Theſe ſlaves are treated very differently from the unhappy victims who uſed to be tranſported from the coaſt of Guinea, and our ſettlements on the Gambia, to the Weſt-india iſlands. After ſuffering thoſe privations, which all who traverſe the African Deſert muſt neceſſarily and equally ſubmit to, maſters as well as ſervants and ſlaves, they are conveyed to Fas and Marocco, and after being exhibited in the ſock, or public market-place, they are ſold to the higheſt bidder, who carries them to his home, where, if found faithful, they are conſidered as members of the family, and allowed an intercourſe with the (horraht) free-born women of the houſehold. Being in the daily habit of hearing the Arabic language ſpoken, they ſoon acquire a partial knowledge of it, and the Mohammedan religion teaching the unity of God, they readily reject Paganiſm, and embrace Mohammedaniſm; their Mooſelmin maſters then inſtil into their vacant minds, ready to receive the firſt impreſſion, the fundamental principles of the Mooſelmin doctrine; the more intelligent learn to read and write, and afterwards acquire a partial knowledge of the Koran; and ſuch as can read and underſtand one chapter,

ter, from that time procure their emancipation from ſlavery, and the maſter exults in having converted an infidel, and in full faith expects favour from heaven for the action, and for having liberated a ſlave. When theſe people do not turn their minds to reading, and learning the principles of Mohammedaniſm, they generally obtain their freedom after eight or ten years ſervitude; for the more conſcientious Mooſelmen conſider them as ſervants, and purchaſe them for about the ſame ſum that they would pay in wages to a ſervant during the above period; at the expiration of which term, by giving them their liberty, they, according to their religious opinions, acquire a bleſſing from God, for having done an act, which a Mooſelman conſiders more meritorious in the ſight of Heaven, than the ſacrifice of a goat, or even of a camel. This liberation is entirely voluntary on the part of the owner; and I have known ſome ſlaves ſo attached to their maſters from good treatment, that when they have been offered their liberty, they have actually refuſed it, preferring to continue in ſervitude. It ſhould not, however, be ſuppoſed, that the Arabs and Moors are always inclined thus to liberate theſe degraded people: on the contrary, ſome of them, particularly the latter, are obdurate, and make an infamous traffic of them, by purchaſing, and afterwards intermarrying them, for the purpoſe of propagation and of ſale, when they are placed in the public market-place, and there turned about and examined, in order to aſcertain their value.

The eunuchs which the emperor and princes keep to ſuperintend their reſpective horems, are, for the moſt part, procured from the vicinage of Senaar in Soudan; theſe creatures have ſhrill and effeminate voices; they are emaſculated in a peculiar manner, and ſometimes in ſuch a way, as not to be incapacitated from cohabiting with women; they are in general very fat and groſs, and, from the nature of the charge committed to them, become very confidential ſervants: indeed, their fidelity is ſurpaſſed only by their unbounded indolence. I knew one of theſe creatures, who was chief of the eunuchs ſuperintending the horem of Muley Abd Salam, at Agadeer, who was one hundred and ten years old; he was then upright, and walked about without a ſtick.

Perſons unaccuſtomed to, or unacquainted with, the mode of living in Africa, may imagine the expence and trouble of conveying the ſlaves acroſs the Deſert, would be more than the advantage derivable from their ſale; but it muſt be recollected that theſe people are very abſtemious, particularly whilſt travelling; ten dollars expended in rice in Wangara, is ſufficient for a year's conſumption for one perſon; the wearing apparel is alike economical, a pair of drawers, and ſometimes a veſt, forming all the clothing neceſſary in traverſing the Deſert.

It is not aſcertained when the communication between Barbary and Soudan was firſt opened, yet it is certain, that the enterpriſing expedition of Muley Arſheede to the latter country, tended conſiderably to increaſe and encourage the exchange of commodities, and cauſed the eſtabliſhment of the company of Fas merchants at Fas, as well as

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that of their factory at Timbuctoo, which has continued to increase and flourish ever since.

The circulating medium at Timbuctoo is (tibber) gold dust, which is exchanged for merchandize; thus a plattilia is worth 20 mizans of gold: a piece of Irish linen, of 25 yards, is worth 30 mizans; and loaf sugar is worth 40 mizans of gold per quintal.

Having, in some measure, explained the nature of the trade with Timbuctoo, we may now proceed to discuss the extent of its territory; and although this does not appear to have been ascertained, yet it may be said to extend northward to the confines of Sahara, or the Desert, a tract of country about ninety miles in breadth: the western boundary is one hundred and thirty miles west of the city, and the eastern extends to the Bahar Soudan, or the sea of Soudan, which is a lake formed by the Nile El Abeede, whose opposite shore is not discernible; this is the description given of it by the Soudanees, who have visited it: on its opposite or eastern shore begins the territory of white people hereafter mentioned, denominated by the Arabs (N'sarrath) Christians, or followers of Jesus of Nazareth: south of the river is another territory of immense extent, the boundary of which extends to Lamlem, or Melli, which latter is reported to be inhabited by one of the lost, or missing tribes of Israel.

The city of Timbuctoo is situated on a plain, surrounded by sandy eminences, about twelve miles north of the Nile El Abeede, or Nile of the Blacks, and three (erhellat) days journey from the confines of Sahara: the city is about twelve miles in circumference, but without walls. The town of Kabra, situated on the banks of the river, is its commercial depôt, or port. By means of a water carriage east and west of Kabra, great facility is given to the trade of Timbuctoo, from whence the various articles of European as well as Barbary manufactures, brought by the akkabaahs from the north of Africa, are distributed to the different empires and states of Soudan, and the south. This great mart is resorted to by all nations, whither they bring the various products of their respective countries, to barter for the European and Barbary manufactures.

The houses of Timbuctoo have for the most part no upper apartments; they are spacious, and of a square form, with an opening in the centre, towards which the doors open; they have no windows, as the doors, which are lofty and wide, admit sufficient light to the rooms when thrown open.—Contiguous to the entrance door is a building, consisting of two rooms, called a Duaria, in which visitors are received and entertained, so that they see nothing of the women, who are extremely handsome; the men are so excessively jealous of their wives, that, when the latter visit a relation, they are muffled up in every possible way to disguise their persons; their face is also covered with their garment, through which they peep with one eye to discover their way.

The king, whose authority has been acknowledged at Timbuctoo ever since the death of Muley Ismael, emperor of Marocco, is the sovereign

ſovereign of Bambarra; the name of this potentate in 1800 was Woolo: he is a black, and a native of the country which he governs; his uſual place of reſidence is Jinnie, though he has three palaces in Timbuctoo, which are ſaid to contain an immenſe quantity of gold. Many of the civil appointments, ſince the deceaſe of Muley Iſmael before mentioned, and the conſequent decline of the authority of the Emperor of Marocco, have been filled by moors of Maroquin origin; but the military appointments ſince the above period, have been entirely among the negroes of Bambarra, appointed by the King Woolo; the inhabitants are alſo for the moſt part negroes, who poſſeſs much of the Arab hoſpitality, and pride themſelves with being attentive to ſtrangers. The various coſtumes exhibited in the market-places and ſtreets, indicate the variety and extent of the commercial intercourſe with the different nations of central Africa; the individuals being each habited in the dreſs of his reſpective country, exhibit a variety both pleaſing and intereſting to every ſtranger who goes there.

The toleration in a country like this is particularly deſerving of notice. The Divan, or l'Alemma, never interfere with the religious tenets of the various religions profeſſed by the different people who reſort hither for commercial or other purpoſes; every one is allowed to worſhip the great Author of his being without reſtraint, and according to the religion of his father, or in the way wherein he may have been initiated.

The police of this extraordinary place is extolled as ſurpaſſing any thing of the kind on this ſide of the deſert; robberies and houſe-breaking are ſcarcely known; the peaceable inhabitants of the town, each following his reſpective avocation, interfere with nothing but what concerns them. The government of the city is entruſted to a divan of twelve Alemma, or men learned in the Koran, and an umpire, who retain their appointments, which they receive from the king of Bambarra, three years. The power of the Alemma is great, and their falling into the maſs of citizens, after the expiration of the above period, obliges them to act uprightly, as their good or bad adminiſtration of juſtice either acquits or condemns them, after the expiration of their temporary power. The civil juriſprudence is directed by a cadi, who decides all judicial proceedings according to the ſpirit of the Koran; he has twelve talbs of the law, or attornies, attending him, each of whom has a ſeparate department of juſtice to engage his daily attention.

It is aſſerted that until lately no Jews were permitted to enter the town, and various conjectures have been made as to the cauſe of this interdiction. It is alſo reported that thoſe Jews who do now reſort thither are obliged to become Mohammedans, the forms of which religion they probably relinquiſh on their return to their native country; but whatever may be the oſtenſible, I am inclined to think the true cauſe why the Jews are not admitted into Timbuctoo, is the extreme jealouſy of the individuals of the Mooriſh factory, whoſe avarice induces them to exclude

every perſon from ſharing their emoluments, whenever a plauſible pretext can be found.

The climate of Timbuctoo is much extolled as being ſalubrious, and extremely invigorating, inſomuch that it is impoſſible for the ſexes to exiſt without intermarrying; accordingly it is ſaid, there is no man of the age of eighteen who has not his wives or concubines, all which are allowed by the laws of the country, which are Mohammedan; and it is even a diſgrace for a man who has reached the age of puberty to be unmarried. The natives, and thoſe who have reſided there any conſiderable time, have an elegance and ſuavity of manners, which is not obſerved on this ſide of Sahara; they poſſeſs a great flow of animal ſpirits, and are generally ſo much attached to the country, that they invariably return, when inſurmountable difficulties do not prevent them.

The accommodation for travellers at Timbuctoo is very ſimple; camels, horſes, drivers, and merchants rendezvous at a large houſe, having an open ſpace in the middle, round which are built rooms ſufficiently large for a bed and table: theſe inns, or caravanſeras, are called Fondaque, and each merchant hires a room, or more, until he accommodates himſelf with a houſe, bartering and exchanging his commodities, till he has inveſted the whole in Soudanic produce, which he endeavours to accompliſh by autumn (September,) in order to be ready for the akkabaah, either to proceed to Marocco, Cairo, Jidda, or elſewhere.

With regard to the manufactures of different kinds of apparel at Timbuctoo, and other places of the interior, they are made for the moſt part by the women in their reſpective houſes, whenever they cannot procure European cloths and linens, or when there is a great ſcarcity of Fas and Tafilelt manufactures of ſilk, cotton, and woollen.

It has been ſaid that there is an extenſive library at Timbuctoo, conſiſting of manuſcripts in a character differing from the Arabic; this, I am inclined to think, has originated in the fertile imagination of ſome poet; or, perhaps, ſome Arab or Moor, willing to indulge at the expence of European curioſity, has fabricated ſuch a ſtory. In all my inquiries during many years, I never heard of any ſuch library at Timbuctoo. The ſtate library, which is compoſed for the moſt part of manuſcripts in the Arabic, contains a few Hebrew, and perhaps Chaldaic books; amongſt the Arabic, it is probable there are many tranſlations from Greek and Latin authors at preſent unknown to Europeans.

The Nile El Abeede, or Nile of the Negroes, overflows in the ſame manner as the Nile Maſſar, or Nile of Egypt, when the ſun enters Cancer; this is the rainy ſeaſon in the countries ſouth of the Great Deſert, and in Jibbel Kumra, or the Mountains of the Moon, from whence the waters deſcend, which cauſe the river to overflow its banks. At Kabra near Timbuctoo, it becomes a very large ſtream. River horſes are found in the Nile El Abeede, as well as crocodiles, and the country contiguous to its ſouthern banks is covered with foreſts of primeval growth, in which are many

many trees of great ſize and beauty. Theſe foreſts abound with elephants of an enormous ſize.

The river, according to the concurrent teſtimony of the Arabs and the Moors, is about the width of the Thames at London: the ſtream is ſo very rapid in the middle, as to oblige the boats which navigate to Jinnie, to keep cloſe to the ſhore; and the boatmen, inſtead of oars, puſh the boat on with long poles.

The ſoil about Timbuctoo is generally fertile, and near the river produces rice, millet, Indian corn, and other grain: wheat and barley grow in the plains, and are cultivated principally by the Arabs of the tribe of Brabeeſha. Coffee grows wild here, as does alſo indigo; the latter, however, is cultivated in ſome parts, and produces a very fine blue dye, which they uſe in their various cotton manufactures; a ſpecimen of this colour may be ſeen in the Britiſh Muſeum, in a piece of cloth of cotton and ſilk, which I had the honour to preſent to that national depoſitory of curioſities ſome years ſince: it is of a chequered pattern, ſimilar to a draft board, the ſquares are alternate blue and white; theſe pieces of cotton are manufactured at Jinnie and Timbuctoo, and uſed as covers to beds; they are valuable from the ſtrength and durability of the texture, and are therefore ſold at a high price in Barbary, according to the quantity of ſilk that is in them, and the quality of the cotton: thoſe however which have no ſilk interwoven, but are ſimply cotton, of blue and white patterns, are not ſo coſtly: the width varies from two to twelve inches; the pieces are ſewed together ſo cloſely afterwards with ſilk or thread, that one can ſcarcely perceive the ſeams, the whole appearing as one piece.

The huſbandmen (whom they call fulah) are very expert in the œconomy of bees: honey and wax are abundant, but neither is tranſported acroſs the Deſert; firſt, becauſe the articles abound in Barbary, and ſecondly, becauſe they are uſed by the natives of Timbuctoo, the former as an article of food, and the latter for candles.

There is a ſupply of fiſh from the river about Kabra, but of what kind I have not been able to learn, as they differ from thoſe of Europe.

The mines of gold which lie ſouth of the bed of the river belong to the Sultan Woolo, who reſides at Jinnie; he has three palaces, or ſpacious houſes at Timbuctoo, where his gold is depoſited, of which he is ſaid to poſſeſs an enormous quantity. The perſons who are daily employed in working the mines are Bambareen negroes, who are extremely rich in gold, for all pieces of ore which they take from the mines, not weighing twelve mizans, or two ounces, become a perquiſite to themſelves, as a remuneration for their labour, and all pieces of greater weight belong to the Sultan, and are depoſited in his beforementioned palaces.

It is aſſerted that the mines are ſo pure, that lumps of virgin gold are conſtantly found of ſeveral ounces in weight; this being admitted, it will not be ſurpriſing that the value of this precious metal, here ſo abundant, ſhould be inconſiderable, and that ſome articles of ſmall value with us in

Europe, such as tobacco, salt, and manufactured brass, should often sell at Timbuctoo for their weight in gold. But here I would wish to be understood as speaking with some latitude, as the precise value of the circulating medium of Soudan is subject to great fluctuation, originating from a company of enterprising speculators of great capital at Fas, who are extremely jealous of the trade, and particularly cautious in communicating any information respecting it. In my various inquiries on this subject, I have constantly been guarded from receiving any information respecting Soudan from men who have had commercial establishments there; but have been rather induced to prefer the testimony of those whom I have frequently met from time to time in my various journies through West and South Barbary, who were strangers to the motive of my inquiries, considering them merely as the natural suggestions of curiosity; some of these, however, I have by chance met with afterwards at Mogodor and Agadeer, where my commercial establishments were, when finding I was engaged in foreign commerce, they became very circumspect and cautious, and apparently regretted having communicated intelligence to me concerning their country.

Account of the Numbers, Force, Discipline, &c. of the Ladrones; by Mr. Turner, first mate of the Tay, who was made Prisoner by them.

From the Literary Panorama.

The total number of vessels engaged in piracy on the south coast of China, and which are known to Europeans by the name of Ladrones, is, as nearly as I can conjecture, between five and six hundred sail. These are of different sizes; the largest may be about 200 tons burthen, the smallest do not exceed 15, but the greater part are from 70 to 150 tons. Like other Chinese vessels, their draught of water is much less than the generality of Europeans of the same burthen. As they have not been built on purpose, by the pirates themselves, but, are vessels which from time to time have fallen into their hands, there is nothing in their construction or appearance to distinguish them from Chinese trading vessels.

The largest carry 12 guns, from 6 to 12 pounders; the rest carry according to their size; besides long wall pieces, match locks, pikes with bamboo shafts, from 14 to 18 feet long, which they use, by throwing them like javelins, at a distance; also shorter ones, with shafts of solid wood, the iron part being similar to the blade of a dirk, slightly curved, and made sharp on one edge or both. These they keep in their hands, for fighting at close quarters, for which they use short swords, hardly exceeding eighteen inches in length. Like the guns in the Chinese forts and vessels, those of the Ladrones are mounted on carriages without trucks, having neither breechings nor tackle, and being all run out right a-beam, never pointed fore and aft, they are obliged, in making an attack, to wear the vessel, in order to bring the guns to bear on the object. A man stands with a match, ready to fire, as soon as he has taken a good aim. The

guns

guns are previouſly elevated or depreſſed, according to the diſtance. Having in this way fired their broadſides, they haul off to reload. The number of men in each veſſel is generally conſiderable for its ſize. The larger have upwards of 100 men. Few even of the ſmalleſt have leſs than thirty. If we average the whole at 50 men, and reckon the number of veſſels at 500, neither of which ſuppoſitions I think exceeds the truth, the total number of theſe pirates will amount to 25,000 men. Independent of the force above-mentioned, ſeveral of the veſſels have belonging to them a row-boat, mounting from 6 to 10 wall pieces, and ſwivels; alſo well armed with boarding pikes and ſwords, according to their ſize, carrying from 18 to 30 men. Theſe are rigged with one or two maſts, and pull from 14 to 20 oars. They are more particularly employed in going cloſe along ſhore at night, to plunder and deſolate villages and farms that do not pay them tribute, and to carry off ſuch of the inhabitants as fall into their hands. They chiefly infeſt the mouths of the river Macao, and ſuch places as have ſmall trading boats. They in general leave the large veſſel an hour or two before ſun-ſet, and return about noon the following day; though they are ſometimes abſent two or three days. They lie at anchor during the day, ſo as not to be ſeen by thoſe on whom they intend making their depredations. At dark, they iſſue forth, and plunder whatever falls in their way. Sometimes, when ſucceſsful, they go on the ſides or tops of the hills, and on perceiving any boat or veſſel which they think they can maſter, they immediately give chaſe to it. The Ladrones are abundantly ſupplied with ſhot from Macao and Whampoa; ſtolen, I ſuppoſe, by the Chineſe, from the forts and ſhipping, at thoſe places, and brought by them for ſale.

I have ſeen ſo many 18 pound ſhot brought, that they were refuſed; and theſe, I had every reaſon to believe, came from Whampoa. When at cloſe quarters, they frequently uſe nails, fragments of iron pots, &c. which ſupply the place of grape and caniſter. Of powder of Chineſe manufacture they readily procure what they want, from different places.

Their numbers are kept up, and even conſiderably augmented, partly by ſuch of their captives as are unable to ranſom themſelves; and partly by Chineſe, who come daily from different parts of the coaſt to join them. It will hardly be credited, how great the number is of this latter deſcription. I have frequently ſeen five to ten come at one time, and on one occaſion, upwards of thirty. Some of theſe were doubtleſs vagabonds, inſtigated by poverty and idleneſs, to embrace this criminal mode of life, but many were men of decent appearance; ſome of whom brought money with them. The only reaſon I ever heard them aſſign for their conduct was, that the Mandarines of their diſtrict were unjuſt, and that they come away to avoid their oppreſſion. Theſe people who go voluntarily to join the Ladrones, are at liberty to leave them, I believe, whenever they chooſe; as ſeveral of them left them, after being with the Ladrones a month or two. At one time they uſed to come and go in

ſuch quick ſucceſſion, that the chief I was with, refuſed to allow them to join him, unleſs they agreed to ſtop eight or nine months, when they ſhould be at liberty to go or ſtay; but great numbers remain for years; and it is on them that the command of the veſſels devolves.

The whole body of Ladrone veſſels that I have ſeen, are under the command of five chiefs, who are independent of each other. The veſſels under each chief are diſtinguiſhed by a particular flag at the fore-maſt head. The diviſion by which I was captured, had a red triangular flag with a white ſcalloped border. A ſecond diviſion had a black triangular flag with a white ſcalloped border. A third, had a red ſquare flag without any border. A fourth is diſtinguiſhed by a red triangular flag with a plain yellow border; and a fifth, by a ſquare flag, blue, white, and red, horizontally. The two firſt diviſions generally cruize among the iſlands on the coaſt, from Typo eaſtward, the three others keep more to the weſtward, though at times they even go to the eaſtward of Macao. The diviſions bearing the red flag with a white border are, at preſent, much ſuperior in force to any of the others.

Each veſſel has a captain, who directs, in a general way, all the operations on board, and whoſe authority is ſufficiently reſpected by the crew. The management of the ſails and ſteerage of the veſſel are entruſted to two or more experienced hands, whoſe orders on theſe points are executed by the others. Under theſe are three or four more, ſimilar to our boatſwain's mates, to keep the people on deck, and at their duty. During the time of action, or chace, the captain takes a more active part, and directs all the movements. In every veſſel there is a certain proportion of men of approved courage and fidelity, who have voluntarily joined the Ladrones. Theſe fire the guns, and are moſt forward in all hazardous enterprizes. Should the captain fall, one of theſe generally takes the command. I never ſaw any of the crew flogged, or beaten, in a Ladrone, though I have ſeen them put in irons. The captain is generally better dreſſed than the common Ladrones. He alſo fares ſomewhat better; and the officers and aſſiſtants, mentioned above, are, ſome of them, partakers of his meals.

Each diviſion is formed into ſeveral ſquadrons, commanded by an inferior chief, by whom the captains of the different veſſels are generally appointed, and from whom they receive their orders. He is himſelf reſponſible for his conduct to the chief of his diviſion. Sometimes the whole of the ſquadron cruizes in a body: ſometimes two or three ſquadrons join their forces; and frequently only a few veſſels ſail in company, according to the force they expect to meet.

All veſſels that frequent the coaſt of China are liable to be attacked by them; except ſuch as, by paying a tribute to one of the Ladrone chiefs, have obtained paſſes, which paſſes, I believe, are reſpected by all the other diviſions. Numbers, not only of fiſhing boats, but of the country merchant veſſels, avail themſelves of this

this protection. The farms and villages upon the coaſt, which have no forts in the neighbourhood, are equally ſubject to the depredations of the Ladrones; and the inhabitants are, for the moſt part, glad to compromiſe for their ſafety by paying a tribute. This tribute is collected from the villages every ſix months; from the boats annually: and the ſums obtained in this way muſt be very conſiderable. As a proof how far theſe paſſes are reſpected, I ſhall mention one inſtance. The commander of a ſquadron having plundered and detained a fiſhing boat that had a paſs, on the matter being repreſented to the chief of the diviſion, the commander was obliged, not only to give up the boat to its owner, but to pay him 500 dollars, for the detention and loſſes he had ſuffered.

If a veſſel they capture happens to have made any reſiſtance, they, in general, murder ſome of the crew, and cruelly treat the reſt. If ſhe has not reſiſted, but they ſuſpect the crew of having deſtroyed or ſecreted any thing, though none are murdered, they are very ſeverely puniſhed.

In other caſes they are ſatisfied with the plunder and detention of veſſel and crew. The puniſhment above alluded to is inflicted in the following cruel manner: the unhappy ſubject being firſt ſtripped of all but his trowſers, has his hands tied together behind his back, a rope, paſſing from the maſt head, is then made faſt to his joined hands, by which he is hoiſted from deck, and while thus ſuſpended repeated ſtripes are inflicted on every part of his body, with a rod formed of two or three rattans twiſted together. Blood frequently follows the ſtripes; and, in ſome caſes, the miſerable ſufferer is left ſuſpended by his hands for upwards of an hour. When any of the mandarin boats fall unfortunately into their hands, the perſons belonging to them are moſt cruelly butchered.

All the priſoners they take, who are poſſeſſed of any friends, are expected to ranſom themſelves. The ranſom demanded is generally as much as they ſuppoſe the perſon can raiſe, either from his own fortune, or by the aſſiſtance of his friends. I know of no inſtance where, on the ranſom agreed upon being brought, the perſon was not given up. Should thoſe, who are ſuppoſed capable of paying for their releaſe, refuſe to do ſo, they infallibly expoſe themſelves to the cruel treatment above mentioned.

Thoſe who are unable to ranſom themſelves are detained, and obliged to aſſiſt in working the veſſel, and other duties. They are never allowed to go on ſhore, even for water, without ſome of the volunteer Ladrones accompanying them, armed; notwithſtanding which precaution, they at times eſcape; but, if retaken, are moſt ſeverely treated, or perhaps put to death. I have underſtood, that at the end of four or five years they obtain their releaſe, if they wiſh it; but the habits they have acquired, or their dread of being recognized as Ladrones, prevent the greater part from returning to their former occupations.

With reſpect to the women who fall into their hands, the handſomeſt are reſerved by them for wives and concubines: the chiefs and captains having frequently three

or

or more; the other men ſeldom more than one; and having once made choice of a wife, they are obliged to be conſtant to her. No promiſcuous intercourſe is allowed among them; but the greater part of the crew are ſatisfied without women; a few are ranſomed, and the moſt homely turned on ſhore. Children taken are generally detained, and brought up as ſervants, &c.

When a veſſel is taken, and the owners do not ranſom her, which is ſometimes the caſe, both veſſel and cargo are deſtroyed, if not wanted by the captors; but, in general, the beſt veſſels are kept and armed as Ladrones.

The cargo, when of uſe to them, is diſtributed among the ſhips of the ſquadron; and it is in this way they are partly ſupplied with neceſſaries. Whatever money is found in their prizes is brought to the commander of the ſquadron, as alſo the ſums received for the ranſom of priſoners and goods. Of this a trifle is given to the immediate captors, part is reſerved to purchaſe proviſions and other ſupplies, according as they are wanted for the uſe of the ſquadron, and a certain proportion, though I know not what, is paid to the chief of the diviſion.

From this ſource, and the tributes formerly mentioned, there is generally a large quantity of ſpecie on board the veſſels of the chiefs. I have been told from 50 to 100,000 dollars. Out of this they ſupply ſuch ſquadrons as may have been unſucceſsful in their cruizes. The Ladrones find not the leaſt difficulty in procuring ſupplies of proviſions and all other neceſſaries on every part of the coaſt, for which they pay honourably. The fiſhermen are generally the bearers of theſe ſupplies.

If the Ladrones are not endowed with that deſperate valour which is the characteriſtic of many other pirates, yet, I conceive, they are by no means devoid of courage: I have repeatedly ſeen them ſtand very well during an attack. I was told by an American and ſome Portugueſe, who had ſeen more of it than I had, that they are apt to flinch when wounded. I have heard themſelves declare, that they are not afraid of an attack, either from the Chineſe government or any other; and that nothing would give them greater pleaſure than to meet the Mandarin junks at a diſtance from Macao, on nearly equal terms. As an inſtance how well they will defend themſelves, if hard puſhed, I may mention, that a Ladrone junk fell in with four Mandarin junks, all larger than herſelf, which, after an engagement of ſome time, ſhe beat off; having one man killed and two wounded.

I have heard them alſo aſſert, that ſome time or other, when there were no foreign ſhips at Whampoa, they would make an attack on Canton; and ſhould the Portugueſe cruizers oppoſe their deſign, that they would burn them: whether this was bravado or not, I do not pretend to ſay; but it is certain, they go among all the iſlands, ſingly, and in ſmall bodies, without fear of moleſtation.

In the foregoing account I am ſenſible that I may have touched on ſome points with which the gentlemen reſident in China are much

much better acquainted than I can poſſibly be; but I thought it better to run the riſk of ſtating ſome facts which might be already known, than of withholding any which are not.

S. L. TURNER.

Canton, Auguſt 11th, 1807.

Deſcription of Moſcow. From Travelling Sketches in Ruſſia and Sweden. By Sir R. K. Porter.

MOSCO is luxurioufly ſituated on an extent of country rather irregular, having in its ſpacious champaign a few riſing grounds. Of all cities I ever beheld, it is the moſt curious and un-european. On viewing it from an eminence you ſee a vaſt plain, as far as the eye can reach, covered with houſes, even to the very horizon; where the lofty towers of gorgeous palaces, and the glittering ſteeples of churches, ſparkle in the ſky.

The city is built on the banks of two rivers, the Moskva (whence it takes its name,) and the Yauſa. Moſco was anciently divided into five diſtricts; and as they in part yet retain their diſtinctions, you will have a clearer idea of this coloſſal town by having a deſcription of theſe partitions. They lie one within the other. The interior circle is called the Kremlin, a Tartarian word for *the fortreſs*. The Kitaigorod, or Tartar town, is the centre circle. The Bielgorod, called ſo (the White town) from a wall of that hue which ſurrounds it, is the third. The fourth circle is named Semlanoi-gorod, from its earthern rampart. The ſlobodes, or ſuburbs, incloſe all theſe, and form the extremeſt boundary of Moſco.

The Kremlin ſtands in the centre of the city on an elevated bank of the Moſkva. Within its walls ſtands the antient palace of the Tzars; rendered particularly intereſting from the circumſtance of its having been the reſidence of princes, whoſe names need only be mentioned to command the homage of every heart loyal to true kingly virtue. Mikhaila Romanoff, Alexey Mikhailovitch, Feodor, and the Great Peter, once inhabited theſe towers; and ſtill ſanctify them by their memories. The appearance of the palace is venerable; but it contains nothing of any conſequence to ſee.

The cathedrals around the palace, which I underſtand are five in number, beſides convents, pariſh churches, and colleges, give it rather a monaſtic ſolemnity. Theſe are all richly endowed, and ornamented in the moſt coſtly manner. In one of the churches lie the remains of Prince Demetrius, who was ſo cruelly murdered, and is now regarded as a ſaint. Along with his relics repoſe thoſe of ſeveral grand Princes and Tzars. Their tombs are of ſtone, covered with palls of ſcarlet velvet ſuperbly embroidered. The cathedral dedicated to the *Aſcenſion*, poſſeſſes a perfect treaſury of religious conſecrations; and it is diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, in being the place where all the emperors of Ruſſia are crowned. Not far from the cathedral is the ſynodal palace, where formerly the patriarchs dwelt, and which now contains an invaluable library. Near to that is the ſenate-houſe, a magnificent building erected by Catharine the

ſecond.

ſecond. And alſo the arſenal, a ſtrong compact edifice. The Kremlin is parted from the Tartar town by a brick wall whitened, very high, and embattled in the eaſtern manner. My ſketch of the city and this fortreſs will ſhew you the form of the fortification. At various diſtances are towers, ſquare and round, with ſpiral minarets, covered with ſcaly tiles like the ſkin of fiſh, painted green, yellow, and crimſon, ſurmounted with a gilded ball and fane. It is curious to obſerve the ſimilarity between this turreted bulwark and the well known Chineſe wall, ſo well pourtrayed in Lord Macartney's account of his embaſſy to China. The reſemblance is ſo cloſe, that we might think the ſame engineer had exerted his abilities in both countries.

Before I left the precincts of this intereſting place, I aſcended the tower of the church of Ivan the Great, which commands a view of the whole ſurrounding plain. Although the monotonous paleneſs of winter then ſhrouded its boſom, yet the *coup-d'œil* was transcendently magnificent. The ſun ſhone with unattempered ſplendour through an atmoſphere whoſe clearneſs cannot be conceived in England: the variegated colours on the tops of innumerable buildings; the ſparkling particles of ſnow on the earth and palaces; the fanes and creſcents of the churches flaſhing thick blazing gold; and, added to all, the buſy world beneath paſſing and repaſſing in their ſuperb dreſſes, and decorated ſledges, preſented ſuch a ſcene of beauty and grandeur, that I ſhould have thought myſelf repaid for my diſagreeable journey, had I even been obliged to return to St. Peterſburgh immediately, in beholding ſo glorious a view.

The Kitai-gorod, the ſecond diviſion, is built round the Kremlin. Some, by that term, mean to call it the Tartar city; and others, the Chineſe town. I have not acquired Ruſs enough to tell you whether the word Kitai equally applies to China and to Tartary; but that both nations have a pretence to naming it, we all know; the Tartars by their conqueſts; and the Chineſe from the great commerce they once held with Moſco. This diſtrict, by way of eminence, is uſually called *Gorod, the city;* and is ſurrounded with a wall and other fortifications. From the number of its ſhops and warehouſes, and the Aſiatic apparel of the buyers and ſellers, it reminded me of what I had read of Bagdat in the time of the Caliphs, when the chief merchants of the Eaſt uſed to aſſemble in its populous ſtreets. The number of ſhops and warehouſes which compoſe this mart, is nearly ſix thouſand.

There are ſome colleges in this city, and many private reſidences, amongſt the moſt ſpacious of which is the houſe of Count Tcheremetieff. Its churches are moſtly on the plan of thoſe of St. Peterſburgh; of which, I believe, I formerly gave you a ſketch. Some in this diſtrict are of the ancient architecture; and others, built in more modern taſte, are groteſque imitations of Greek and Roman temples: and yet, notwithſtanding theſe defects, they form not an unpleaſing variety with the Aſiatic ſtructures around. The effect of the latter

edifices

edifices is pictureſque and ſplendid. The great maſs or body of the church is ſquare, ornamented with ſmall ſemicircular arches and columns, ſimilar to our Saxon architecture. This building is ſurmounted by five minarets, one at each end, and a larger in the middle, ſhaped like an inverted balloon. They are all magnificently covered with ducat gold. A high gilt croſs riſes from the centre, beneath which is a creſcent, a mark of triumph over Mahometaniſm, both religious and military. When the Tartars, to whom Muſcovy was ſubject two centuries, profaned any of the churches with their worſhip, they fixed the creſcent, the badge of their prophet, on its pinnacle. On Moſco being regained to the empire, by the grand Prince Ivan Baſilovitch, he did not tear down the creſcent, but planted the croſs above it as a memorial of its victory. Not many paces from the main body of the church ſtands a narrow and higher tower of a different form from the minarets, being pyramidical. This contains the bells, and they are ſounded by pulling their tongues againſt their ſides: hence it is not difficult to toll thoſe of the moſt enormous ſize. Theſe machines are at work the greater part of the day; but very lucky it is, both for the ſteeples and the town, that they are not ſtruck in the Engliſh faſhion: half the belfries would have been down by this time, and all the people in the city driven deaf. Imagine the bells of a thouſand churches (with five at leaſt in each), clanging all at once, without harmony or variety; for they never ring in peals! The noiſe, in quality, is as bad as marrow-bones and cleavers; and in quantity, more uproarious than any thing I can conceive, ſince *Big Tom* at Oxford bereft the univerſity of their hearing, and broke all the windows in the town.

Over the grand entrance of the church, is uſually painted the legend of the Saint to whom it is dedicated. The inſide is embelliſhed in a ſimilar taſte, with gothic ornaments, and pictures imitated from Albert Durer, in a ſtyle not likely to reſcue the fame of the Ruſſian artiſts. The moſt remarkable church in Moſco for theſe internal decorations is within this circle. It was the production of an Italian architect, brought from Italy by the tyrant Ivan Baſilovitch, on purpoſe to build him a church. On his arrival, the monarch gave him orders to erect an edifice that ſhould be unequalled in taſte and ſplendour throughout the world. Ivan was obeyed. The fabrick was finiſhed, and all Moſco crowded to expreſs their admiration of its perfections. The poor artiſt's head could not bear ſuch a whirlwind of adulation; and being complimented by a Lord of the court on having produced a proof of his ſkill that could never be equalled, his intoxicated vanity dictated this unfortunate reply; "It is nothing to one I could yet build!"

This declaration reached the ears of the Tzar. The Italian was ſummoned; and the tyrant, repeating what he had heard, added, "I ſhall put it out of your power to make any other country boaſt a church more ſplendid than mine." And immediately had the wretched man's eyes thruſt out in his preſence.

Time

Time and circumſtances are powerful changers of taſte. I looked at this wonderful ſtructure with all my *admiration* directed to the ſtupidity of the artiſt, and the blindneſs of the Prince, in not diſcovering it to be the moſt clumſy, cumberſome, and hideous maſs that ever diſgraced a civilized country. I am almoſt inclined to believe that the turn of the ſtory ſhould be reverſed; and that the tyrant, ſtruck with the failure of his plan, determined to deſerve the world's gratitude in one act at leaſt, by rendering ſo vile an architect incapable of again burthening any part of the earth with the like ſpecimen of ignorance, bad taſte, and abſurdity.

Biel-gorod, called the White Town from its ramparts, but formerly Tzaref (the city of the Tzars), ſurrounds the foregoing diviſion: and conſiſts of numerous monaſteries, ſeventy churches, the univerſity founded by the Empreſs Elizabeth, the foundling hoſpital, and many public inſtitutions, beſides the ſpacious dwellings of ſome of the ancient princely families and other nobility.

Semlanoi-gorod, ſo called from its earthen boundary; and the ſlobodes or ſuburbs, form the outward girdle of this immenſe city; and in their numerous and antiquated ſtreets, ſhew all the varieties attached to a great capital; on one ſide ſplendid manſions; on the other dingy hovels filled with all the depreſſing effects of bondage. The pleaſanteſt parts of theſe ſuburbs are inhabited by Germans; and alſo a band of noble Georgians, who, with a large train of followers, retired hither. The diſtricts allotted to theſe ſtrangers partake of their character, and are very intereſting.

It is now upwards of ſix weeks ſince I arrived in this city; a month of which was paſſed under all the rigors of winter, when the ſnow lay four feet deep in many of the ſtreets, and the long lines of the frozen rivers, and the ſurrounding country, were covered with the deathly garb. But in a moment, as if by the act of an enchanter's wand, a univerſal thaw diſſolved the whole. Thouſands of boors were ſeen breaking up with their hatchets the large maſſes of diſſolving ice, and carrying it in their ſingle horſe-ſledges to the river, the ſooner to make the ways paſſable, and rid them of their winter ſhoub.

During this operation, the road became extremely bad, having unavoidably, till all was cleared off, at different intervals, holes of a great depth, to the imminent peril of the paſſengers, whether in carriages or *en traineau*. Walking, at this ſeaſon, is deemed a diſgrace: and it is very well that prejudice ſets ſo firmly againſt any attempt to change the mode, as it would be dangerous in the extreme: its inconveniences could hardly be balanced. In the firſt place, to prevent the inveterate penetration of the ſnow-water you muſt ſwathe your feet and legs in bandages of a hundred folds; and then thruſt them into huge machines of moſt uncouth Ruſſian materials, before you durſt venture to ſet one foot on the ground in ſuch a toe-deſtroying element. Common leather boots would be as mere blotting paper, and ſoaked through in an inſtant. Then imagine all the muddy embroidery, which would

ſkirt

ſkirt your peliſſe even to the middle of your back, where the melting ſnows from the neighbouring houſes, would greet it, like the meeting waters in Noah's flood. If you walk near the ſides of the houſes (the moſt eligible place in England), your death is threatened every moment. Here, during the long winter, the icicles accumulate to ſuch a number and ſize, and hang in ſuch a tremendous fringe from the eaves, that their appearance alone is ſufficient to intimidate the boldeſt pedeſtrians. And yet ſome have been ſo raſh that I have heard of frequent inſtances of perſons paſſing under them at the commencement of the thaw, who, by the falling of theſe immenſe maſſes, were cruſhed to pieces. Their weight is incredible. The ſnow is not only annoying, but equally perilous with the ice; and, as it ſlides by degrees to the bend of the roof, in ſome unexpected moment it is precipitated in a ſort of *avalanche* into the ſtreet below. I ſaw three natives who were trudging by at the inſtant of a *chute de neige*, all embowelled at once. A conſiderable time was ſpent in digging them out, when they were brought forth, to a miracle alive, but much hurt.

It is a very amazing ſpectacle to obſerve how rapidly this frigid covering vaniſhes, and how ſoon the ſmiling face of ſpring appears. In one day the Moſkva became liquid, and no trace of winter remained on its waters, except where floating maſſes of ice, and the fragments of diſmantled cottages rolling down its current, reminded you of the yet recent devaſtations of its departing wrath. The diſunited ſnows from the higher lands uſually come down into the lower in ſuch quantity, and with ſuch violence, that cattle, men, and often whole villages are ſwept away. The rivers receive the dreadful depoſit; and thus on the banks of the Moſkva, at the moment when ſpring promiſes every vernal joy, you behold the wrecks of devaſtation, the memorials of a miſchief and miſery incalculable.

A great part of the city lying very low, was for ſeveral days under water; but now all is cleared, and the trees are ready to bloom. It is hardly eight days ſince the thaw began, and there is ſcarcely a particle of ſnow to be found. What a fortnight ago was a dreary plain of ice, is now robed in verdure, and animated with budding trees, and ſhrubs. The whole aſpect of the city is ſo changed, that no one who did not witneſs the moment of alteration, could believe it to be ſame place. Moſco in ſummer, and Moſco in winter, has as much reſemblance, as a butterfly to its chryſalis. At preſent it is like a world of palaces collected together; and really the idea given of it by Joſeph the ſecond of Auſtria, who paid it a viſit, is a better picture than I can draw. "Here, (ſaid he) have all the chief lords of the empire ſet themſelves down, ſurrounded each by his village, his church, and his vaſſals."

The deſcription is juſt; for it is not a city of houſes in mere rank and file of ſtreets, but rather a collection of manſions, each emboſomed amidſt its lawns, gardens, pleaſure grounds, and the dwellings of its neceſſary ſlaves. Some of the moſt ancient princes of the empire have very ſplendid palaces in Moſco,

Moſco, ornamented with baſſo relievo, gilding, and every Aſiatic decoration. Indeed, this is a favourite reſidence with almoſt all the Ruſſian nobility who have not employments at court or in the government; and from the great influx of inhabitants, you ſee many of their fine houſes yet unfiniſhed without, while the inſide boaſts every ſplendour which taſte can preſent, and every hoſpitality in the power of kindneſs to offer. No Engliſhman can ſpeak too ſenſibly of the attentions which the Muſcovite nobility pay to the individuals of his nation. It is even more gracious than the moſt refined courteſy, poſſeſſing all its graces, it carries to your heart the more delightful conviction of an animated friendſhip.

Owing to the peculiar circumſtances of the inhabitants of this town, pleaſure is ever the order of the day: it holds a continual carnival, where balls, private theatres, maſquerades, and aſſemblies of all ſorts, for ever vary the ſcene. The grounds around the manſions of the nobility afford romantic and charming morning walks. But their favourite amuſement is what they call the *promenade*. It conſiſts of all the carriages in the city, perhaps to the number of ſeven thouſand, trailing after each other in regal proceſſion, through fixed parts of the town and its environs. The inſides of theſe vehicles are filled with all the beauty and ſplendour of Moſco: and in my life I never beheld ſo many lovely women at one time.

The ſuperiority of this metropolis over that of St. Peterſburgh, in the general beauty of the females, is beyond compariſon. Perhaps this may be accounted for, from the intermarriages of the noble families with thoſe of countries celebrated for ſymmetry of features and graceful forms; namely, Circaſſia, Georgia, and Poland. The young ladies dreſs rather in the Pariſian mode, but much improved by their own native taſte. Their evening attire is in a more beautiful ſtyle than that of any other country: but in the morning dreſs, the fair of our own country have the advantage.

Before I came into this country, I was led to believe that I ſhould find the morals on a par with thoſe of France. To me it ſeems totally the reverſe. I never ſaw married people more happy, or apparently more affectionate towards each other: I never, in any country, met with young women more amiable and virtuous. Every country has its *mauvais ſujets!* And anciently, as an unlimited licence to pleaſure was given here, and exampled by thoſe high in influence, it might be ſuppoſed that the ſeeds of libertiniſm, once ſown in a nation, could never be eradicated; but it grew ſo rank during its ſhort ſeaſon, that I believe all is exhauſted, and that the laſt generation carried with them into the other world not only the fruits but the roots of this cultivation. In ſhort, it appears from what I have hitherto been able to judge, that for a city whoſe ſole object is pleaſure, Moſco poſſeſſes leſs of what is called faſhionable vice, than may be found in countries where moſt ſeeming authority is practiſed.

The *promenade* I have juſt mentioned, or more properly ſpeaking, the *cavalcade*, generally begins at the

the termination of the ſix weeks' faſt. Many do indeed religiouſly abſtain from food, in a manner that produces very alarming effects. After the ſpareſt diet, with a weakened ſyſtem, when the faſt expires, they return to their uſual full tables, with an avidity which, unchecked, lays the foundation for numerous diſorders. The female ſex, particularly, are ſufferers, who throwing themſelves from a cloiſtered regimen and retirement, immediately into repletion, and the ſtream of thoſe equipages; thinly clad, and ſtaying out late with open windows amid the damps of the evaporating earth, catch ſuch colds as either end their days, or embitter their lives. Medical men tell me, that at this *witching time* of the year, there is more ſickneſs, death, and miſery, than at any other period in their practice.

Were ſuch a concourſe of carriages to aſſemble in our iſland, as here meet on the banks of the Moſkva, fractured poles, broken ſides, and maimed coachmen, footmen, &c. would be the certain conſequences; but a moſt admirable police is inſtituted, both here and at St. Peterſburgh, to prevent all confuſion and diſaſter. This authority is inveſted in a detachment of ſoldiers, who having an imperious command over the proceſſion, not only add to its magnificence, but inſure its ſafety.

Account of the Baſchkirs. From the ſame.

A FEW days ago I was gratified by ſeeing a moſt intereſting body of troops march through the city, and which are never ſummoned by the Emperor but upon extraordinary occaſions. The whole of theſe auxiliaries might amount to the number of fifteen thouſand men. The firſt were called Baſchkirs.

They are a people who derive themſelves from a race of Tartars called Tſchalmates, who, in former times, uſed to reſide on the Kama. The name of Baſchkir is rather a term of opprobrium, given to them by their neighbours, ſignifying wolf, from their propenſity to plunder. Their acknowledged country now is, amongſt the Oural mountains, extending down to the Tartar deſerts, on the borders of the rivers Oby and Tobol. They formerly roamed about the northern Siberia, under the conduct of their chiefs. But to avoid the moleſtation of the Siberian Khans, they ſettled themſelves in their preſent poſſeſſions; ſpreading themſelves along the banks of the rivers Volga and Oural, and ſubjecting themſelves to the Kazanian Kharnate. On the overthrow of that ſtate by the Tzar Joan Vaſſilleivitch II. they made a merit of neceſſity, and accepted the protection of the Ruſſian ſceptre.

In the year 1770, they conſiſted of twenty ſeven thouſand families. Every tribe chooſes its own ruler, who is called the Starchinis: it is long ſince they relinquiſhed the privilege of being governed by a Khan. The houſes, or huts which they inhabit during winter, are built in the faſhion of the Ruſſian villages. The principal part, which the family poſſeſſes, is furniſhed with large benches, uſed either as ſeats or beds. The chimney is of a conical form, about five feet high; and is in the middle of the

apartment. The houſe is uſually filled with ſmoke: and by all deſcriptions the economy of the whole place muſt much reſemble an Iriſh cabin.

In ſummer, the Baſchkirs inhabit tents covered with felt, which, like the huts, have diviſions, and a chimney in the centre. A winter village contains from ten to fifty houſes; but a ſummer encampment never exceeds twenty tents. The moſt opulent are thoſe who dwell to the eaſt of Oural and the province of Iſſet. Some individuals of this nation are owners of not leſs than four thouſand horſes, who fatten on the richeſt paſtures in the valley till the month of June; when the waſps and other inſects drive them into the mountains, there to keep *ſpare faſt and diet with the gods* till July recalls them to the plains. Like the patriarchs of old, the principal wealth of this people conſiſts in their flocks and herds; but, what may appear very extraordinary, it is chiefly from their horſes that they derive the neceſſaries of life; meat, milk, veſſels, and garments.

Primitive as theſe manners may ſeem, they are not without education: as there are few Baſchkirs who cannot write and read. With ſome knowledge of tillage, they yet prefer the paſtoral life, which, though it may be a contemplative employment, is certainly very likely to prove a lazy one. Sowing but little grain, their harveſts muſt be very inſufficient for their wants. However they ſupply them in various other ways, and particularly by the traffic of honey. They apply with great ſucceſs to the propagation of bees, making their hives in hollow trees, for the ſafer protection from wild animals and accidents. Frequently one man is the poſſeſſor of 5 or 600 of theſe little induſtrious commonwealths. I am ignorant of the Baſchkir mode of taking the honey; but, from the value they affix to the bees, I hope it is by a more humane method than that of ſmothering.

The women employ themſelves in weaving, fulling, and dyeing narrow coarſe cloths; they likewiſe make the cloaths for the whole family. The men, of the laborious claſſes, follow the harder toil of fabricating felts, and tanning leather. Both ſexes wear linen ſpun from the down of nettles; and they cover their limbs with wide drawers which deſcend to the ancle. On their feet they wear the uſual eaſtern ſlipper. All this is enveloped in a long gown, generally red, bordered with fur, and faſtened round the waiſt with a girdle, in which is placed the dagger or ſcymitar. The lower orders, in winter, have a peliſſe of ſheep ſkins; the higher ranks wear a horſe ſkin, in ſuch a manner, that the mane flows down their backs, and waves in the wind. Their cap is cloth, and of a conical ſhape, ſometimes ornamented with fur, and ſometimes plain, according to the wealth of the owner. This is their ordinary cloathing. The garments of the women in the ſuperior claſſes, are of ſilk, buttoned before as high as the neck; and faſtened by a broad ſteel girdle. Their boſoms and throats are wrapped in a ſhawl, hung with ſtrings of beads, ſhells, and even coins. Their diverſions are circumſcribed to religious ceremonies, births, marriages, and burials; and a few

a few other feſtivals peculiar to themſelves. Their modes of rejoicing, are, drinking plentifully of ſour milk, ſinging, dancing, and horſe-racing. In their ſongs they enumerate the achievements of their anceſtors, or their own; and ſometime interrupt their epic by amatory ditties. Their ſongs are always accompanied by geſtures; which add much to their expreſſion and effect. Their dancing is like that ſtill practiſed by the common people of Ruſſia to their Belloryicha (or lute), every one making ſtrange faces, with as ſtrange geſticulations of the hands, ſhoulders, and hips. The motion of the feet is very gentle; and the women, while thus contorting themſelves, hold a long ſilk handkerchief in their hands, which they caſt about moſt wantonly. The uſe of the handkerchief is ſtill preſerved in Ruſſia; and amongſt the more refined movements of the nobility is transformed into the graceful exerciſe called the ſhawl dance.

The Baſchkir ſoldiers are ſkilful in managing the bow, and are dexterous horſemen. The military ſervice they are obliged to perform, as a tribute to Ruſſia for her protection, conſiſts in ſending three thouſand troops at leaſt to the field, on the firſt ſummons from the Emperor. They do not ſeem to conſider this as a yoke; but march forward with the cheerfulneſs of a people undertaking a voluntary campaign. They poſſeſs the Spartan virtue of being particularly reſpectful to old age. In all entertainments, the aged occupy the ſeat of honour; and as a compliment to ſtrangers, they are placed next to the venerable fathers. The language of the Baſchkirs is a Tartar dialect, but very different from that ſpoken at Kaſan. They are Mahometans, and much addicted to all the ſuperſtitions of the Eaſt.

As this ſtrange people marched forward, I was ſo ſtruck by their appearance, ſo peculiar, grand and pictureſque, ſo totally different from any thing in our quarter of Europe, that I thought myſelf tranſported back many centuries. I was viewing the armies of Tſchinghis Khan or Tamerlane! In ſhort, I could not believe the ſcene to belong to the preſent times; and every object conſpired to preſerve the illuſion. The men were caſed in ſhirts of mail, with ſhining helmets; and armed with long pikes, adorned at the top with various coloured pennons. Their other weapons were ſwords, bows and arrows; each ſheaf of the latter containing twenty-four. The bows were ſhort, and of the Aſiatic form and materials, not well made; neither were their arrows carefully feathered, or ſtrait, yet, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages, their dexterity in ſhooting at a diſtance, or at objects in rapid motion, is amazing.

At the head of each ſquadron was carried a large ſtandard of a forked ſhape. Some were green, charged with gold figures of curious forms, embroidered on the ſtuff. Others were of red or white cloth, with a ſingle A in the centre. Theſe people were generally robuſt, and of various ſtrange phyſiognomies: and beſides Baſchkirs, many ſucceeding ſquadrons were compoſed of large detachments from the Bucharian, Kalmuc, and other Tartar hordes.

Their horſes are ſmall, and

though hardy and active, not a hair more ſightly than thoſe uſed by the Coſſacs. This little army was led on by two chiefs in very ſuperb habits. A bright coat of mail, highly poliſhed, covered their body to the middle of the thigh. A well conſtructed helmet guarded the head, accompanied by an equally ingenious protection for the neck. A ſcarlet keftan hung from their ſhoulders down on the backs of two of the fineſt Perſian horſes I ever beheld: theſe, and the leopard-ſkin ſhubrach (or ſaddle covering) gave to the appearance great magnificence and union of effect.

Paris and the Pariſian Court.

[*From Travels through the South of France, by Lieut. Col.* Pinckney.]

I reached Paris at an early hour in the afternoon; and having letters for Mr. Younge, the confidental ſecretary to Mr. Armſtrong, immediately waited upon him, that his information might aſſiſt me as to finding ſuitable apartments. Lodgings in Paris are infinitely more expenſive than in London, and with not one half the comfort. I did not find Mr. Younge at his houſe; but upon hearing my name, his Lady received me as an expected friend, and relieved me from the neceſſity of further ſearch, by informing me that Mr. Younge had expected me, and provided apartments for me in his own houſe. I ſhall have future occaſion to mention, that the beautiful lady of this gentleman was a French woman, and that he had been about ſix months married to her when I arrived in Paris. She was the niece of the celebrated Lally Tolendal, and had all the elegance, beauty, and dignity which ſeems characteriſtic of that family. I never ſaw a woman whoſe perfect beauty excited in me at firſt ſight ſuch a mixed emotion of wonder, awe, and pleaſure.

As my purpoſe in viſiting France was not to ſee Paris, I reſolved to make my ſtay in this gay capital as ſhort as poſſible. I entered it on the Tueſday afternoon, and determined to leave it and purſue my journey into the provinces on the following Monday. I had therefore little time to ſee the ſingularities of this celebrated metropolis, but I made the beſt of this time, and had the advantage of Mr. Younge's knowledge and guidance.

There is no place in the world, perhaps, more diſtinguiſhed for literary eminence, in every part of art and ſcience, than Paris. The literary inſtitutions of Paris, therefore, were the objects of my firſt viſit. Every capital has its theatres, public gardens, and palaces; but Paris alone has its public libraries on a ſcale of equal utility and magnificence. In Paris alone, ſcience ſeems to be conſidered as an object of importance to mankind, and therefore as a ſuitable object for the protection of government. In Paris alone, to ſay all in a word, the pooreſt ſtudent, the moſt ragged philoſopher, has all the treaſures of princes at his command; the National Library opens at his call, and the moſt expenſive books are delivered for his uſe.

On the morning following my arrival,

arrival, Mr. Younge accompanied me to the National Library. On entering it we aſcended a moſt ſuperb ſtaircaſe, painted by Pellegrine, by which we are led to the library on the firſt floor. It conſiſts of a ſuite of ſpacious and magnificent apartments, extending round three ſides of a quadrangle. The books are ranged around the ſides, according to the order of the reſpective ſubjects, and are ſaid to amount to nearly half a million. Each diviſion has an attending librarian, of whom every one may require the book he wiſhes, and which is immediately delivered to him. Being themſelves gentlemen, there is no apprehenſion that they will accept any pecuniary remuneration; but there is likewiſe a ſtrict order that no money ſhall be given to any of the inferior attendants. There are tables and chairs in numbers, and nothing ſeemed neglected, which could conduce even to the comfort of the readers.

The moſt complete department of the library is that of the manuſcripts. This collection amounts to nearly fifty thouſand volumes, and amongſt them innumerable letters, and even treatiſes, by the early kings of France. A manuſcript is ſhewn, as written by Louis the Fourteenth: it is entitled, "Memoirs of his own Time, written by the King himſelf." I much doubt, however, the authenticity of this production. Louis the Fourteenth had other more immediate concerns than writing the hiſtory of France. France is full of theſe literary forgeries. Every king of France, if the titles of books may be received as a proof of their authenticity, has not only written his life, but written it like a philoſopher and hiſtorian, candidly confeſſing his errors, and abuſing his miniſters.

The ſecond floor of the building contains the genealogies of the French families. They are depoſited in boxes, which are labelled with the ſeveral family names. They are conſidered as public records, and are only producible in the courts of juſtice, in order to determine the titles to real property. No one is allowed to copy them except by the moſt ſpecial permiſſion, which is never granted but to hiſtoriographers of eſtabliſhed name and reputation. The cabinet of antiques is ſtated to be very rich, and, to judge by appearances, is not inferior to its reputation. The collection was made by Caylus. It chiefly conſiſts of vaſes, buſts, and articles of domeſtic uſe amongſt the Romans. The greater part of them have been already copied as models, in the ornamenting of furniture, by the Pariſian artiſts. This faſhion indeed is carried almoſt to a mania. Every thing muſt be Greek and Roman, without any reference to nature or propriety. For example, what could be ſo abſurd as the natural realization of ſome of theſe capricious ornaments? What lady would chooſe to ſleep in a bed, up the pillars of which ſerpents were crawling? Yet is ſuch realization the only criterion of taſte and propriety.

The cabinet of engravings detained us near two hours. The portfeuilles containing the prints are diſtributed into twelve claſſes: Some of theſe diviſions invited us to a minute inſpection. Such was the claſs containing the French faſhions from the age of Clovis to

Louis the Sixteenth. In another claſs was the coſtume of every nation in the world; in a third, portraits of eminent perſons of all ages and nations; and in a fourth, a collection of prints relating to public feſtivals, cavalcades, tournaments, coronations, royal funerals, &c. France is the only kingdom in the world which poſſeſſes a treaſure like this, and which knows how to eſtimate it at its proper value.

From the National Library we drove to the Athenée, a library and lecture inſtitution, ſupported by voluntary ſubſcription. It is much of the ſame nature as an inſtitution of a ſimilar kind in London, termed the Britiſh Inſtitute; but the French Athenæum has infinitely the advantage. The ſubſcription is cheaper, being about four louis annually, and the lectures are more elegant, if not more ſcientific. There are uſually three lectures daily; the firſt on ſciences, and the other two on belles lettres. The lecture on ſcience is conſidered as very able, but thoſe on the belles lettres were merely ſuited, as I underſtood, to French frivolity. The rooms were ſo full as to render our ſtay unpleaſant; and we thereby loſt an anatomy lecture, which was about to commence. I ſhould not forget to mention, that all the Pariſian journals and magazines, and many of the German periodical works, were lying on the tables, and the library ſeemed altogether as complete as it was comfortable. The ſubſcribers are numerous, and the inſtitution itſelf is in faſhion. How long it will ſo laſt, no one will venture to predict.

The library of the Pantheon and that of the Inſtitute finiſhed our morning's occupation. They are both on the ſame ſcale and nearly on the ſame general plan as the National Library. The library of the Inſtitute, however, is only open to foreigners and the members of the Inſtitute. The Inſtitute holds its ſitting every month, and according to all report, is then frivolous enough. I had not an opportunity of being preſent at one of theſe ſittings, but from what I heard, I did not much regret my diſappointment.

We returned home to dreſs for dinner. Mr. Younge informed me, that he expected a very large party in the evening, chiefly French, and as his lady herſelf was a French woman, and had arranged her domeſtic eſtabliſhment accordingly, I felt ſome curioſity.

About eight, or nearer nine, Mr. Younge, and myſelf, with two or three others of the dinner company, were ſummoned up to the drawing-room. The ſummons itſelf had ſomething peculiar. The doors of the parlour, which were folding, were thrown open, and two female attendants, dreſſed like veſtals, and holding torches of white wax, ſummoned us by a low curtſey, and preceded us up the great ſtaircaſe to the doors of the anti-chamber, where they made another ſalutation, and took their ſtation on each ſide. The anti-chamber was filled with ſervants, who were ſeated on benches fixed to the wall, but who did not riſe on our entry. Some of them were even playing at cards, others at dominos, and all of them ſeemed perfectly at their eaſe. The anti-chamber opened by an arched door-way into a handſome

handſome room, lighted by a chandelier of the moſt brilliant cut glaſs; the pannels of the room were very taſtily painted, and the glaſſes on each ſide very large, and in magnificent frames. The further extremity of this room opened by folding doors into the principal drawing-room, where the company were collected. It was brilliantly lighted, as well by patent lamps, as by a chandelier in the middle. The furniture had a reſemblance to what I had ſeen in faſhionable houſes in England. The carpet was of red baize, with a Turkiſh border, and figured in the middle like a harlequin's jacket. The principal novelty was a blue ribbon which divided the room lengthways, the one ſide of it being for the dancers, the other for the card-players. The ribbon was ſupported at proper diſtances by white ſtaves, ſimilar to thoſe of the court uſhers.

The ball had little to diſtinguiſh it from the balls of England and America, except that the ladies danced with infinitely more ſkill, and therefore with more grace. The faſhionable French dancing is exactly that of our operas. They are all figurantes, and care not what they exhibit, ſo as they exhibit their ſkill. I could not but figure to myſelf the confuſion of an Engliſh girl, were ſhe even preſent at a French aſſembly. Yet ſo powerful is habit, that not only did the ladies ſeem inſenſible, but even the gentlemen, ſuch as did not dance, regarded them with indifference.

Cotillons and waltzes were the only dances of the evening. The waltzes were danced in couples, twenty or thirty at a time. The meaſure was quick, and all the parties ſeemed animated. I cannot ſay that I ſaw any thing indecorous in the embraces of the ladies and their partners, except in the mere act itſelf; but the waltz will never become a current faſhion in England or America.

There is no precedency in a French aſſembly, except amongſt the military. This is managed with much delicacy. Every group is thrown as much as poſſible into a circle. The tables are all circular, and cotillons are chiefly preferred from having this quality.

I did not join the card-players; there were about half a dozen tables, and the ſeveral parties appeared to play very high. When the game or a certain number of games were over, the parties roſe from their ſeats, and bowing to any whom they ſaw near them, invited them to ſucceed them in their ſeats. Theſe invitations were ſometimes accepted, but more frequently declined. The diviſion of the drawing room, ſet aſide for the card-players, ſerved rather as a promenade for the company who did not dance; they here ranged themſelves in a line along the ribbon, and criticiſed the ſeveral dancers. Some of theſe ſpectators ſeemed moſt egregious fops. One of them, with the exception of his linen, was dreſſed completely in purple ſilk or ſatin, and another in a roſe-coloured ſilk coat, with white ſatin waiſtcoat and ſmall-clothes, and white ſilk ſtockings. The greater part of the ladies were dreſſed in fancy habits from the antique. Some were ſphinxes, ſome veſtals, ſome Dians, half a dozen Minervas, and a ſcore of Junos and Cleopatras. One girl

was pointed out to me as being perfectly *à l' Anglaise*. Her hair, perfectly undreſſed, was combed off her forehead, and hung down her back in its full length behind. She reminded me of a ſchool-boy, playing without his hat.

We were ſummoned to the ſupper table about three in the morning. This repaſt was a perfect Engliſh dinner. Soup, fiſh, poultry and ragouts, ſucceeded each other in almoſt endleſs variety. A fruit-baſket was ſerved round by the ſervants, together with the bread-baſket, and a ſmall caſe of liqueurs was placed at every third plate. Some of theſe were contained in glaſs figures of cupids, in which caſe, in order to get at the liqueur, it was neceſſary to break off a ſmall globule affixed to the breaſt of the figure. The French confectioners are more ingenious than delicate in theſe contrivances; but the French ladies ſeem better pleaſed with ſuch conceits in proportion to their intelligible references. Some of theſe naked cupids, which were perfect in all their parts, were handed from the gentlemen to the ladies, and from the ladies to each other, and as freely examined and criticiſed, as if they had been paintings of birds. The gentlemen, upon their parts, were equally as facetious upon the naked Venuſes; and a ſwan affixed to a Leda, was the lucky ſource of innumerable queſtions and anſwers. Every thing, in a word, is tolerated which can in any way be paſſed into an equivoque. Their converſation in this reſpect reſembles their dreſs — no matter how thin that covering may be, ſo that there be one.

So much for a French Aſſembly, or faſhionable rout, which certainly excels an Engliſh one in elegance and fancy, as much as it falls ſhort of it in ſubſtantial mirth. The French, it muſt be confeſſed, infinitely excel every other nation in all things connected with ſpectacle, and more or leſs this ſpectacle pervades all parties. They dance, they converſe, they ſing, for exhibition, and as if they were on the ſtage. Their converſation, therefore, has frequently more wit than intereſt, and their dancing more vanity than mirth. They ſeem in both reſpects to want that happy careleſſneſs which pleaſes by being pleaſed. A Frenchwoman is a figurante even in her chit-chat.

It may be expected that I did not omit to viſit the theatres. Mr. Younge accompanied me ſucceſſively to nearly all of them — two or three in an evening. Upon this ſubject, however, I ſhall ſay nothing, as every book of travels has ſo fully deſcribed ſome or other of them, that nothing in fact is further required.

I had reſolved not to leave Paris without ſeeing the Emperor, and being informed that he was to hold an audience on the following day, I applied to Mr. Younge to procure my formal introduction. With this purpoſe we waited upon General Armſtrong, who ſent my name to the Grand Chamberlain, with the neceſſary formalities. This formality is a certificate under the hand of the Ambaſſador, that the perſon ſoliciting the introduction has been introduced at his own Court, or that, according to the beſt knowledge of the Ambaſſador, he is not a merchant — 'a negociant

ant actuel.' It may be briefly obſerved, however, that the French negociant anſwers better to the Engliſh mechanic, than to the honourable appellation, merchant. General Armſtrong promiſed me a very intereſting ſpectacle in the Imperial audience. "It is the moſt ſplendid court in Europe," ſaid he: "the Court of London, and even of Vienna, will not bear a compariſon with it." Every one agreed with the juſtice of this remark, and my curioſity was ſtrongly excited.

On the appointed day, about three o'clock, Mr. Younge accompanied me to the palace, where we were immediately conducted to a ſplendid ſaloon, which is termed the Ambaſſadors' hall. Refreſhments were handed round to the company, which was very numerous, and amongſt them many German Princes in their grand court dreſs. The converſation became very general; thoſe who had ſeen Buonaparte deſcribing him to thoſe who were about to be introduced. Every one agreed that he was the moſt extraordinary man that Europe had produced in many centuries, and that even his appearance was in no ſlight degree indicative of his character. "He poſſeſſes an eye," ſaid one gentleman, "in which Lavater might have underſtood a hero." Mr. Younge confirmed this obſervation; and prepared me to regard him with more than common attention.

The doors of the ſaloon were at length thrown open, and ſome of the officers of the Grand Chamberlain, with white wands and embroidered robes and ſcarfs, bowing low to the company, invited us by waving their ſtaves, to follow them up the grand ſtaircaſe. Every one now arranged themſelves, in pairs, behind their reſpective Ambaſſadors, and followed the uſhers in proceſſion, according to the precedence of their reſpective countries, the Imperial, Spaniſh, and Neapolitan Ambaſſadors forming the van. The ſtaircaſe was lined on both ſides with grenadiers of the Legion of Honour, moſt of whom, privates as well as officers, were arrayed in the order. The officers, as we paſſed, exchanged ſalutes with the Ambaſſadors; and as the Imperial Ambaſſador, who led the proceſſion, reached the door of the anti-chamber, two trumpeters on each ſide played a congratulatory flouriſh. The uſhers who had led us ſo far, now took their ſtations on each ſide the door, and others, in more ſplendid habits, ſucceeded them in the office of conducting us.

We now entered the anti-chamber, in which was ſtationed the regular guard of the palace. We were here ſaluted by the privates and officers, the Imperial guard being conſidered as part of the houſehold. From the anti-chamber we paſſed onwards, through nearly a dozen moſt ſplendid apartments, and at length reached the preſence-chamber.

My eyes were inſtantly in ſearch of the Emperor, who was at the farther extremity, ſurrounded by a numerous circle of officers and counſellors. The circle opened on our arrival, and withdrew behind the Emperor. The whole of our company now ranged themſelves, the Ambaſſadors in front, and their ſeveral countrymen behind their reſpective miniſters.

Buonaparte now advanced to the Imperial

Imperial Ambaſſador, with whom, when preſent, he always begins the audience. I had now an opportunity to regard him attentively. His perſon is below the middle ſize, but well compoſed; his features regular, but in their *tout enſemble* ſtern and commanding; his complexion ſallow, and his general mien military. He was dreſſed very ſplendidly in purple velvet, the coat and waiſtcoat embroidered with gold bees, and with the grand ſtar of the Legion of Honour worked into the coat.

He paſſed no one without notice, and to all the Ambaſſadors he ſpoke once or twice. When he reached General Armſtrong, he aſked him whether America could not live without foreign commerce as well as France? and then added, without waiting for his anſwer, "There is one nation in the world "which muſt be taught by expe- "rience, that her merchants are "not neceſſary to the exiſtence of "all other nations, and that ſhe "cannot hold us all in commercial "ſlavery: England is only ſenſible "in her compters."

The audience took up little leſs than two hours, after which the Emperor withdrew into an adjoining apartment; and the company departed in the ſame order, and with the ſame appendages as upon their entrance.

Character of the Highlanders. From Caledonian Sketches: or a Tour through Scotland in 1807.—*By Sir John Carr.*

The preſent Highlanders appear to unite ſentiment to ſerious habit; they are inquiſitive, thoughtful, and intelligent, and they have a ſort of melancholy ſenſibility, tempered with much natural courteſy, which renders them highly intereſting. Their noble form and penſive mind finely correſpond with the wild and ſublime ſcenery in which they move. This may perhaps have aided in forming a part of their character. In the courſe of my highland rambles I had frequent intercourſe with the natives who ſpoke Engliſh, and I was always ſurprized to find the great intellectual curioſity which the Highlanders diſplayed in their inquiries after our own manners and cuſtoms: they have frequently walked by the ſide of my carriage, or of my horſe, for miles together, during which I had many a ſhrewd interrogatory propounded to me.

In talking of the Engliſh, they always ſpoke of us as a ſeparate people. An old Highlander once told an Engliſh gentleman that the expedition to Ferrol would certainly fail, as there were ſo many *foreigners* engaged in it. "Foreigners!" exclaimed the gentleman, "what do you mean?" "Why there are only *Engliſhers* and *Iriſhers* employed," replied the Scotchman.

I was alſo much ſtruck with the natural eaſe, perfectly free from vulgarity, as well as the ſocial turn, of theſe people. I ſaw an unaffected dignity of deportment, which I ſhould think ſplendour could not dazzle into that mean ſheepiſhneſs and conſcious inferiority frequently obſervable in the peaſantry of other countries. A Highland farmer preſents to me the figure of a Roman one. The Highlander ſeems to meaſure man by

by a noble ſtandard. When you look at his face and form, you will naturally ſay, "Nothing ſordid or ſelfiſh can be cheriſhed there." Lord Moira, in an affecting ſpeech upon the intereſts of Ireland, eloquently obſerved, "that that man walked ſafely who walked uprightly, as he who moved in the Grotto del Cano, by carrying himſelf erect, avoided the deadly atmoſphere which clung to the earth below, and deſtroyed the baſer animal that crawled." Thus it is with the Highlander; in the midſt of poverty and privation, ſuch as the ſouth never exhibits, he is, by a powerful moral ſenſe, more than by reflection and education, preſerved from mean and unworthy actions.

Although in a rude period the Highlanders had no very correct notions of the ſanctity of property, many are the inſtances which may be adduced of Highland integrity, which grew with the growth of civilization. The following little anecdote will ſhew how widely the uprightness of the Highlander is reſpected:—While Corſica was in our poſſeſſion, the butler who had the charge of the Governor's plate, upon fêtes, and great public occaſions, uſed to requeſt that ſome of the *men without breeches*, meaning ſome ſoldiers of a Scottiſh regiment on ſervice in the iſland, might have the charge of it during the entertainments.

In battle the Highlanders have repeatedly covered themſelves with glory in various parts of the world. They are temperate, and ſociety is ſo thinly and widely diſperſed, that they have ſeldom an opportunity of aſſembling to indulge in gratifications that are violent to ſobriety. Their hoſpitality, as well as that of the Scottiſh peaſants in general, is a ſubject of merited admiration: they have but little to offer, but what they have they cheerfully give; it is generally an Arcadian banquet of milk and cream, and oaten cake. This noble quality their exquiſite poet, Burns, has celebrated with epigrammatic point:—

"When death's dark ſtream I ferry o'er,
(A time that ſurely ſhall come,)
In heaven itſelf I'll ask no more
Than juſt a Highland welcome."

I was much pleaſed to find that hoſpitality in the Highlands had aſſumed an appearance of high civilization. Amongſt the Highland gentlemen I was never preſſed to drink more than was perfectly agreeable to me, although drinking was formerly carried to ſuch an exceſs, that in the houſe of a chieftain two ſervants were always in waiting to take up thoſe who dropped from their ſeats through intoxication, when they were conveyed to their beds in a chair conſtructed for the purpoſe with poles.

It is a curious circumſtance, that, notwithſtanding the natural external gravity, or rather peeviſhneſs of the Highlander, his ſpirit is alive to the ſounds of joy when feſtive merriment invites. They are extremely fond of diverſions of all ſorts, of dancing, and of muſic, at the ſound of which their countenances begin to brighten. In this reſpect they reſemble the Ruſſians. Almoſt every piece of ſocial labour is alleviated by ſinging: on the banks of rivers the women employed in waſhing ſing as they rub their linen in the paſſing ſtream; the boatmen, as they row, keep time with their oars to ſome lively

lively or penſive ſtrain; and the reapers ſing as they cut down the corn.

It is well known that the Highlanders are remarkably delicate towards their women; and that, in matrimonial life, their fidelity and attachment cannot be ſurpaſſed. A cuſtom exiſts among the Highland ladies, which ſtrongly reminded me of the ſame claſs of females in France. When a ſtranger has been viſiting a family, and is about to take leave of his hoſpitable friends, a young lady of the Highlands will offer her hand at parting, and ſometimes preſent her cheek, gliſtening with a tear of unconcealed regret. Such conduct is completely conſiſtent with delicacy; it flows from unaffected innocence; it means nothing but kindneſs, and the libertine could not miſtake it.

The Highlanders are remarkable for their filial affection and obedience. An undutiful ſon or daughter, in the Highlands, is ranked amongſt thoſe who blemiſh human nature. To ſhew to what extremity this ſubmiſſion to parental will is occaſionally carried, I lay before my readers the following affecting inſtance, which occurred a few years ſince:—An Engliſh lady, who was travelling in a ſolitary part of the Highlands, remarked an old woman, dreſsed in black, ſitting upon a ſtone, by the road ſide, and weeping. The lady directed her guide to go to her, and inquire who ſhe was; he accordingly aſked her for ſome account of herſelf. After a converſation which laſted ſome time, he informed the lady that the poor woman was very unhappy, and had good cauſe to be ſo, for ſhe had an only ſon, who enliſted in the army againſt her will; though ſhe ſuppreſſed her feelings, that he might follow his inclinations; that ſoon afterwards he obtained a furlough, and came back to her, when, from exceſs of fondneſs, ſhe would not allow him to leave her, though the time appointed for his return had expired. His commanding officer ſent a meſſage to him, ordering him to return; he ſtill remained with his mother: another and peremptory order followed; it was alike diſregarded. At length a file of ſoldiers was diſpatched to the cottage, to ſeize him as a deſerter. When, with anguiſh in his heart, he was preparing to ſubmit, his mother called out, "What, Sandy, will you ſpare your blood upon your enemies?" The youth, wrought up almoſt to phrenzy by the horror of his ſituation, and this appeal, ſeized his muſket, and diſcharged its contents at his comrades, upon which they fired, and ſhot him inſtantly dead. When the ſtory was finiſhed, the lady went up to conſole this venerable object of her ſympathy, upon which ſhe juſt raiſed her grey head, and ſobbed, "My beautiful, my brave!" an exclamation which ſhe had borrowed from the Play of Douglas, and which ſo cloſely applied to her feelings.

After ſuch a trait it is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that to extend ſupport and comfort to the declining age of a parent is a duty the moſt ſacred, the obſervance of which forms a peculiar feature in the character of a Scotchman. When a Highland youth emigrates or enliſts, a portion of the ſavings of his proſperity or pay is always allotted to his parents, if he has any,

any, or to ſome poor relative: he never turns his back upon his poor relations when, with Young Norval, he might exclaim:—

"Once on the cold and winter-ſhaded ſide
Of a bleak hill, miſchance had rooted me,
Never to thrive, child of another ſoil!
Tranſplanted now to the gay ſunny vale,
Like the green thorn of May, my fortune flowers."

The hardihood of the Highlander is almoſt proverbial. He attributes his health to the keenneſs of the air and the want of doctors. The Highlanders are accuſtomed to derive comfort from what would, in all probability, occaſion death to other men. It is well known, that in cold dry windy weather, when theſe mountaineers are obliged to ſleep amongſt the hills to attend their cattle, they ſoak their plaid in a burne or brook, in which having rolled themſelves, they ſelect a ſpot of heath upon the leeward ſide of ſome hill for their bed, where they are kept quite warm by the wet, which prevents the wind from penetrating the ſtuff. The following whimſical characteriſtic anecdote is recorded to have happened in the Highlands many years ſince:—A hardy chieftain, when ſtretching himſelf out to ſleep by the ſide of a hill, after a long day's hunt, obſerved that his ſon, a young man of twenty, had collected a quantity of *ſnow* for a pillow, on which he was preparing to lay his head, when his ſturdy father ſeverely reproached him, and would not ſuffer him to enjoy ſuch a luxury.

A general diſregard of the luxuries of the table is to be enumerated as peculiar to Highland manners. From the Highland gentleman, when enjoying his ſporting pleaſures, a bad dinner draws forth no expreſſions of regret, and a good one none of admiration. The voluntary ſufferance of privation ſeems to conſtitute one of the evidences of manhood. But, though capable of this ſort of forbearance whenever it becomes neceſſary, he is not diſpoſed to try the philoſophy of his viſitors or family in the ſame manner. The Highland table is always plenteously, and frequently elegantly covered. The Scotch, as I have before remarked, have a paſſion for trying their fortunes in other countries, and, when they have ſucceeded, are deſirous of purchaſing property near the place of their nativity, and ſpending the remainder of their days there, in conſequence of which foreign habits and luxuries are inevitably introduced, and the voluptuouſneſs of Aſia is not unfrequently ſeen in theſe remote regions of the north.

Society in the Highlands has for many years experienced a gradual amelioration. In a diſtant period the ſoldiers of Cromwell taught many of the uſeful arts of life to the eaſt and north Highlands, amongſt whom they were garriſoned; and during thoſe turbulent times, when a romantic attachment to an expatriated family, deſervedly expelled from the throne, brought war and deſolation in its train, the progreſs of civilization was accelerated by the intercourſe and communion which followed between the conquerors and the natives of the country, which they overrun, and alſo by the quantity of money which was circulated by means of the troops.

In other inſtances good has reſulted

ſulted out of evil. About the year 1746, the Border country, or the verge of the low country, became infeſted by a lawleſs band of depredators, chiefly from Lochaber and the remoter parts of the Highlands, whoſe fortunes had been ruined by the events of 1745. They frequently made incurſions upon the inhabitants of the low country, and retired in ſafety with their booty into the wild and almoſt inacceſſible retreats within the border. This ſyſtem of plunder and forced contribution was carried on for ſome time, in open defiance of the military ſtationed at a ſmall diſtance from their haunts. At length the bold, active, and enterpriſing exertions of Mr. Nicol Graham, of Gartmore, and other gentlemen, in conjunction with the operations of General Churchill, the then commander-in-chief in Scotland, and the law officers of the crown, ſucceeded in bringing thoſe deſperadoes to ſubjection. This event was of eſſential ſervice to the country, as it led the government into a more intimate acquaintance with that part of Scotland. The judicious and ſalutary manner in which the rents of the forfeited eſtates were applied in the improvement of the country; the act of 1745, which deſtroyed the deſpotic power of clanſhips and aboliſhed the feudal juriſdictions, by which the vaſſal is reſtored to the rights and immunities enjoyed by his fellow-ſubjects in the ſouth, and is no longer forced to follow his chieftain to a ferocious conteſt, to which he was inſtigated neither by perſonal provocation nor immediate nor remote advantage; the bleſſings of a regular police; the conſtruction of the military roads through the Highlands opening to eaſy and uninterrupted intercourſe vaſt diſtricts that were once inacceſſible to each other; the benign labours of the Society for the propagation of Chriſtian Knowledge; the exaggerated accounts of Dr. Johnſon, which, flowing from the proud and unbending prejudice of a high authority, attracted the attention of the world to the condition of the north; the emigration of ſo many families, which alarmed the government, and taught the rich to attend more to the comfortable employment of the poor at home; the great periodical viſits of the gay and the opulent from the ſouth, in purſuit of game or pleaſure; the valuable elucidation of the coaſts; the careful ſoundings of the channels; an indefatigable attention to the fiſheries; the increaſed demand for kelp; the various ſocieties which have made the amelioration of the condition of the Highlanders the object of their noble zeal—all theſe, and other minor circumſtances, in conjunction with the moral and national qualities of the people, have effected a change in their local character, which I am informed, is truly aſtoniſhing to thoſe who have the power of comparing what the Highlanders are, with what they were a few years ſince.

The Highlanders, after the rebellion, for a long time were prevented, by a ſevere, but perhaps neceſſary, proviſion of the legiſlature, from wearing arms. This painful badge of diſloyalty has been wiſely removed by an act to repeal the ſtatute which impoſed the deprivation. Indeed his Majeſty has not now to learn, that he could not place arms in the hands

of any of his ſubjects more diſpoſed to uſe them with intrepidity in the cauſe of loyalty. For the Scotch it may be ſaid, that

"Their ſwords are a thouſand, their boſoms but one."

It is generally believed that the Highlanders ſtill preſerve ſome veſtiges of juridicial forms peculiar to themſelves, particularly with regard to the adminiſtration of an oath. Before the union, a Highlander, upon his being ſworn, did not kiſs the Bible; but, holding up his right hand, repeated, "By God himſelf, and as I ſhall anſwer to God at the great day, I ſhall ſpeak the truth. If I do not, may I never thrive while I live: may I go to hell, and be damned, when I die! May my land neither bear graſs nor corn; may my wife and bairns never proſper! May my cows, calves, ſheep, and lambs, all periſh! &c."

A Highlander, offering to appear as a witneſs againſt a delinquent previouſly to his examination before a magiſtrate, was tendered the low-country oath, which, in conſequence of his ſhowing an eagerneſs to take, induced the magiſtrate to ſuſpect that he was a Highlander, and ſuborned, upon which he changed his proceeding, and tendered him the Highland oath, when the man objected to ſwear at all, obſerving, "Thar is ah auntle o'difference betwixt blowing on a buke, and damning one's ſoul." This particular form has long been aboliſhed, and only one form of oath now obtains in the courts of law in Scotland, viz. "I ſwear by Almighty God, and as I ſhall anſwer to God at the great day of judgment, I will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as far as I know and ſhall be aſked in this cauſe."

Formerly, when one clan went out to fight againſt another, a tune was played, which imported "to conquer or die," and all thoſe who rallied were conſidered to be under a pledge equal to an oath.

With reſpect to the trades in the Highlands being hereditary by parental coercion, as far as I could learn no ſuch coercion exiſts; and the ſame remark will apply with regard to religion. The trade of the father is frequently and generally followed by one of his ſons, if he has more than one, as is often the caſe in England, from the influence of example and early direction.

The inns in the Highlands are much improved ſince Dr. Johnſon's tour amongſt them. Boſwell mentions that they ſcarcely ever had bed-ſheets. I was at many of theſe reſting places, and almoſt always had them, though not diſpoſed at all times to enter them.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of the Diſſection of a Human Fœtus, in which the Circulation of the Blood was carried on without a Heart. *By* Mr. B. C. Brodie. [*From the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of London, for* 1809.]

AN opportunity lately occurred to me of examining a human fœtus, in which the heart was wanting, and the circulation of the blood was carried on by the action of the veſſels only. There have been ſome other inſtances of this remarkable deviation from the natural ſtructure; but in that to which I allude, the growth of the child had been natural, and it differed much leſs from the natural formation than in any of thoſe which are on record, and I have therefore been induced to draw up the following account of it.

A woman was delivered of twins in the beginning of the ſeventh month of pregnancy. There was a placenta with two umbilical chords, which had their origin about three inches diſtant from each other. The placenta was not preſerved, but Mr. Adams, who attended the mother in her lying-in, obſerved nothing unuſual in its appearance. Both fœtuſes were born dead. They were nearly o the ſame ſize. One of them in no reſpect differed from the ordinary formation; the other had an unuſual appearance, and Mr. Adams thought it deſerving of examination. Through Dr. Hooper it was put into my hands for this purpoſe.

The fœtus meaſured thirteen inches from the ſummit of the cranium to the feet. The thorax and abdomen were ſurrounded by a large ſhapeleſs maſs, which concealed the form of the whole upper part of the body. This maſs proved to be the integuments covering the poſterior part of the neck and thorax, diſtended with a watery fluid, about three pints in quantity, contained in two cyſts, lined by a ſmooth membrane. When the fluid was evacuated, and the cyſts allowed to collapſe, the fœtus had nearly the natural form. Its extremities had nearly the uſual appearance, except that on the right hand there was no thumb; on the left hand there was no thumb alſo, and only a ſingle finger. There were three toes on the right foot, and four toes on the left foot. The external noſtrils conſiſted only of two folds of ſkin, under each of which was the orifice of an internal noſtril, but pervious only for about half an inch. There

was

was a hare-lip, and a cleft in the bony palate, extending one third of an inch backwards.

On diſſection, the cranium was found ſomewhat compreſſed by the fluid contained in the cyſt behind it. The brain itſelf was too putrid for accurate examination, but it was nearly of the natural ſize, and nothing unuſual was obſerved in it. The membranes had the natural appearance, and the nerves appeared to go off from the brain and ſpinal marrow nearly as uſual.

In the thorax there was no heart, thymus gland, or pleura. The trachea was ſituated immediately behind the ſternum. It had its natural appearance, and divided as uſual into the two bronchiæ. The latter terminated in the lungs, which conſiſted of two rounded bodies, not more than one third of an inch in diameter, having a ſmooth external ſurface, and compoſed internally of a denſe cellular ſubſtance. The œſophagus had the uſual ſituation, but it terminated in a cul-de-ſac at the lower part of the thorax. The reſt of the thorax was filled with a denſe cellular ſubſtance; and in place of the diaphragm, there was a membranous ſeptum between it and the cavity of the abdomen.

In the abdomen, the ſtomach had no cardiac orifice. The inteſtine was attached to the meſentery in the uſual way; but it was proportionably ſhorter than natural. There was an imperfect cœcum, but the colon was not diſtinguiſhed by any difference of ſtructure or appearance from the reſt of the inteſtine. The rectum had its uſual ſituation in the pelvis. The ſpleen and renal capſules were ſmall; the kidneys, bladder, penis, and teſticles, had the uſual appearance. The abdomen was lined by peritonæum, but there was no omentum. The liver and gall-bladder were wanting.

As there was no heart, it became an object of importance to aſcertain the exact nature of the circulation: for this purpoſe the blood-veſſels were traced with attention.

The umbilical chord conſiſted of two veſſels only: one of theſe was larger than the other, and its coat, reſembled thoſe of a vein, while thoſe of the ſmaller veſſel were thick and elaſtic, like thoſe of an artery. Both of theſe veſſels entered the navel of the child. The artery paſſed to the left groin by the ſide of the urachus, occupying the uſual ſituation of the left umbilical artery. Here it gave off the external and internal iliac arteries of the left ſide, and was then continued upwards on the fore part of the ſpine forming the aorta. From the aorta roſe the common trunk of the right iliac artery, and the branches to the viſcera and parietes of the thorax and abdomen. At the upper part of the thorax, it ſent off the two ſubclavian, and afterwards divided into the two carotid arteries, without forming an arch. The veins correſponding to theſe arteries terminated in the vena cava, which was ſituated on the anterior part of the ſpine before the aorta, and paſſed downwards before the right kidney to the right groin. Here it became reflected upwards by the ſide of the urachus to the navel, and was continued into the larger veſſel or vein of the chord.

It appears, therefore, that in this fœtus, not only the heart was

wanting, but there was no communication of any kind between the trunks of the venous and arterial ſyſtems, as in the natural fœtus, where there is a heart. The only communication between the two ſets of veſſels, was by means of the capillary branches anaſtomiſing as uſual in the ſœtus, and in the placenta. The blood muſt have been propelled from the placenta to the child, through the artery of the chord, and muſt have been returned to the placenta by means of the vein, ſo that the placenta muſt have been at once the ſource and the termination of the circulation, and the blood muſt have been propelled by the action of the veſſels only.

It is to be underſtood, that the circulation in the fœtus receives no propelling power from the action of the heart and arteries of the mother. This, although perfectly known to anatomiſts, it is proper to mention, as it may not be equally known to all the members of this ſociety.

It appears extraordinary, that under theſe circumſtances, notwithſtanding the circulation through the placenta muſt have been more languid than is natural, that organ ſhould nevertheleſs have been capable of exerciſing its proper functions, ſo as to produce thoſe changes on the blood which are neceſſary for the maintenance of fœtal life. This may be explained by conſidering that in the natural fœtus the umbilical arteries are branches of the general arterial ſyſtem, and only a portion of the blood of the child is ſent to the placenta, whereas in the fœtus which I have deſcribed, the trunk of the vena cava was continued into the vein of the chord, and the whole of the venous blood circulated through the placenta, and was expoſed to the influence of the arterial blood of the mother.

But the moſt intereſting circumſtance which we learn from this examination is, that the circulation not only can be carried on without a heart, but that a child ſo circumſtanced can be maintained in its growth, ſo as to attain the ſame ſize as a fœtus which is poſſeſſed of that organ. This fact is contrary to what prior experience has led us to expect, as will appear from the following abſtract of the authenticated caſes of this ſpecies of malformation, which we find on record.

A monſter, in which there was no heart, is deſcribed by M. Mery *. There were twins, one of which was well formed, and of the uſual ſize of a ſix month's child; the ſize of the other was not mentioned, ſo that no compariſon could be made between them. In the latter, the head, neck, and other extremities were wanting. There were no veſtiges of a brain, nor was there any liver. The diſſection of the blood-veſſels does not appear to have been very accurately made, but, from the general account, I ſhould ſuppoſe that the circulation did not materially differ from that of the fœtus which I have deſcribed.

Another inſtance of this kind is

* Hiſtoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, 1720.

deſcribed

deſcribed by M. Winſlow*. This was alſo a twin, only ſeven inches in length. The age and ſize of the other child are not mentioned. In this inſtance there was no head, nor any veſtige of brain. There were no lungs, liver, ſtomach, nor ſpleen, and only a ſmall portion of inteſtine. The arterial ſyſtem is deſcribed as being complete, communicating with the placenta by the umbilical vein opening into the aorta, and the umbilical arteries ariſing nearly as uſual. In this inſtance there was a circle of veſſels formed by the arteries only, for M. Winſlow expreſsly ſtates, that there were no veins; and however extraordinary this may appear, we cannot be otherwiſe than cautious in denying an obſervation made by an anatomiſt ſo remarkable for his extreme accuracy and minuteneſs.

Dr. Le Cat, of Rouen, ſtates another caſe of twins† born at the end of the ninth month of pregnancy. One of them was a well-formed child, of the uſual ſize, but the other was only twelve inches and a half in length. The head of the latter was very imperfect, and there was only a very minute portion of brain. The heart, lungs, liver, ſtomach, and ſpleen, were entirely wanting, and there was only a ſmall portion of inteſtine. The arterial ſyſtem was perfect; the umbilical vein terminated in the aorta, and the umbilical arteries had their origin from the internal iliac, as uſual. There is, however, an obſcurity in the account of the circulation, as it is ſtated that there were veins, but they were not traced, nor was any communication made out between them and the arteries, or the veſſels of the chord.

Dr. Clarke‡ has given an account of a caſe, in which a woman, after a natural labour, was delivered of a healthy child, and alſo of a ſubſtance covered by common integuments, of an oval form, four inches in length, and having a ſepar te navel-ſtring and placenta. In this ſubſtance there was one os innominatum, with a femur, tibia, and fibula. There were neither brain nor nerves; nor were there any viſcera, except a ſmall portion of inteſtine. The umbilical chord conſiſted of two veſſels, an artery and a vein, both of which ramified in this ſubſtance and in the placenta.

In Dr. Hunter's anatomical collection, there are two ſpecimens of monſters born without hearts. In both of them the whole upper part of the body was wanting; and in neither was the exact nature of the circulation aſcertained.

In each of the inſtances which I have quoted, not only the heart was wanting, but the fœtus in other reſpects was ſo imperfect, that it could not be conſidered as any thing more than a mola, or an irregularly formed living maſs connected with the placenta. In particular, in all of them the brain, which may with juſtice be conſidered as affording the beſt diſtinction between a mola and a fœtus, was wanting; whereas in that which forms the ſubject of the pre-

* Hiſtoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, 1740.
† Phil. Trans. for 1767. ‡ Phil. Trans. for 1793.

ſent paper, the brain was nearly as large as uſual, and in other reſpects the fœtus varied much leſs from the natural ſtructure, than in any former inſtance.

In the caſes already on record, we have ſeen, that wherever the ſize of the monſter was mentioned, it was much ſmaller than a natural fœtus. This would have led to the ſuppoſition, that a circulation, which was carried on by the action of the veſſels only, was incapable of maintaining the natural growth of a child, had it not been found that the fœtus, which I have deſcribed, though the heart was wanting, was fully equal in ſize to a fœtus of the ſame age, which was poſſeſſed of that organ.

It may be obſerved, that in all thoſe caſes, in which the heart was wanting, the liver was wanting alſo. It is probable that the action of the veſſels only, without the aſſiſtance of the heart, would have been inſufficient to propel the blood through the circulation of the liver, which is ſo extenſive in the natural fœtus.

On the Origin and Formation of Roots. By T. A. Knight, Eſq. F. R. S. [*From the ſame.*]

IN a former communication I have given an account of ſome experiments, which induced me to conclude that the buds of trees invariably ſpring from their alburnum, to which they are always connected by central veſſels of greater or leſs length; and in the courſe of much ſubſequent experience, I have not found any reaſon to change the opinion that I have there given*. The object of the preſent communication is to ſhew, that the roots of trees are always generated by the veſſels which paſs from the cotyledons of the ſeed, and from the leaves, through the leave-ſtalks and the bark, and that they never, under any circumſtances, ſpring immediately from the alburnum.

The organ, which naturaliſts have called the radicle in the ſeed, is generally ſuppoſed to be analogous to the root of the plant, and to become a perfect root during germination; and I do not know that this opinion has ever been controverted, though I believe that, when cloſely inveſtigated, it will prove to be founded in error.

A root, in all caſes with which I am acquainted, elongates only by new parts which are ſucceſſively added to its apex or point, and never, like the ſtem or branch, by the extenſion of parts previouſly organized; and I have endeavoured to ſhew, in a former memoir, that owing to this difference in the mode of the growth of the root and lengthened plumule of germinating ſeeds, the one muſt ever be obedient to gravitation, and point towards the centre of the earth, whilſt the other muſt take the oppoſite direction †. But the radicle of germinating ſeeds elongates by the extenſion of parts previouſly organized, and in a great number of caſes, which muſt be familiar to every perſon's obſervation, raiſes the cotyledons out of the mould in which the ſeed is placed to vegetate. The mode of

* Phil. Trans. 1805.

† Phil. Trans. 1806.

growth

growth of the radicle is therefore ſimilar to that of the ſubſtance which occupies the ſpaces between the buds, near the point of the ſucculent annual ſhoot, and totally different from that of the proper root of the plant, which I conceive to come firſt into exiſtence during the germination of the ſeed, and to ſpring from the point of what is called the radicle. At this period, neither the radicle nor cotyledons contain any alburnum; and therefore the firſt root cannot originate from that ſubſtance; but the cortical veſſels are then filled with ſap, and apparently in full action, and through theſe the ſap appears to deſcend, which gives exiſtence to the true root.

When firſt emitted, the root conſiſts only of a cellular ſubſtance, ſimilar to that of the bark of other parts of the future tree, and within this the cortical veſſels are ſubſequently generated in a circle, encloſing within it a ſmall portion of the cellular ſubſtance, which forms the pith or medulla of the root. The cortical veſſels ſoon enter on their office of generating alburnous matter; and a tranſverſe ſection of the root then ſhews the alburnum arranged in the form of wedges round the medulla, as it is ſubſequently depoſited on the central veſſels of the ſucculent annual ſhoot, and on the ſurface of the alburnum of the ſtems and branches of older trees *.

If a leaf-ſtalk be deeply wounded, a cellular ſubſtance, ſimilar to that of the bark and young root, is protruded from the upper lip of the wound, but never from the lower; and the leaf-ſtalks of many plants poſſeſs the power of emitting roots, which power cannot have reſided in alburnum, for the leaf-ſtalk does not contain any; but veſſels, ſimilar to thoſe of the bark and radicle, abound in it, and apparently convey the returning ſap; and from theſe veſſels, or perhaps more properly from the fluid they convey, the roots emitted by the leaf-ſtalk derive their exiſtence †.

If a portion of the bark of a vine, or other tree, which readily emits roots, be taken off in a circle extending round its ſtem, ſo as to intercept entirely the paſſage of any fluid through the bark; and any body which contains much moiſture be applied, numerous roots will ſoon be emitted into it, immediately above the decorticated ſpace, but never immediately beneath it: and when the alburnum in the decorticated ſpaces has become lifeleſs to a conſiderable depths, buds are uſually protruded beneath, but never immediately above it, apparently owing to the obſtruction of the aſcending ſap. The roots, which are emitted in the preceding caſe, do not appear in any degree to differ from thoſe which deſcend from the radicles of generating ſeeds, and both apparently derive their matter from the fluid which deſcends through the cortical veſſels.

There are ſeveral varieties of the apple tree, the trunks and branches of which are almoſt covered with rough excreſcences, formed by congeries of points which would have become roots under favourable circumſtances; and ſuch varieties are always very

* Phil. Trans. for 1801. Plate 27. † Phil. Trans. for 1801.

readily propagated by cutting. Having thus obtained a conſiderable number of plants of one of theſe varieties, the excreſcences began to form upon their ſtems when two years old, and mould being then applied to them in the ſpring, numerous roots were emitted into it early in the ſummer. The mould was, at the ſame time raiſed round, and applied to, the ſtems of other trees of the ſame age and variety, and in every reſpect ſimilar, except that the tops of the latter were cut off a ſhort diſtance above the loweſt excreſcence, ſo that there were no buds or leaves from which ſap could deſcend to generate or feed new roots; and under theſe circumſtances no roots, but numerous buds were emitted, and theſe buds all ſprang from the ſpaces and points, which, under different circumſtances, had afforded roots. The tops of the trees laſt mentioned, having been divided into pieces of ten inches long, were planted as cuttings, and roots were by theſe emitted from the loweſt excreſcences beneath the ſoil, and buds from the uppermoſt of thoſe above it.

I had anticipated the reſult of each of the preceding experiments; not that I ſuppoſed, or now ſuppoſe, that roots can be changed into buds, or buds into roots; but I had before proved that the organization of the alburnum is better calculated to carry the ſap it contains, from the root upwards, than in any other direction, and I concluded that the ſap, when arrived at the top of the cutting through the alburnum, would be there employed, as I had obſerved in many ſimilar caſes in generating buds, and theſe buds would be protruded where the bark was young and thin, and conſequently afforded little reſiſtance *. I had alſo proved the bark to be better calculated to carry the ſap towards the roots than in the oppoſite direction, and I thence inferred that as ſoon as any buds, emitted by the cuttings, afforded leaves, the ſap would be conveyed from theſe to the lower extremity of the cuttings by the cortical veſſels, and be there employed in the formation of roots *.

Both the alburnum and bark of trees evidently contain their true ſap; but whether the fluid which aſcends in ſuch caſes as the preceding through the alburnum to generate buds, be eſſentially different from that which deſcends down the bark to generate roots, it is, perhaps, impoſſible to decide. As nature, however, appears in the vegetable world to operate by the ſimpleſt means; and as the vegetable ſap, like the animal blood, is probably filled with particles which are endued with life, were I to offer a conjecture, I am much more diſpoſed to believe that the ſame fluid, even by merely acquiring different motions, may generate different organs, than that two diſtinct fluids are employed to form the root, and the bud and leaf.

When alburnum is formed in the root, that organ poſſeſſes, in common with the ſtem and branches, the power of producing buds, and of emitting fibrous roots, and, when it is detached from the tree,

* Phil. Trans. for 1805.

the

the buds always ſpring near its upper end, and the roots near the oppoſite extremity, as in the cuttings above-mentioned. The alburnum of the root is alſo ſimilar to that of other parts of the tree, except that it is more porous, probably owing to the preſence of abundant moiſture, during the period in which it is depoſited *. And poſſibly the ſame cauſe may retain the wood of the root permanently in the ſtate of alburnum; for I have ſhewn, in a former memoir, that if the mould be taken away, ſo that the parts of the larger roots, which adjoin the trunk, be expoſed to the air, ſuch parts are ſubſequently found to contain much heart-wood *.

I would wiſh the preceding obſervations to be conſidered as extending to trees only, and excluſive of the palm tribe: but I believe they are nevertheleſs generally applicable to perennial herbaceous plants, and that the buds and fibrous roots of theſe originate from ſubſtances which correſpond with the alburnum and bark of trees. It is obvious, that the roots which bulbs emit in the ſpring, are generated by the ſap which deſcends from the bulb, when that retains its natural poſition; and ſuch tuberous rooted plants as the potatoe offer rather a ſeeming than a real obſtacle to the hypotheſis I am endeavouring to eſtabliſh. The buds of theſe are generally formed beneath the ſoil; but I have ſhewn, in a former memoir, that the buds on every part of the ſtem may be made to generate tubers, which are ſimilar to thoſe uſually formed beneath the ſoil; and I have ſubſequently ſeen, in many inſtances, ſuch emitted by a reproduced bud, without the calix of a bloſſom, which had failed to produce fruit; but I have never, under any circumſtances, been able to obtain tubers from the fibrous roots of the plants.

The tuber, therefore, appears to differ little from a branch, which has dilated inſtead of extending itſelf, except that it becomes capable of retaining life during a longer period; and when I have laboured through a whole ſummer to counteract the natural habits of the plant, a profuſion of bloſſoms has, in many inſtances, ſprung from the buds of a tuber.

The runners alſo, which, according to the natural habit of the plant, give exiſtence to the tubers beneath the ſoil, are very ſimilar in organization to the ſtem of the plant, and readily emit leaves, and become converted into perfect ſtems, in a few days, if the current of aſcending ſap be diverted into them; and the mode in which the tuber is formed above, and beneath the ſoil, is preciſely the ſame. And when the ſap, which has been depoſited at reſt during the autumn and winter, is again called into action to feed the buds, which elongate into parts of the ſtems of the future plants in the ſpring, fibrous roots are emitted from the baſes of theſe ſtems, whilſt buds are generated at the oppoſite extremities, as in the caſes I have mentioned reſpecting trees.

Many naturaliſts † have ſuppoſed the fibrous roots of all plants to be

* Phil. Trans. for 1801.

† M. Mirbel's Traité d'Anatomie, &c. &c. Dr. Smith's Introduction to Botany.

of annual duration only; and those of bulbous and tuberous rooted plants certainly are so; as in these nature has provided a distinct reservoir for the sap which is to form the first leaves and fibrous roots of the succeeding season; but the organization of trees is very different, and the alburnum and bark of the roots and stems of these are the reservoirs of their sap during the winter *. When, however, the fibrous roots of trees are crowded together in a garden-pot, they are often found lifeless in the succeeding spring; but I have not observed the same mortality to occur, in any degree, in the roots of trees when growing, under favourable circumstances, in their natural situation.

I am prepared to offer some observations on the causes which direct the roots of plants in search of proper nutriment, and which occasion the root of the same plant to assume different forms under different circumstances; but I purpose to make those observations the subject of a future communication.

On the Origin and Office of the Alburnum of Trees. In a Letter from T. A. Knight, Esq. F.R.S. *to* Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K.B. P.R.S.—*From the Philosophical Transactions for* 1808, *Part II.*

My dear Sir,

In my last communication I endeavoured to prove that the bark of trees is not subsequently transmuted into alburnum; and if the statements which I have there given be correct, they are, I conceive, decisive on the point for which I contended; and if the bark be not converted into alburnum, the experiments of Duhamel, and subsequent naturalists, and those of which I have given an account in former memoirs, afford sufficient evidence that the bark deposits the alburnous matter. If the succulent shoot of a horse-chesnut, or other tree, be examined, at successive periods in the spring, it will be seen, that the alburnum is deposited, and its tubes arranged, in ridges beneath the cortical vessels; and the number of these ridges, at the base of each leaf, will be found to correspond accurately with the number of apertures through which the vessels pass from the leaf-stalks into the interior bark, the alburnous matter being apparently deposited (as I have endeavoured to prove in former memoirs) by a fluid which descends from the leaves, and subsequently secretes through the bark †, I shall therefore venture to conclude that it is thus deposited, and shall proceed to enquire into the origin and office of the alburnous tubes.

The position and direction of these tubes have induced almost all naturalists to consider them as the passages through which the sap ascends; and at their first formation, when the substance which surrounds them is still soft and succulent, they are always filled with the fluid, which has apparently secreted from the bark. They appear to be formed in the soft cellular mass, which becomes the future alburnum, as receptacles of this fluid, to which they may either

* Philosophical Transactions for 1805.

† Ibid. 1801.

afford

afford a paſſage upwards, or ſimply retain it as reſervoirs, till abſorbed, and carried off, by the ſurrounding cellular ſubſtance. The former ſuppoſition is, at firſt view, the moſt probable; but the latter is much more conſiſtent with the circumſtances that I ſhall proceed to ſtate.

Many different hypotheſes have been offered by naturaliſts, to account for the force with which the ſap aſcends in the ſpring; of theſe hypotheſes, two only appear in any degree adequate to the effects produced. Sauſſure, jun. ſuppoſes that the tubes contract as ſoon as they have received the ſap in the root, and that this contraction, commencing in the root, proceeds upwards, impelling the ſap before it; and I have ſuggeſted that the expanſion and contraction of the compreſſed cellular, or laminated ſubſtance, (the tiſſu cellulaire of Duhamel and Mirbel) which expands and contracts with change of temperature *, after the tree has ceaſed to live, might produce ſimilar effects, by occaſioning nearly a ſimilar motion and compreſſion of the tubes, the coats of which are, I believe, univerſally admitted not to be membranous. Both theſe hypotheſes are inconſiſtent with the facts which I have now the pleaſure to communicate to you.

Selecting parts of the ſtems of young trees, from which annual branches had ſprung in the preceding year, I aſcertained, by injecting coloured infuſions into the ſtems, through the annual ſhoots, that the tubes which deſcended from the latter, were, at their baſes, confined to that ſide of the ſtem from which they ſprang, and to the external annual layer of wood. Deep inciſions were then made into the ſtems of other trees immediately beneath the baſes of ſimilar annual ſhoots, by which I am quite confident that all communication through the alburnous tubes with the ſtem, was wholly cut off; yet the ſap paſſed into the annual ſhoots in the ſucceeding ſpring, all of which lived, and ſome grew with conſiderable vigour. I, at the ſame time, ſelected many lateral branches, about three lines in diameter, in a nurſery of apple-trees, which I could eaſily ſecure to the ſtems of the adjoining trees to prevent their being broken. I then made an inciſion, more than two lines deep in each, on one ſide, and at the diſtance of ſix or ſeven lines another inciſion, equally deep, on the oppoſite ſide; and as I am quite certain, from the texture of theſe branches, that the alburnous tubes paſſed ſtraight through them, I am equally certain that every alburnous tube was at leaſt once interſected. Yet the ſap paſſed into theſe branches, and their buds unfolded in the ſucceeding ſpring, the inciſions having been made in the winter. But I have repeated the ſame experiment after the leaves have been full grown in the ſummer, and ſtill the branches have continued to live.

All naturaliſts have agreed in ſtating that trees perſpire moſt in the ſummer, when their leaves have attained their full growth, and of courſe that much ſap muſt aſcend at this period; yet at this period the tubes of the alburnum appear dry, and to contain air only;

* Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1801.

which

which induced Grew to ſuppoſe that the ſap roſe in the ſtate of vapour; a ſuppoſition by no means admiſſible. Yet it is, I conceive, evident that the ſap cannot riſe, as a liquid, through dry tubes, nor in any ſtate through interſected tubes; and therefore it appears probable that it does not riſe at all through the tubes of the alburnum, and that thoſe tubes are intended to execute a different office.

If the ſap do not riſe through the tubes of the alburnum, it muſt riſe through the cellular ſubſtance; yet the paſſage of any fluid through this has been denied by almoſt every naturaliſt, probably becauſe coloured infuſions have not been obſerved to penetrate it, and becauſe many naturaliſts have conſidered it as mere compreſſed medulla. Mirbel, however, contends that the fluid which generates the new bark exudes from it; and although a fluid, capable of producing the ſame effects, exudes from the bark, when detached from the alburnum, I am much diſpoſed to coincide with him in opinion, having obſerved a new bark to be generated on the ſurface of the cellular ſubſtance of pollard oaks, in detached ſpaces *. And if the ſap in ſufficient quantity to generate a new bark can paſs through the cellular ſubſtance of an oak, it appears poſſible at leaſt that the whole of the ſap may aſcend through it. Coloured infuſions do not, I think, in any degree, paſs through the bark of trees, yet it is evident that the ſap paſſes readily through it; and therefore, ſhould it be proved that ſuch infuſions do not penetrate the cellular ſubſtance of the alburnum, the evidence which this circumſtance would afford would be very defective.

Amongſt other experiments that I made to aſcertain whether the cellular ſubſtance of the alburnum would imbibe coloured infuſions, I took off branches of two years old with the annual ſhoots and leaves attached to them, in the ſummer, from trees of different ſpecies; and I effectually cloſed the alburnous tubes with a compoſition formed of calcined oyſter-ſhells and cheeſe †, and this was covered with a mixture of bees-wax and turpentine, ſo as effectually to exclude all moiſture. A part of the bark was taken off each branch, in a circle round it, a few lines diſtant from its lower end, where the tubes had been cloſed; and each branch was then placed in a decoction of log-wood, in a veſſel deep enough to cover the decorticated ſpaces. At the end of twenty hours, or ſomewhat longer periods, theſe branches were examined, and the coloured infuſion was found to have inſinuated itſelf between the alburnous tubes, in many inſtances apparently through the cellular ſubſtance.—This was moſt obvious in the walnut-tree, the young wood of which is very white. The principal object I had in view in making this experiment, was to detect the paſſages through which I conceived the ſap to paſs from the bark into the alburnum ‡.

From the preceding circumſtances, I am diſpoſed to infer that

* Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1807.

† I have found this compoſition, and this only, to be capable of inſtantaneouſly ſtopping the effuſion of ſap from the vine, or other tree, in the bleeding ſeaſon.

‡ Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1807.

the

the ſap ſecretes through the cellular ſubſtance of the alburnum; and through this I conceive that it muſt aſcend when the tubes were interſected in the preceding experiments, and in thoſe ſeaſons of the year when the alburnous tubes are empty, though the ſap muſt be riſing with great rapidity; and I ſhall endeavour to ſhew that the preſence of the ſap in the alburnous tubes, during that part of the year in which trees, when wounded, bleed abundantly, does not afford any deciſive evidence of the aſcent of the ſap through thoſe tubes.

In the laſt ſpring, when the buds of the ſycamore firſt began to prepare for unfolding, I found that the ſap abounded in the points at the annual branches, and at the ſame time it flowed abundantly from inciſions made into the alburnum near the root. But when ſimilar inciſions were made at the diſtance of eight or ten feet from the ground, not the leaſt moiſture flowed; and the tubes of the alburnum appeared to contain air only. I alſo obſerved that the ſap flowed as abundantly from the upper as from the under ſide of the lower inciſions, if not more abundantly, and ſo it continued to flow to the end of the bleeding ſeaſon.

The ſap muſt therefore have been, by ſome means, thrown into the tubes above the inciſions, for the quantity diſcharged from them exceeded more than a hundred times that which the tubes could have contained at the time the inciſions were made, even had every tube been filled to the extremity of the moſt diſtant branch. And, as it has been ſhewn that the ſap can paſs up when all the alburnous tubes are interſected, there appears, I think, ſufficient evidence that it muſt in this caſe have been raiſed by ſome other agent than thoſe tubes.

Through the cellular ſubſtance I therefore venture to conclude that the ſap aſcends, and it is not, I think, difficult to conceive that this ſubſtance may give the impulſe with which the ſap is known to aſcend in the ſpring. I have ſhewn that the bark more readily tranſmits the deſcending ſap towards the roots than towards the points of the branches *; and if the cellular ſubſtance of the alburnum expand and contract, and be ſo organized as to permit the ſap to eſcape more eaſily upwards from one cell to another, than in any other direction, it will be readily impelled to the extremities of the branches; and I have ſhewn that the ſtatement, ſo often repeated in the writings of naturaliſts, of a power in the alburnum to tranſmit the ſap with equal facility in oppoſite directions, and as well through inverted cuttings as others, is totally erroneous †.

If the ſap be raiſed in the manner I have ſuggeſted, much of it will probably accumulate in the alburnum in the ſpring; becauſe the powers of vegetable life are, at that period, more active than at any other ſeaſon; and the leaves are not then prepared to throw off any part of it by tranſpiration. And the cellular ſubſtance, being then filled, may diſcharge a part of its contents into the alburnous tubes, which again become reſervoirs, and are filled to a greater or leſs height,

* Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1804. † Ibid.

in

in proportion to the vigour of the tree, and the ſtate of the ſoil and ſeaſon; and if the tubes which are thus filled be divided, the ſap will flow out of them, and the tree will be ſaid to bleed. But as ſoon as the leaves are unfolded, and begin to execute their office, the ſap will be drawn from its reſervoirs, and the tree will ceaſe to bleed, if wounded.

The alburnous tubes appear to anſwer another purpoſe in trees, and to be analogous, in ſome degree, in their effects, to the cavities in the bones of animals; by which any degree of ſtrength, that is neceſſary, is given with leſs expenditure of materials, or the incumbrance of unneceſſary weight; and the wood of many different ſpecies of trees is thus made, at the ſame time, very light, and very ſtrong, the rigid vegetable fibres being placed at greater diſtances from each other by the intervention of alburnous tubes, and conſequently acting with greater mechanical advantage than they would if placed immediately in contact with each other.

I have ſhown in a former communication, that the ſpecific gravity of the ſap increaſes during its aſcent in the ſpring, and that ſaccharine matter is generated, which did not previouſly exiſt in the alburnum, nor in the ſap as it roſe from the root; and I conceive it not to be improbable, that the air contained in the alburnous tubes may be inſtrumental in the generation of this ſaccharine matter.—For I diſcovered, in the laſt autumn, that much air is abſorbed, or at leaſt diſappears, during the proceſs of grinding apples for the purpoſe of making cider, and that during this abſorption of air, the juice of acid apples becomes very ſweet, and acquires many degrees of increaſed ſpecific gravity; and a ſimilar abſorption of air, with correſponding effects, is well known to take place in the proceſs of malting.

I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that in retracting the opinion I formerly entertained reſpecting the aſcent of the ſap in the alburnous tubes, I do not mean to retract any opinion that I have given in former communications reſpecting the ſubſequent motion of the ſap through the central veſſels, the leaves, and bark; or the ſubſequent junction of the deſcending with the aſcending current in the alburnum. Every experiment that I have made has, on the contrary, tended to confirm my former concluſions.

I am, my dear Sir, &c. &c.

T. A. KNIGHT.

On the Variegation of Plants. In a Letter to Richard Anthony Saliſbury, Eſq. F.R.S. *and* L.S. *By* Thomas Andrew Knight, Eſq. F.R.S. *and* L.S.—*From the Tranſactions of the Linnean Society, Vol. V.*

My dear Sir,

Though variegated plants have long occupied the care and attention of the gardener, it does not appear that the peculiarities which diſtinguiſh them have much attracted the attention of the naturaliſt; and I am not acquainted with any experiments which have been made either to diſcover the cauſe of variegation, or the effects produced by it. I am therefore induced to trouble

trouble you with an account of a few experiments which I have made on one ſpecies of variegated plant, from which I obtained an unexpected, and ſomewhat intereſting reſult.

There is a kind of variegated vine, well known to gardeners, (the Aleppo) which affords variegated leaves and fruit; and as the grape, though ſmall, poſſeſſes a very high flavour, and much richneſs, I wiſhed to obtain ſome offſpring either from its ſeeds or farina, with the hope of procuring berries of a larger ſize, and at the ſame time of aſcertaining whether its variegation would be transferred to the offspring.

With this object in view, I extracted the immature ſtamina of the bloſſoms of the white Chaſſales, and white Frontignac vines; and at the proper ſubſequent period I introduced the farina of the Aleppo vine: from this experiment I obtained, in the ſucceeding ſpring, many ſeedling plants. Theſe plants, which were raiſed in a hot-bed, preſented no ſingularity of character on their firſt appearance; but early in the ſucceeding ſummer I had the pleaſure to obſerve purple ſtripes in the ſeed leaves of ſeveral of them; and in the autumn the leaves of many of them were variegated. I did not, however, obtain a ſingle plant which promiſed to produce, or has ſubſequently afforded, either coloured fruit, or coloured leaves, free from variegation.

When, on the contrary, I have introduced the farina of a black, or purple grape, into the bloſſom of a white one, none of the plants I obtained have ever been variegated; and the colour of the leaves and fruit, which theſe in the firſt year afforded, indicated with certainty the colour of all the produce of ſuch varieties, in whatever ſoil cuttings taken from them were ſubſequently planted. But in the variegated vines the reſult has been wholly different; and though the leaves and fruit, firſt produced by ſome of them, contained more tinging matter than any of the coloured kinds, they ſubſequently produced, even on the ſame tree, ſome bunches almoſt entirely black, others perfectly white, others lead-coloured, with ſtripes of white, and others white, with minute black ſtripes; and grapes of all the preceding colours are very frequently ſeen on the ſame cluſter. The leaves are alſo ſubject to the ſame variations, and the colours in them are in ſome inſtances confined to the *upper*, in others to the *under* ſurface, and ſometimes extend quite through; and both the leaves and fruit of ſome of the branches have become permanently colourleſs.

It appears therefore obvious, that the tinging matter of variegated grapes, though probably not eſſentially different from that of others, is differently combined, and united to the plant; and as the variegated grape afforded offſpring ſimilar to itſelf, and none ſimilar to other vines, which permanently afford coloured fruit, it may be confidently inferred, that the nature of the union between the tinging matter and the plant is very eſſentially different.

All the variegated plants that I obtained from the farina of the Aleppo vine, are not only perfectly free from diſeaſe and debility of every kind, but many of them

them poſſeſs a more than ordinary degree of hardineſs and vigour; and two of them appear much more capable of affording mature fruit, in the climate of England, than any now cultivated. It is, therefore, ſufficiently evident, that the kind of variegation which I have deſcribed, is neither the offſpring of, nor connected with, diſeaſe or debility of any kind. But the ſame inference muſt not be drawn reſpecting other variegated plants; for variegation itſelf appears to conſiſt of ſeveral diſtinct kinds. The leaves of a variety of the common cabbage are often ſeen, in the cottage-garden, curiouſly tinged with different ſhades of red and purple, like the leaves of the vine which I have deſcribed; but in the cabbage theſe colours combine and melt into each other, whereas in the vines the diſtinct colours are ſeparated by well defined lines. The colours of the cabbage are transferred to its offſpring, which is perfectly hardy and vigorous.

The ſpotted lettuce muſt alſo be claſſed with variegated plants, and the offſpring of this is as hardy as thoſe of other varieties: but the moſt common kind of variegation, in which the leaves are variouſly ſtriped with white and yellow, though not the offſpring, as ſome writers have imagined, of diſeaſe, is, however, cloſely connected with ſome degree of debility; poſſibly owing to the imperfect action of light on all ſuch parts of the leaves as are either white or yellow. For I have obſerved, that variegated hollies are leſs patient of ſhade than ſuch as are wholly green; and I have never ſeen any plants, the leaves of which are wholly white or yellow, that continued to live beyond a ſingle ſeaſon. A variegated plant of the raſpberry, which ſprang from ſeed in my garden, became wholly white in the third year; but it periſhed in the ſucceeding winter, and I ſhould be diſpoſed to conclude, that plants whoſe leaves are wholly white or yellow, cannot long ſurvive; but that Duhamel * has deſcribed a variety of the peach-tree, of which he ſays, "ſon bors, ſes feuilles, ſes fleurs, and ſon fruit, tant extérieurement qu' intérieurement, ſont tout à fait blancs." This variety is at preſent, I believe, wholly unknown to our gardeners; and I ſuſpect that it was always a debilitated plant, and that it in conſequence exiſts no more.

I am, &c.

T. A. KNIGHT.

The Mermaid ſeen on the coaſt of Caithneſs. Letter from Miſs Mackay, daughter of the Rev. David Mackay, Miniſter of Reay, to Miſs Innes Dowager, of Sandſide.

Reay, Manſe, May 25, 1809.

Madam,

To eſtabliſh the truth of what has hitherto been conſidered improbable and fabulous, muſt be at all times a difficult taſk, and I have not the vanity to think that my teſtimony alone would be ſufficent for this purpoſe; but when to this is added that of four

* In his Treatiſe on Trees. *Article* Peach-Tree.

others,

others, I hope it will have ſome effect in removing the doubts of thoſe, who may ſuppoſe that the wonderful appearance I reported having ſeen in the ſea on the 12th of January, was not a mermaid, but ſome other uncommon, though leſs remarkable, inhabitant of the deep. As I would willingly contribute to remove the doubt of the ſceptical on this ſubject, I beg leave to ſtate to you the following accounts, after premiſing that my couſin, whoſe name is affixed along with mine, was one of the four witneſſes who beheld with me this uncommon ſpectacle.

While ſhe and I were walking by the ſea-ſhore, on the 12th of January, about noon, our attention was attracted by ſeeing three people who were on a rock at ſome diſtance, ſhewing ſigns of terror and aſtoniſhment at ſomething they ſaw in the water; on approaching them, we diſtinguiſhed that the object of their wonder was a face reſembling the human countenance, which appeared floating on the waves! At that time nothing but the face was viſible. It may not be improper to obſerve, before I proceed farther, that the face, throat, and arms, are all I can attempt to deſcribe, all our endeavours to diſcover the appearance and poſition of the body being unavailing. The ſea at that time ran very high, and as the waves advanced, the mermaid gently ſunk under them, and afterwards re-appeared.

The face ſeemed plump and round, the eyes and noſe were ſmall, the former were of a light grey colour, and the mouth was large, and from the ſhape of the jaw-bone, which ſeemed ſtraight, the face looked ſhort; as to the inſide of the mouth I can ſay nothing, not having attended to it, though ſometimes open. The head was exceedingly round, the hair thick and long, of a green oily caſt, and appeared troubleſome to it, the waves generally throwing it down over the face, it ſeemed to feel the annoyance, and, as the waves retreated, with both its hands frequently threw back the hair, and rubbed its throat, as if to remove any ſoiling it might have received from it. The throat was ſlender, ſmooth, and white; we did not think to obſerve whether it had elbows, but, from the manner in which it uſed its arms, I muſt conclude that it had. The arms were very long and ſlender, as were the hands and fingers, the latter were not webbed. The arms, one of them at leaſt, was frequently extended over its head, as if to frighten a bird that hovered over it, and ſeemed to diſtreſs it much; when that had no effect, it ſometimes turned quite round ſeveral times ſucceſſively. At a little diſtance we obſerved a ſeal. It ſometimes laid its right hand under its cheek, and in this poſition floated for ſome time. We ſaw nothing like hair or ſcales on any part of it, indeed the ſmoothneſs of the ſkin particularly caught our attention. The time it was diſcernible to us was about an hour. The ſun was ſhining clearly at the time; it was diſtant from us a few yards only. Theſe are the few obſervations made by us during the appearance of this ſtrange phenomenon.

If they afford you any ſatisfaction, I ſhall be particularly happy; I have

I have ſtated nothing but what I clearly recollect; as my couſin and I had frequently, previous to this period, combated an aſſertion, which is very common among the lower claſs here, that mermaids had been frequently ſeen on this coaſt, our evidence cannot be thought biaſſed by any former prejudice in favour of the exiſtence of this wonderful creature.

To contribute in any degree to your pleaſure or amuſement, will add to the happineſs of, Madam,

Your greatly obliged,

(Signed) ELIZ. MACKAY.
C. MACKENZIE.

Letter from Mr. William Munro, Schoolmaſter, of Thurſo, to Dr. Torrence, reſpecting a Mermaid, ſeen by him ſome Years ago.

Thurſo, June 9, 1809.

Dear Sir,

Your queries reſpecting the mermaid are before me. From the general ſcepticiſm which prevails among the learned and intelligent about the exiſtence of ſuch a phenomenon, had not your character and real deſire for inveſtigation been too well known to me, for ſuppoſing that you wiſhed to have a fertile imagination indulged by a ſubject of merriment, I would have been diſpoſed to have concluded, that in this inſtance you aimed at being ranked among the laughing philoſophers, at my expence. Senſible, however, that this is not the caſe, and taking it for granted that you are ſincere, I ſhall endeavour to anſwer your queries, though there is little probability that any teſtimony which I can give reſpecting the mermaid, will operate towards convincing thoſe who have not hitherto been convinced by the repeated teſtimonies adduced in ſupport of the exiſtence of ſuch an appearance. About twelve years ago, when I was parochial ſchoolmaſter at Reay, in the courſe of my walking on the ſhore of Sandſide bay, being a fine warm day in ſummer, I was induced to extend my walk towards Sandſide head, when my attention was arreſted by the appearance of a figure, reſembling an unclothed human female, ſitting upon a rock extending into the ſea, and apparently in the action of combing its hair, which flowed around its ſhoulders, and of a light brown colour. The reſemblance which the figure bore to its prototype, in all its viſible parts, was ſo ſtriking, that had not the rock on which it was ſitting been dangerous for bathing, I would have been conſtrained to have regarded it as really an human form, and to any eye unaccuſtomed to the ſituation, it muſt have undoubtedly appeared as ſuch. The head was covered with hair of the colour above mentioned, and ſhaded on the crown, the forehead round, the face plump, the cheeks ruddy, the eyes blue, the mouth and lips of a natural form, reſembling thoſe of a man; the teeth I could not diſcover, as the mouth was ſhut; the breaſts and abdomen, the arms and fingers, of the ſize of a full-grown body of the human ſpecies; the fingers, from the action in which the hands were employed, did not appear to be webbed, but as to this I am not poſitive. It remained on the rock three or

four minutes after I obſerved it, and was exerciſed during that period in combing its hair, which was long and thick, and of which it appeared to be proud, and then dropping into the ſea, which was level with the abdomen, from whence it did not re-appear to me. I had a diſtinct view of its features, being at no great diſtance on an eminence above the rock, on which it was ſitting, and the ſun brightly ſhining. Immediately before its getting into its natural element, it ſeemed to have obſerved me, as the eyes were directed towards the eminence on which I ſtood. It may be neceſſary to remark, that, previous to the period I beheld this object, I had heard it frequently reported by ſeveral perſons, and ſome of them perſons whoſe veracity I never heard diſputed, that they had ſeen ſuch a phenomenon as I have deſcribed, though then, like many others, I was not diſpoſed to credit their teſtimony on this ſubject. I can ſay of a truth, that it was only by ſeeing the phenomenon I was perfectly convinced of its exiſtence.

If the above narrative can in any degree be ſubſervient towards eſtabliſhing the exiſtence of a phenomenon, hitherto almoſt incredible to naturaliſts, or to remove the ſcepticiſm of others, who are ready to diſpute every thing which they cannot fully comprehend, you are welcome to it, from,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged,

And moſt humble ſervant,

WILLIAM MUNRO.

Report of an Excurſion to the Diamond Mines at Mallavilly, by Dr. B. Heyne.

From the Tranſactions of the Society of Arts, &c. Vol. XXVII.

Eight coſs, W. S. W. from Ellore is a village, called Mallavilly, belonging to the nizam, and another two coſs from it, where diamonds in former times, I was told, had been found. Depending ſolely upon this, I determined to viſit theſe villages, flattering myſelf with nothing more than to find an old man in one of them, from whom ſome information might be collected. It was in the night of the 25th of May, 1795, when I ſet out from Ellore, and at day-break I found myſelf in that village, cloſe to the hills, and on all ſides ſurrounded with jungle. In expectation of diſcovering ſome ſingularity on the ground about me, I caſt my eyes upon it the very moment my palanqueen ſtopped, but found that it was of a kind very common, viz. red ſand and gravel. Upon enquiring after the former diamond mines, I was deſired to wait a little time, if I pleaſed, and go along with the miners to thoſe places which they were working. How ſatisfactory and pleaſing this anſwer muſt have been to me, who had made a tour of almoſt 100 miles, expecting to ſee nothing more than the remains of former luckier times, will be imagined only by an amateur of a ſcience who once had been agreeably ſurpriſed in the ſame manner. My impatience to view thoſe remarkable places did not give me reſt; I engaged, there-

fore, a little boy to ſhow me the road to them, before I perceived the labourers collecting, by whom, however, I found myſelf ſoon undertaken.

Whether it was from apprehenſions they came earlier than uſual, or if it was the proper time to commence working, I cannot pretend to ſay; men, women, and children, made a group altogether of perhaps forty in number. They behaved very civilly, and entertained me, during our progreſs, with pointing out the fortune that might be made, in a very ſhort time, by inveſting ſome thouſand pagodas in working theſe mines. From them I heard, alſo, that it is at the nizam's own hazard that theſe mines have been worked for many years paſt; though every body is allowed to try his fortune, provided he takes a permit from the muzmadar and deſpondiahs of the diſtrict, to whom he has to pay monthly half a rupee, and as much to the nizam's tannadar, for every man who is employed in working the mines. Nothing is paid to the nizam himſelf for the licence, but he reſerves a claim to all diamonds exceeding the weight of a pagoda, which is 12-13 carat; but theſe they meet with ſo ſeldom, that he and other ſovereigns do not certainly reſerve the privilege, in order that the price of the article may not fall. The nizam, I underſtand, enjoys that prerogative every where in the circars where diamonds are or might be found. We converſed on ſuch ſubjects till our arrival at the mine. It lies half a mile to the weſtward from the village, and nearer to it than any of the older, all of which are concentrated in a kind of ſemicircular baſon, formed by hills, which encompaſs it from the north, weſt, and ſouth, and on the opening of which to the eaſt is ſituated the village of Mallavilly. The tranſverſal ſection of the ſemicircle here, may be computed to be about a mile and a half. I did not ſtay long enough to aſcertain what kind of ſtones thoſe hills exhibited, but, according to what is commonly found in this part of the globe, they moſtly conſiſt of rocks of a coarſe kind of granite, of a recent or ſecondary formation.

The ſtones which lie diſperſed in the village, roads, and fields, are in a greater quantity than in other villages hereabout, and are probably dug up from the mines, and ſcattered about by accident. They are quite of the ſame kind as thoſe found in the mines, of which I ſhall explain hereafter. I could not obſerve any particularity taking place in the products of the vegetable kingdom. The jungle thereabout conſiſted of ſhrubs that may be found in all thoſe of a ſandy ſoil in the northern circars.

The mines, if I may call them ſo, are large cavities, various in their breadth, but in general from fifteen to twenty feet broad, and from twenty-five to thirty deep, all the ſides being like walls cut perpendicular and ſmooth. The people, from the age of twelve years, and of both ſexes, are working here, and are allowed three ſeers of joonaloo every day for each man, beſides one and a half rupee per month. The men dig the ground with long iron crows, and the women and children

dren carry baſkets upon their heads of the ſeveral ſtrata of earth allotted to each ſort, which gives thoſe works at a diſtance the appearance of ſmall fortifications.

The earth of the ſtratum in which the diamonds are found, they keep in a place environed with ſtone half way up, reckoned from the bottom of the mines to the ſurface of the little hillocks thrown up, from whence they carry it to another, in common the higheſt and lighteſt place, when they have enough to commence waſhing and ſcrutinizing it. At theſe places one or two of the nizam's peons are conſtantly attending.

To lay out money in this kind of purſuit ſeems to be a very precarious thing; many have loſt, and others would have experienced the ſame, if they had not the means to go on till they were reimburſed, and then they wiſely ſtopped.

The nizam is ſaid not to have met with any loſs of late; and that eſpecially laſt year he had been very lucky, for ſeveral diamonds were found which were valued at 2000 pagodas each. He certainly deſerved it, were it only for the good he did during the late famine, when he not only did not give up this buſineſs, (expenſive and loſing as the concern was) but rather increaſed the number of labourers. This account, however, I have from none but the labourers, who find it, very likely, adviſable to extol the bounty of their ſovereign rather than to ſpeak truth.

This and many other intereſting, though trivial circumſtances, are ſpoken of with more preciſion in common converſation than I find myſelf able to deſcribe here. I ſhall now venture on a ſubject, which by many travellers has been overlooked, and in general ſcarcely as yet has been attended to, and which alone cauſed my reſolution of going there, namely to ſee the ſeveral ſtrata of earth, which cover the diamond beds, and the latter itſelf.

For inſtruction on that head, and eſpecially to form ſome judgment by comparing thoſe at Mallavilly with others, I conſulted in vain the writings of learned travellers. Entertaining and curious accounts of the value of diamonds at thoſe places, &c. were all I could collect from them. In fact, many of them ſpeak as if they never had been there, and had entirely depended on the information received from the natives, who, we know, in order to pleaſe, and flatter the judgment of the queriſts, will model their anſwers accordingly.

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The firſt ſtratum, as above obſerved, is compoſed of a red ſandy gravel, and a little clay. Its thickneſs in common does not exceed above one, or one and a half foot. It has been formed, probably, by the waſting of the granite and other ſtones, of which the neareſt hills ſeem to conſiſt, which muſt yield, as every thing exiſting does, to the common deſtroyer time.

The heavy rains by which they are conſtantly deſtroyed are able alſo to remove them in this reduced ſtate to a lower place. The ſand is carried down by the ſame agent, and thus found, in length of time, undiſturbed by the plough.

The next ſtratum conſiſts of a black, loamy earth, with mixture of a little gravel, which, if I may be allowed to conjecture, was formed at a period when the natives were mere cultivators, and unacquainted with the treaſures that were hid in the bowels of the ground. This I am led to believe, on account of the ſcarcity of large ſtones in this ſtratum. It is three feet thick, and more in ſome places.

The third ſtratum ſucceeding to the former, and almoſt of the ſame thickneſs, is widely different in its compoſition. It is a clayiſh earth, looſely mixed together, and half indurated calcareous earth, both in ſmall lumps. In point of quantity the former is the prevailing. This covers the fourth and thickeſt ſtratum of all, with which it agrees in its ingredients, compoſed alſo of clay and chalk; but in various places in different proportions. Its component parts are more intimately mixed than that of the former, and it partakes more of the chalk. The miners divide it into three different ſtratums, attending by doing this chiefly to the colour, which, however, appeared to me ſo inſignificant in its variation, as to be unworthy of any particular notice. Had I underſtood their language better, I might, perhaps, have found even their aſſertions on this ſubject of more importance. From the middle of this ſtratum downwards I obſerved many diſperſed ſtones of a rounded form, from half to one foot in diameter, and ſome of them incruſted with an ochreous matter. I cannot venture a conjecture on the mode in which this ſtratum, and the others in which calcareous earth is a component part, might have been produced, as it is ſtill very dubious if this kind of earth be the primitive, or one produced by animal deſtruction. In this particular inſtance it may be depended upon that no traces, either of ſhells, or of any other ſea-products, are diſcoverable, which might ſerve to confirm the favourite idea of ſome of the learned.

At many other places in this part of the country calcareous earth may be found in abundance at a certain depth; and always, as I have obſerved, without the leaſt ſign that could give ſufficient reaſon to trace its origin from a deluvian period. It deſerves, however, on this and on other accounts, to be aſcertained if thoſe ſtrata of calcareous compoſition continue their courſe under thoſe huge maſſes of granite and ſilicious ſtones, which conſtitute the hills of theſe countries, and which, indeed, may be ſuppoſed, as they are near and almoſt at the foot of them. If this ſhould be the caſe, it would incontrovertibly evince the ſeniority of the calcareous earth to that of others.

The hills of the northern circars exhibit many ſpecimens of very fine calcareous ſtones, and farther to the northward, I am informed, hills are found, conſiſting entirely of a ſort of marble. The apragum and hiſtraprogum of the Gentoos and Tamuls, that likewiſe are collected in ſome places amongſt the hills, regularly and irregularly chryſtallized, in common ſemi-tranſparent, are nothing but a gypſeous ſpar; burnt like lime-ſtone, it falls to a very fine powder that does not effer-

veſce

veſce with acids, &c. It is adminiſtered by the natives in all kind of gonorrhœas, or in diſorders to which the diſſolute part of them are too frequently expoſed. Another ſort of ſtone very common on the hills, and forming often veins ſetting through the main rock of granite, is, if I may call it ſo, a micaceous ſpar. It is harſh and dry, with a ſmooth yellowiſh-white ſhining ſurface and fracture, breaks often in large ſquares, with ſharp angles. When beaten with a hammer it is found to conſiſt of horizontal lamellas, or ſcales of micaceous appearance. Coloured mica, and eſpecially black, I have found in pretty large pieces.

Want of inſtruments, eſpecially an earth-borer, has prevented me from ſcrutinizing the different ſtrata about Samulcotah. At ſome places, where deep holes had been made into the ground, I found thick layers of indurated clay, impregnated with ochre. Few other enquiries would be attended with more material conſequence to the country and its maſters, than ſuch as tend to acquire a knowledge of the different kinds of earth and ſtrata in their poſſeſſions.

It would lead by analogous concluſions to many diſcoveries in mineralogy, which, if advantageous, muſt be highly ſatisfactory to every friend of man, on account of the univerſal benefit which may be derived further; for, unfortunately, many other diſcoveries are in the ſame degree detrimental to the ſubjects, as they are beneficial to the ſuperiors.

For this digreſſion, I muſt beg the reader's pardon. It ſeems, at all events, for many reaſons, not to belong to the ſubject, or it might have been retained with convenience till the next ſtratum had been treated of; but then, I thought, many other objects would offer themſelves to our imagination, from which the mind ought not to be ſeduced by leſs intereſting ones.

The next ſtratum is that in which the diamonds are found. It is nearly of the ſame compoſition as the former, with the difference only of containing a greater portion of yellow clay. The ingredients are nearly in the following proportion to each other. This, however, cannot be depended upon, as its accuracy was the reſult of one experiment only, which I was prevented repeating, by the ſmall quantity of the ſpecimen I was able to carry off from the mines, the greateſt part of which I wiſhed to preſerve for more experienced and learned inſpection. I would have gladly ſeized a greater quantity, and paid for it, if the firſt could have been done with propriety, and the latter with the conſent of, and without expoſing the overſeers to a great riſk.

This ſtratum is from three to four feet thick, and conſtantly moiſt, owing to the water which lodges in it, which probably is acceſſary, or highly requiſite to the formation, let us call it the chryſtallization, of the precious gems; much water is collected at the bottom of the mines.

A great number of ſmall rounded ſtones enter the mixture of the other ingredients of this ſtratum. Theſe, the miners call the mother

(matrix) of the diamonds, on account of their having obſerved the diamonds in general attached to them. Theſe ſtones are not diſcoverable in any other ſtrata, and, as above deſcribed, larger ſtones are not to be met with here. They are, however, what might have been expected, not of one kind or form, ſome being little elſe than an indurated lamellated ochrous clay; others a bole of the fineſt ſort, others, again, a compound of ſilicious particles and ochre, which ſeem to be cemented together with clay. In one of the latter ſort I found ſome micaceous particles, that had quite the appearance of gold leaf.

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As far as my mineralogy goes, in all the countries where diamonds are found, volcanoes, or even the traces of them, are not to be met with; and, on the contrary, that in other tracts of land produced apparently by thoſe violent eruptions, no gems of this kind ever have been diſcovered.

What has been ſaid hitherto, is the reſult of ocular obſervations, or authority, and I ſhould be happy to continue ſpeaking in the ſame ſtrain throughout the whole; but all thoſe ſubjects which have not been touched on as yet, I was prevented ſubjecting to that kind of enquiry which alone can be depended upon.

Firſt of all, I came ſeveral days too ſoon for the laſt operation, that of ſeparating the diamonds from the earth; and conſidered it rather uncertain and unadviſable to wait at that place, in order to obſerve their mode of proceeding in that particular buſineſs. I made, therefore, all poſſible enquiries concerning it, the reſult of which I beg leave to relate in as few words as poſſible. The waſhing-place, as already obſerved, is on the higheſt place of the mine, where light may be had from all ſides. To this they bring the earth, and put it into a kind of ſquare vat, knocked up in haſte with ſome ſtones put upon each other. This place itſelf is ſcarcely ten feet ſquare, and three feet deep, and is the moſt elevated part of the whole. They put ſome water upon the earth, and reduce the larger pieces by breaking them with ſtones. From thence the maſs is carried to a lower ſquare place, where it is ſpread ſomewhat thin. The labourers are then ordered to proceed in one line, and in a direction to have the ſunſhine on their faces, two feet aſunder from each other; there they turn up every ſtone, hold it up to their eyes, when it has a whitiſh clear colour, and even pretend that with their feet they are able to diſtinguiſh the diamonds from other ſtones, and this particularly by their rounded form.

The diamonds are to be delivered immediately by the finder to the attending perſon, who has to ſend them to the tannadar, who, in order to encourage the people to be attentive, ſeldom fails to give them ſmall preſents of a piece of cloth, worth a rupee, or a gold ring about their hands, of eight or ten pagodas value. The latter is the premium for bringing a clear ſtone, without ſpots, equal to the weight of a pagoda.

I am unable to ſay any thing ſatisfactory of the form, luſtre, and value of the gems at Mallavilly.

villy. If the miners could be believed, they are found angular as well as rounded, but of how many ſides and angles, whether of eight or twelve, I was unable to aſcertain. It ſhould appear, from their aſſertions, that the diamonds are not incruſtated, as they are ſaid to be found in other mines. Leſs information, and indeed none, could I collect of the rubies that occur now and then in the ſame mines. Theſe being found in the ſame matrix with the diamonds, give us reaſon to think that they, with all obvious differences about them, muſt be near related to the diamonds, and the ingredients to be the ſame, with the difference only of various proportions. The analyſis ſhews, that calcareous matter enters into their compoſition, though in a ſmall proportion.

Account of the Wheat Moth, or Virginia Fly; as it appeared in France in the Year 1755, *and which damaged the grain in the Townſhip of Lower Dublin, in the harveſt of* 1802, 1803 *and* 1804. *From the Letters and Papers of the Bath and Weſt of England Society.*

THE inhabitants of a conſiderable part of the province of Angoumois, in France, had for a period of thirty years ſuſtained an immenſe loſs by the ravages of this inſect. It appeared at firſt only in a few hamlets, but ſoon made ſo rapid a progreſs as to ſpread to the lands of upward of two hundred pariſhes. In the year 1775, Meſsrs. Duhamel and Tillet were deputed by the Academy of Sciences at Paris, of which they were members, to enquire into the nature of this inſect, and the means of preventing and curing the dreadful calamity occaſioned thereby. The deſcription given of it by theſe gentlemen is ſo minute and particular, as to leave no room for doubt of its being the ſame we have in America. It reſembles the moth which preys upon woollen clothes, and is of the claſs of four-winged *phalenæ* or night butterflies. In this ſtate, however, they do not take any food, nor do they deſtroy the grain during that time, for they have not organs capable of doing the leaſt injury. Their only function then is to propagate their ſpecies. They couple in the manner of the ſilk-worm butterfly; and as ſoon as the female is impregnated, ſhe lays her eggs in great numbers, in heaps of ſixty, eighty, or ninety together. They are accompanied with a viſcous matter which makes them ſtick to the places they are laid in, and this coheſion ſoon becomes very ſtrong. They are ſo extremely ſmall that one of them would drop through a hole made in a bit of paper with the point of the fineſt needle. The female butterflies which are upon the ears of grain in a field, endeavour to place themſelves in ſuch a manner as to lay their eggs cloſe to the joining of the grain to the ſtalk. In ſix or ſeven days each of them produces a caterpillar, in appearance like a bit of hair about the twentieth part of an inch long, at firſt reddiſh, but afterwards almoſt white. As ſoon as the caterpillars are hatched, they ſet about making their way into the grain, in order to feed upon its flour. If the eggs

have been laid in the granary after harveſt, and upon the grains themſelves, they generally creep into the furrow of the wheat and there weave a ſlight web. They then tear a hole in the ſkin or rind, range round them the particles of bran thus ſeparated, and wriggle themſelves into the mealy ſubſtance which is to be their food. The hole through which the caterpillar entered can then no longer be perceived but by a little heap of bran which lies upon it, and may eaſily eſcape the notice of thoſe who have not obſerved it before, but when once known is eaſily diſtinguiſhed. When the eggs are hatched upon the ears in the field, the young caterpillars ſoon find means to glide in between the chaff and the grain, and in that ſituation they pierce the latter, as was ſaid before, generally in the furrow, but ſometimes at the pointed end, which is a little hairy. As the huſks of barley are harder, and ſtick much cloſer to the grain than thoſe of wheat, it is almoſt always at the point that theſe caterpillars enter, by means of a ſmall opening perceptible in that part. Notwithſtanding the induſtry of this inſect, it ſeems highly probable that the young ones meet with great difficulties in their attempts to get into the grain, ſince very many of them die before they can effect a lodgment in the mealy ſubſtance. But conſidering the vaſt fecundity of the females, if prodigious numbers of them did not periſh, it would be hardly poſſible to ſave a ſingle grain of any kind. The people of Angoumois were ſtrongly of opinion that the miſchief occaſioned by this inſect was peculiar to the grain of their country, and that what was brought to them from other places always eſcaped unhurt. To clear up this point, Meſſrs. Duhamel and Tillet put into different glaſſes wheat of the growth of other provinces, and, with grains in each glaſs, ſome of theſe butterflies actually coupled. They ſoon ſaw the female lay her eggs upon theſe grains, and afterwards the caterpillars hatch and make their way into them. Their further obſervations proved that the principal cauſe of the ſpreading of this evil is, that the inſect itſelf, which multiplies exceeedingly, is conveyed to other parts with the grain in which it is encloſed. Whenever a grain was opened in which the caterpillar was not fully grown, a deal of flour yet remained; but when full grown, nothing was left but the ſkin or bran, ſo deſtitute of flour as not even to diſcolour clear water. Hogs would not touch theſe huſks when given to them unmixed. The length of the caterpillar, when full grown, is very little more than the twelfth part of an inch, and its thickneſs is at moſt equal to half the circumference of the grain that contains it. Its body is ſmooth, and entirely white; it is thickeſt towards the head, in which one may perceive its mouth, two large eyes, and two kinds of hair; the head is a little browner than the reſt of the body. It has ſixteen legs, of which the eight intermediate and membranous are only ſmall prominences, ſo minute as not to be diſtinguiſhed even with the help of a microſcope, unleſs the inſect be laid upon its ſide.

The caterpillar, exactly encloſed in its grain, before it is changed into

into an aurelia, makes therein a ſmall trap door which remains ſhut. The butterfly being entirely formed in the aurelia, breaks the ſkin of it at the end, opens with its head this little trap, and comes out at the hole which was covered and ſhut by it. As ſoon as the butterflies are out of the grains which contained them, they couple, and the females lay their eggs in the manner before related. This inſect, like all others of the ſame ſpecies, remains a longer or ſhorter time in its different ſtates according to the temperature of the air. It will continue three months in the ſtate of an aurelia, if put into an ice-houſe, and the butterfly does not, in that caſe, come out till after it has been removed to a much warmer air. The coming out of the butterflies is generally denoted by a great heat in the heaps of grain, or in the ſheaves, according as it is laid up, in one or the other. This heat certainly accelerates the hatching of the inſects, for prodigious multitudes of butterflies iſſue out of the heated grain in a few days after the ferment has taken place. When the harveſt is cut, and warm rains fall at that time, this heat comes on very ſoon, and then theſe inſects make an extremely rapid progreſs. A hot and dry ſeaſon which hardens the grain, may defer the evil, and perhaps leſſen it a little, but this is all. Theſe caterpillars incloſed in their huſks, and ſheltered in barns and granaries, are ſcreened from the viciſſitudes of the air, and when circumſtances are favourable, again make their appearance. At harveſt time butterflies were ſeen to come out of ſome grains, which were already empty and entirely conſumed before they were reaped. Probably theſe firſt butterflies couple and lay their eggs upon the other unreaped ears, and part of theſe eggs are deſtroyed by the action of the flail when the grain is threſhed and cleaned ſoon after its being cut; but as the caterpillars are hatched very ſpeedily in hot weather, and many of them enter into the grain that is reaping, and ſhelter themſelves there, they will do all their miſchief, if ſpeedy care be not taken to ſtifle them. Grain reaped and piled up heats, and the transformations of the inſects incloſed in it are then the ſooner effected. When the ſheaves are ſtirred, vaſt numbers of butterflies come out of them, and the grains from which they iſſue are empty of flour, and abſolutely ſpoiled. The moment theſe butterflies are out of their priſon, they couple and lay their eggs upon the ears which they find in the barn. Part of theſe eggs, and of the young caterpillars, may certainly be deſtroyed by the flail and winnow if uſed ſpeedily. Floating the grain does not effectually ſeparate the damaged from the ſound: for that in which the caterpillars have not eaten much of the flour will ſink along with the good, and the inſect will remain to finiſh its work, which is facilitated by the ſoftening of the grain in the water. To grind the whole produce of the crop immediately after harveſt, were it practicable, would be attended with inconveniences; and though the friction of the mill ſtones ſhould deſtroy almoſt all the inſects, it is not certain but that ſome of them may eſcape, and go through their metamorphoſes even in the flour itſelf.

From

From what is laid up in granaries iſſue multitudes of butterflies, which couple and lay an immenſe quantity of eggs, from whence proceed caterpillars, which get into the grains and devour their inſide during the whole winter. Numbers of live caterpillars have been found in them at that ſeaſon, many aureliæ towards the end of May, and prodigious multitudes of butterflies iſſue from them as ſoon as the weather begins to be hot. Thus it ſeems that there are two flights of them, one which appears from harveſt time till the weather grows cold in October, and the other which appears in June and laſts till harveſt. Thoſe of the ſummer flight remain in the barns and granaries attached to the grain laid up there, upon which they couple and lay their eggs. It looks as if they knew that there is no longer in the fields any grain fit to feed their poſterity. On the contrary, thoſe of the ſpring flight endeavour to get out of the granaries, and do in fact get out in vaſt numbers through the windows to ſpread in the fields and lay their eggs upon the yet green grain. That this is really the case, and that theſe inſects are a ſpecies of night moth, appeared evidently from ſeveral very accurate obſervations made by Meſſrs. Duhamel and Tillet. They went at different hours of the day into granaries infected with them. While the day laſted they perceived a multitude of butterflies, which ſtirred a little upon the heaps but did not quit them. When they returned into the ſame granaries a little after ſun-ſet they ſaw theſe butterflies riſe and fly to the walls, where they ſettled for a while, after which they took their flight in vaſt numbers through the windows. As theſe little inſects fly very ſwiftly, and riſe to ſuch a height that the eye cannot follow them long, eſpecially when the duſk of evening comes on, Meſſrs. Duhamel and Tillet were obliged to try ſeveral methods before they could be certain what became of them. The caterpillars found in the ſtanding ears made them conclude that the butterflies, when out of the granary, flew directly into the green grain, and laid their eggs upon it while yet tender; but none of the country people of whom they enquired had ever obſerved them in the fields, or could give any ſatisfactory account of them. They ſearched all the neighbouring fields, and beat even the ſurrounding hedges at all hours of the day, to no purpoſe — not a butterfly could they find, excepting a few dead and dried ones entangled in ſpiders' webs. This very circumſtance led them to the diſcovery they were in queſt of; for rightly reflecting that theſe inſects, which neither they nor any other perſon had been able to find in the fields in the day time, muſt certainly be of the phalenæ or nocturnal kind, they without further delay ſet out with a candle and lanthorn, repaired to one of the fields they had viſited in the afternoon, and ſoon deſcried a great number of the very butterflies they were ſeeking for on the beards of the ears of wheat. They returned to the ſame ſpot early the next morning, and could not then find a ſingle one. It was proved by the following experiment, that it is poſſible the caterpillars may live under-ground, paſs the winter there incloſed in the

the grain with which they are ſown, and even undergo their ſeveral metamorphoſes in the earth, ſo as to ariſe from thence in the form of butterflies in the ſpring. A wooden box was divided into three partitions, and filled with common mould taken out of a kitchen garden. Wheat, known to be infected, was planted an inch deep in one of theſe partitions, two inches deep in another, and three inches in the third. All of them were then covered with a glaſs frame, and butterflies ſoon appeared in each of the diviſions, but they were far the moſt numerous in that where they had been buried but an inch deep. In another trial a number of infected grains were covered with a ſtill ſtiffer earth, wetted and preſſed down, and not any butterflies appeared there. From hence, Meſſrs. Duhamel and Tillet concluded that though ſome of theſe inſects can and certainly do come out of the ploughed ground which has been ſowed with infected grain, their number is comparatively ſmall, and that mills and granaries are the great ſource of their increaſe; for the grain which contains a young caterpillar, will grow if its germ has not been damaged, and as its mealy ſubſtance is conſumed by the plant, the caterpillar muſt die for want of food; beſides, as is proved by the experiment above mentioned, the butterflies cannot pierce through a cloſe and hardened earth, which generally is the caſe of ploughed land that has been expoſed to the winter rains. It is not agreed whether theſe inſects prefer wheat, barley, or rye.

The obſervations made by Meſſrs. Duhamel and Tillet ſeem to prove that they attack indifferently whichever lies moſt convenient for them; and that they do not ſpare Indian corn when ſtripped from its ſtalk, and laid up in a granary where they can come at the ſoft inſide part of the grain. Even Oats, when mixed with wheat, barley, and rye, in a glaſs veſſel into which ſome of the butterflies were put, were damaged by caterpillars as much as any of the other grain, though it is certain that they do but little miſchief to oats in the granary.

To preſerve the grain from further injury after it is reaped, it ſhould be threſhed out as ſoon as poſſible, and ſuch part of it as it is wiſhed to preſerve either for ſeed or grinding, ſhould be dried in an oven or kiln, in which the heat ſhould be ſtrong enough to kill the caterpillars without deſtroying the vegetative principle. This will be effected by 124 degrees of heat of Farenheit's thermometer. Or the ſeed grain may be better prepared by being ſoaked in a ſtrong ley of wood aſhes and quick lime heated to ſuch a degree that the finger can juſt bear it. Let the grain, contained in a baſket, be ſtirred in this ley, and the grains ſkimmed off that float on the ſurface. When it has been thus ſoaked for about two minutes, the baſket which contains it ſhould then be lifted up and ſuſpended by two poles till the ley is drained off. The grain ſhould then be ſpread very thin on a floor to dry, while a ſecond baſketful is prepared in the ſame manner. When thus ſteeped and well dried it will keep a year, and continue fit for ſowing.

In France, mills and granaries, where large quantities of grain were

were depoſited, ſeem to have been conſidered as the chief ſources of the evil. But in this country it cannot be the caſe, at leaſt not to ſo great an extent. No large quantities remain on hand when the warm ſeaſon approaches, and kiln drying might deſtroy any caterpillars which might then exiſt. It appears that the ſeverity of a hard winter cannot be depended on for this purpoſe, but that a ſufficient number may ſurvive, even in the grain ſown, to cauſe conſiderable miſchief. The roller may, however, be of ſervice to prevent the fly from making its way out of the ground. The principal danger ſeems to exiſt in the Spring barley, which having been kept under cover during winter, and afterwards ſown in freſh-ploughed, and conſequently light ſoil, will, if at all affected, be ſufficient to ſpread the evil far and wide. To this cauſe the writer chiefly attributes the damage laſt ſeaſon to a crop of wheat, the ſeed of which had been brought from a diſtance, and was perfectly free from the fly, which the barley was not, and was ſown in the ſame field. If attention be paid in the enſuing ſpring to the kiln-drying of the grain that remains on hand, to the rolling of that which is coming up, and to the pickling of the ſeed barley, we may hope to put a ſtop to this diſtreſſing calamity, or at leaſt to prevent its ſpread; but let it be remembered, that the remedy to be *effectual*, muſt be *univerſal*.

Deſcription of the Camelion. From an Account of the Empire of Marocco. By James Grey Jackſon, *Eſq.*

Tatta is the Arabic, and Tayuh the Shelluh name for this extraordinary and complicated animal; its head reſembles that of a fiſh, the body that of a beaſt, the tail that of a ſerpent, and the legs and feet are ſomewhat ſimilar to the arms and hands of a human being; the tongue is pointed like that of a ſerpent, and is ſo inſtantaneous in its motion, that the human ſight can ſcarcely perceive it when it darts it out to the length of its body, to catch flies (its ordinary food); in doing this it never miſſes its mark, ſo that I imagine there muſt be ſome glutinous ſubſtance which attaches the fly to the tongue, or elſe it pierces the inſect with its point, which is very ſharp. I have often admired the velocity with which the camelion thus ſecures its food, but never could diſcover whether it were to be attributed to the former, or the latter cauſe.

The length of the camelion when full grown is ten or twelve inches, including the tail. When ſuddenly diſcovered and purſued, it runs faſt, forgetting its wonted caution, which is never to truſt to the tread of the foot, the toes of which graſp the object they tread on; in its ordinary movements, its ſtep is geometrically exact; it looks carefully around to diſcover the ſtate of the ſurrounding place; and to aſcertain if every thing be ſafe, one eye looking behind, the other before, and in all tranſverſe directions; for this organ is a perfect hemiſphere, projecting from the head, and moving in various and independent directions; having aſcertained that its feet are ſafe, and that the ſubſtance on which they are fixed is firm, the Camelion

lion diſengages its tail, and proceeds on, with the ſame caution, again faſtening the tail, by twiſting it round ſome branch or twig, till it has aſcertained the ſafety of the next ſtep.

Many doubts have ariſen with regard to the camelion's mode of changing its colour; from the various and repeated obſervations which I have from time to time made on this moſt extraordinary animal, in a confined as well as in a free ſtate, I have been enabled to aſcertain, that in gardens (its ordinary reſort,) it gradually changes its colour, aſſuming that of the ſubſtance over which it paſſes, and to do this it requires two or three minutes: the change beginning by the body becoming covered with ſmall ſpots of the colour of the ſubſtance over which it actually paſſes, and which gradually increaſe, till it is altogether of that particular colour; green appears its favourite, or at leaſt it aſſumes that hue more diſtinctly than any other, for I have ſeen it on vines ſo perfectly green, that it was ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the leaves; when it aſſumes a white or black colour, theſe are not clear, but of a dirty hue, inclining to brown. When irritated, it will gradually aſſume a dirty blackiſh colour, which it retains while the irritation laſts, ſwelling its ſides, and hiſſing like a ſerpent; when aſleep, or inclined to reſt, it is of a whitiſh caſt. In the courſe of the various experiments which my curioſity and admiration of the camelion induced me to make, I diſcovered that it never drinks, and that it always avoids wet and rain. I kept three in a cage for the period of four months, during which time I never gave them any food; they appeared withered and thin. Others, which I kept in a ſmall confined garden, retained their original ſize and appearance; conſequently it is to be ſuppoſed that they feed on the leaves of vegetables; thoſe confined in the cage did not vary their colour much, appearing generally that of the cage; but if any thing green, ſuch as vegetables, were placed near it, they would aſſume that hue; thoſe confined in the garden aſſumed ſo much the colour of the object over which they progreſſively paſſed as to render it difficult to diſcover them. Various medicinal qualities are aſſigned to the fleſh of the Camelion; and many whimſical effects are attributed to fumigation with it when dried; debilitated perſons have recourſe to it, and it is accordingly ſold in all the drug-ſhops of Marocco, Fas, and other places, which ſhops are named Nanute El Altari: the ſmell ariſing from the fumigation is by no means grateful; but what ſcent will prevent an African from uſing that remedy which credulity or ſuperſtition has perſuaded him will give ſtrength to the impotent!

The Arabs aſſert, that the Camelion is the only animal which deſtroys the ſerpent, * and it is ſaid to do it in the following manner; it proceeds cautiouſly on the bough of ſome tree, under which the ſerpent ſleeps, and placing itſelf perpendicularly over its head, diſcharges a glutinous thread of ſaliva, having a white drop at the end, which falling on the ſerpent's

* It is called (Adû-el-henſh) the ſerpent's enemy.

head,

head, ſoon kills him. This aſſertion being general and uncontroverted, among the Arabs, I have mentioned it, as a hint to future travellers, who may be deſirous of inveſtigating its truth.

The Camelion is, by ſome perſons, ſaid to be venomous, but I never knew any harm done by them, though the boys ſometimes carry them in their boſoms for a whole day.

A Deſcription of the Haſhiſha, and Kief. From the ſame.

The plant called Haſhiſha is the African hemp plant; it grows in all the gardens; and is reared in the plains at Marocco for the manufacture of ſtring; but in moſt parts of the country it is cultivated for the extraordinary and pleaſing voluptuous vacuity of mind which it produces in thoſe who ſmoke it: unlike the intoxication from wine, a faſcinating ſtupor pervades the mind, and the dreams are agreeable. The kief, which is the flower and ſeeds of the plant, is the ſtrongeſt, and a pipe of it half the ſize of a common Engliſh tobacco-pipe, is ſufficient to intoxicate. The infatuation of thoſe who uſe it, is ſuch, that they cannot exiſt without it. The kief is uſually pounded, and mixed with (El Mogin), an invigorating confection, which is ſold at an enormous price; a piece of this as big as a walnut will for a time entirely deprive a man of all reaſon and intellect; they prefer it to opium from the voluptuous ſenſations which it never fails to produce. Wine or brandy, they ſay, does not ſtand in competition with it. The Haſhiſha or leaves of the plant, are dried and cut like tobacco, with which they are ſmoked, in very ſmall pipes; but when the perſon wiſhes to indulge in the ſenſual ſtupor it occaſions, he ſmokes the Haſhiſha pure, and in leſs than half an hour it operates; the perſon under its influence is ſaid to experience pleaſing images; he fancies himſelf in company with beautiful women; he dreams that he is an emperor, or a baſhaw, and that the world is at his nod. There are other plants which poſſeſs a ſimilar exhilarating quality, among which is a ſpecies of the palma chriſti, the nuts of which, mixed with any kind of food, affect a perſon for three hours, and then paſs off. Theſe they often uſe when they wiſh to diſcover the mind of a perſon, or what occupies his thoughts.

Account of a Shower of Meteoric Stones, at Weſton, in America. By Mr. Silliman, *Profeſſor of Chemiſtry, and* Mr. Kingſley, *Profeſſor of Languages, in Yale College.*

From the Philoſophical Magazine.

The meteor which has ſo recently excited alarm in many, and aſtoniſhment in all, firſt made its appearance in Weſton, about a quarter or half paſt ſix o'clock, A. M. on Monday, the 14th of December, 1807. The morning was ſomewhat cloudy; the clouds were diſperſed in unequal maſſes, being in ſome places thick and opaque, in others light, fleecy, and partially tranſparent; while ſpots of

of unclouded ſky appeared here and there among them. Along the northern part of the horizon, a ſpace of ten or fifteen degrees was perfectly clear. The day had merely dawned, and there was little or no light, except from the moon, which was juſt ſetting. Judge Wheeler, to whoſe intelligence and obſervation, apparently uninfluenced by fear or imagination, we are indebted for the ſubſtance of this part of our account, was paſſing through the incloſure adjoining his houſe, with his face to the north, and his eyes on the ground, when a ſudden flaſh, occaſioned by the tranſition of a luminous body acroſs the northern margin of clear ſky, illuminated every object, and cauſed him to look up. He immediately diſcovered a globe of fire, juſt then paſſing behind the firſt cloud, which was very dark, and obſcured, though it did not entirely hide the meteor.

In this ſituation its appearance was diſtinct, and well defined, like that of the ſun ſeen through a miſt. It roſe from the north, and proceeded in a direction nearly perpendicular to the horizon, but inclining, by a very ſmall angle, to the weſt, and deviating a little from the plane of a great circle, but in pretty large curves, ſometimes on one ſide of the plane, and ſometimes on the other, but never making an angle with it of more than four or five degrees. It appeared about one half or two thirds of the diameter of the full moon. The deſcription of its apparent magnitude is vague, but it was impoſſible to aſcertain what angle it ſubtended. Its progreſs was not ſo rapid as that of the common meteors and ſhooting ſtars. When it paſſed behind the thinner clouds, it appeared brighter than before: and when it paſſed the ſpots of clear ſky it flaſhed with a vivid light, yet not ſo intenſe as the lightning in a thunder ſtorm, but rather like what is commonly called *heat-lightning*. Its ſurface was apparently convex.

Where it was not too much obſcured by thick clouds, a conical train of paler light was ſeen to attend it, waving, and in length about ten or twelve diameters of the body. In the clear ſky a briſk ſcintillation was obſerved about the body of the meteor, like that of a burning fire-brand carried againſt the wind.

It diſappeared about fifteen degrees ſhort of the zenith, and about the ſame number of degrees weſt of the meridian. It did not vaniſh inſtantaneouſly, but grew, pretty rapidly, fainter and fainter, as a red hot cannon ball would do, if cooling in the dark, only with much more rapidity.

There was no peculiar ſmell in the atmoſphere, nor were any luminous maſſes ſeen to ſeparate from the body. The whole period between its firſt appearance and total extinction was eſtimated at about thirty ſeconds.

About thirty or forty ſeconds after this, three loud and diſtinct reports, like thoſe of a four-pounder, near at hand, were heard. They ſucceeded each other with as much rapidity as was conſiſtent with diſtinctneſs, and, altogether, did not occupy three ſeconds. Then followed a rapid ſucceſſion of other reports leſs loud, and running into each other, ſo as to produce a continued rumbling, like that of a cannon-ball rolling over a floor, ſometimes

ſometimes louder and at other times fainter; ſome compared it to the noiſe of a waggon, running rapidly down a long and ſtony hill; or to a volley of muſquetry, protracted into what is called, in military language, a running fire. This noiſe continued about as long as the body was in riſing, and died away, apparently in the direction from which the meteor came.

The accounts of others correſponded ſubſtantially with this. Time was differently eſtimated by different people, but the variation was not material. Some augmented the number of loud reports, and terror and imagination ſeem, in various inſtances, to have magnified every circumſtance of the phenomenon.

The only thing which ſeemed of any importance beyond this ſtatement, was derived from Mr. Elihu Staples, who ſaid, that when the meteor diſappeared, there were apparently three ſucceſſive efforts or leaps of the fire-ball, which grew more dim at every throe, and diſappeared with the laſt.

Such were the ſenſible phenomena which attended this meteor. We purpoſely avoid deſcribing the appearances which it aſſumed in other places, leaving this taſk to others who have the means of performing it more accurately; while we proceed to detail the conſequences which followed the exploſions and apparent extinction of this luminary.

We allude to the fall of a number of maſſes of ſtone in ſeveral places, principally within the town of Weſton. The places which had been well aſcertained at the period of our inveſtigation, were ſix. The moſt remote were about nine or ten miles diſtant from each other, in a line differing little from the courſe of the meteor. It is therefore probable that the ſucceſſive maſſes fell in this order, the moſt northerly firſt, and the moſt ſoutherly laſt. We think we are able to point out the three principal places where ſtones have fallen, correſponding with the three loud cannon-like reports, and with the three leaps of the meteor obſerved by Mr. Staples. There were ſome circumſtances common to all the caſes. There was, in every inſtance, immediately after the exploſions had ceaſed, a loud whizzing or roaring noiſe in the air, obſerved at all the places, and, ſo far as was aſcertained, at the moment of the fall. It excited in ſome the idea of a tornado, in others, of a large cannon ſhot in rapid motion; and it filled all with aſtoniſhment and apprehenſion of ſome impending cataſtrophe. In every inſtance immediately after this was heard a ſudden and abrupt noiſe, like that of a ponderous body ſtriking the ground in its fall. Excepting one, the ſtones were more or leſs broken. The moſt important circumſtances of the particular caſes were as follow:

1. The moſt northerly fall was within the limits of Huntington, on the border of Weſton, about forty or fifty rods eaſt of the great road from Bridgeport to Newtown, in a croſs road, and contiguous to the houſe of Mr. Merwin Burr. Mr. Burr was ſtanding in the road, in front of his houſe, when the ſtone fell. The noiſe produced by its colliſion with a rock of granite, on which it ſtruck, was very loud. Mr. Burr was within fifty feet, and immediately ſearched for the body,

body, but, it being ſtill dark, he did not find it till half an hour after. By the fall, ſome of it was reduced to powder, and the reſt of it was broken into very ſmall fragments, which were thrown around to the diſtance of twenty or thirty feet. The granite rock was ſtained at the place of contact with a deep lead colour. The largeſt fragment which remained did not exceed the ſize of a gooſe-egg, and this Mr. Burr found to be ſtill warm to his hand. There was reaſon to conclude from all the circumſtances, that this ſtone muſt have weighed about 20 or 25 pounds.

Mr. Burr had a ſtrong impreſſion that another ſtone fell in an adjoining field, and it was confidently believed that a large maſs had fallen into a neighbouring ſwamp, but neither of theſe had been found. It is probable that the ſtone whoſe fall has now been deſcribed, together with any other maſſes which may have fallen at the ſame time, was thrown from the meteor at the firſt exploſion.

2. The maſſes projected at the ſecond exploſion ſeem to have fallen principally at and in the vicinity of Mr. William Prince's, in Weſton, diſtant about five miles, in a ſoutherly direction, from Mr. Burr's. Mr. Prince and family were ſtill in bed, when *they heard a noiſe like the fall of a very heavy body, immediately after the exploſions.* They formed various unſatisfactory conjectures concerning the cauſe, nor did even a freſh hole made through the turf in the door-yard, about twenty-five feet from the houſe, lead to any conception of the cauſe, or induce any other inquiry than why a new poſt-hole ſhould have been dug where there was no uſe for it. So far were this family from conceiving of the poſſibility of ſuch an event as ſtones falling from the clouds. They had indeed formed a vague conjecture that the hole might have been made by lightning, but would probably have paid no further attention to the circumſtance, had they not heard, in the courſe of the day, that ſtones had fallen that morning in other parts of the town. This induced them, towards evening, to ſearch the hole in the yard, where they found a ſtone buried in the looſe earth which had fallen in upon it. It was two feet from the ſurface; the hole was about twelve inches in diameter; and as the earth was ſoft and nearly free from ſtones, the maſs had ſuſtained little injury, only a few ſmall fragments having been detached by the ſhock. The weight of this ſtone was about thirty-five pounds. From the deſcriptions which we have heard, it muſt have been a noble ſpecimen, and men of ſcience will not ceaſe to deplore that ſo rare a treaſure ſhould have been immediately broken in pieces. All that remained unbroken of this noble maſs, was a piece of twelve pounds weight, ſince purchaſed by Iſaac Bronſon, Eſq. of Greenfield, with the liberal view of preſenting it to ſome public inſtitution.

Six days after, another maſs was diſcovered, half a mile north-weſt from Mr. Prince's. The ſearch was induced by the confident perſuaſion of the neighbours that they heard it fall near the ſpot where it was actually found buried in the earth, weighing from ſeven to ten pounds. It was found by Gideon Hall, and Iſaac Fairchild. It was in ſmall

fragments, having fallen on a globular detached maſs of gneiſs rock, which it ſplit in two, and by which it was itſelf ſhivered to pieces.

The ſame men informed us that they ſuſpected another ſtone had fallen in the vicinity, as the report had been diſtinctly heard and could be referred to a particular region ſomewhat to the eaſt. Returning to the place after an excurſion of a few hours to another part of the town, we were gratified to find the conjecture verified, by the actual diſcovery of a maſs of thirteen pounds weight, which had fallen half a mile to the north-eaſt of Mr. Prince's. Having fallen into a ploughed field, without coming into contact with a rock, it was broken only into two principal pieces, one of which, poſſeſſing all the characters of the ſtone in a remarkable degree, we purchaſed; for it had now become an article of ſale. It was urged that it had pleaſed heaven to rain down this treaſure upon them, and they would bring their thunderbolts to the beſt market they could. This was, it muſt be confeſſed, a wiſer mode of managing the buſineſs than that which had been adopted by ſome others at an earlier period of theſe diſcoveries. Strongly impreſſed with the idea that theſe ſtones contained gold and ſilver, they ſubjected them to all the tortures of ancient alchemy, and the goldſmith's crucible, the forge, and the blackſmith's anvil, were employed in vain to elicit riches which exiſted only in the imagination.

Two miles ſouth eaſt from Mr. Prince's, at the foot of Taſhowa hill, a fifth maſs fell. Its fall was diſtinctly heard by Mr. Ephraim Porter and his family, who live within forty rods of the place, and in full view. They ſaw a ſmoke riſe from the ſpot, as they did alſo from the hill, where they are poſitive that another ſtone ſtruck, as they heard it diſtinctly. At the time of the fall, never having heard of any ſuch thing, they ſuppoſed that lightning had ſtruck the ground; but after three or four days, hearing of the ſtones which had been found in their vicinity, they were induced to ſearch, and the reſult was the diſcovery of a maſs of ſtone in the road, at the place where they ſuppoſed the lightning had ſtruck. It penetrated the ground to the depth of two feet in the deepeſt place; the hole was about twenty inches in diameter, and its margin was coloured blue from the powder of the ſtone ſtruck off in its fall.

It was broken into fragments of moderate ſize, and from the beſt calculations might have weighed twenty or twenty-five pounds.

The hole exhibited marks of much violence, the turf being very much torn, and thrown about to ſome diſtance.

It is probable that the four ſtones laſt deſcribed were all projected at the ſecond exploſion, and ſhould one be diſcovered on the neighbouring hill*, we muſt without doubt refer it to the ſame avulſion.

3. Laſt of all, we haſten to what appears to have been the cataſtrophe of this wonderful phenomenon.

* Which has ſince been found, weighing 36¼lbs. I have ſeen and weighed it myſelf.—G. Burr.

A

A maſs of ſtone far exceeding the united weight of all which we have hitherto deſcribed, fell in a field belonging to Mr. Elijah Seeley, and within thirty rods of his houſe.

A circumſtance attended the fall of this which ſeems to have been peculiar.—Mr. Elihu Staples, a man of integrity, lives on the hill at the bottom of which this body fell, and witneſſed the firſt appearance, progreſs, and exploſion of the meteor. After the laſt exploſion, a rending noiſe like that of a whirlwind paſſed along to the eaſt of his houſe and immediately over his orchard, which is on the declivity of the hill. At the ſame inſtant a ſtreak of light paſſed over the orchard in a large curve, and ſeemed to pierce the ground. A ſhock was felt, and a report heard like that of a heavy body falling to the earth; but no conception being entertained of the real cauſe, (for no one in this vicinity, with whom we converſed, appeared to have ever heard of the fall of ſtones from the ſkies) it was ſuppoſed that lightning had ſtruck the ground. Three or four hours after the event Mr. Seeley went into the field to look after his cattle.—He found that ſome of them had leaped into the adjoining incloſure; and all exhibited ſtrong indications of terror. Paſſing on, he was ſtruck with ſurpriſe, at ſeeing a ſpot of ground which he knew to have been recently turfed over, all torn up, and the earth looking freſh, as if from recent violence. Coming to the place, he found a great maſs of fragments of a ſtrange-looking ſtone, and immediately called for his wife, who was ſecond on the ground.

Here were exhibited the moſt ſtriking proofs of violent colliſion. A ridge of micaceous ſchiſtus lying nearly even with the ground, and ſomewhat inclining like the hill to the ſouth-eaſt, was ſhivered to pieces, to a certain extent, by the impulſes of the ſtone, which thus received a ſtill more oblique direction, and forced itſelf into the earth to the depth of three feet, tearing a hole of five feet in length and four feet and a half in breadth, and throwing large maſſes of turf and fragments of ſtone and earth to the diſtance of fifty and one hundred feet. Had there been no meteor, no exploſions, and no witneſſes of the light and ſhock, it would have been impoſſible for any perſon contemplating the ſcene to doubt that a large and heavy body had really fallen from the ſkies with tremendous momentum.

This ſtone was all in fragments, ſome of which exceeded the ſize of a man's fiſt, and was rapidly diſperſed by numerous viſitors who carried it away at pleaſure. Indeed we found it very difficult to obtain a ſufficient ſupply of ſpecimens of the various ſtones, an object which was at length accompliſhed principally by importunity and purchaſe. From the beſt information which we could obtain of the quantity of fragments of this laſt ſtone, compared with its ſpecific gravity, we concluded that its weight could not have fallen much ſhort of 200 pounds. All the ſtones, when firſt found, were friable, being eaſily broken beneath the fingers; this was eſpecially the caſe where they had been buried in the moiſt earth, but by expoſure to the air they gradually hardened. Such

were the circumſtances attending the fall of theſe ſingular maſſes. We have named living witneſſes; the liſt of theſe may be augmented, but we conſider the proof as ſufficient to ſatisfy any rational mind. Further confirmation will be derived from the mineralogical deſcription and chemical examination of theſe ſtones.

The ſpecimens obtained from all the different places are perfectly ſimilar. The moſt careleſs obſerver would inſtantly pronounce them portions of a common maſs, and different from any of the ſtones commonly ſeen on this globe.

Of their form nothing very certain can be ſaid, becauſe only comparatively ſmall fragments of the great body of the meteor have been obtained. Few of the ſpecimens weigh one pound, moſt of them leſs than half a pound, and from that to the fraction of an ounce. Mr. Bronſon's piece is the largeſt with which we are acquainted; we poſſeſs the next, which weighs ſix pounds, and is very perfect in its characteriſtic marks; and we have a good collection of ſmaller ſpecimens, many of which are very inſtructive. They poſſeſs every irregular variety of form which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from accidental fracture with violent force. On many of them, however, and chiefly on the larger ſpecimens, may be diſtinctly perceived portions of the external part of the meteor.

It is every where covered with a thin black cruſt, deſtitute of ſplendor, and bounded by portions of the large irregular curve which ſeems to have encloſed the meteoric maſs. The curve is far from being uniform. It is ſometimes depreſſed with concavities ſuch as might be produced by preſſing a ſoft and yielding ſubſtance. The ſurface of the cruſt feels harſh like the prepared fiſh ſkin or ſhagreen. It gives ſparks with ſteel. There are certain portions of the ſtones covered with the black cruſt, which appear not to have formed a part of the outſide of the meteor, but to have received this coating in the interior parts, in conſequence of fiſſures, or cracks, produced probably by the intenſe heat to which the body appears to have been ſubjected. The ſpecific gravity of the ſtone is 3·6, water being 1. The colour of the ſtone is principally a dark aſh, or more properly a leaden colour. It is interſperſed with diſtinct maſſes, from the ſize of a pin's head to the diameter of one or two inches, which are almoſt white, reſembling, in many inſtances, the cryſtals of feldſpar in ſome varieties of granite, and in that ſpecies of porphyry known by the name of *verd antique*.

The texture of the ſtone is granular and coarſe, reſembling ſome pieces of grit-ſtone. It cannot be broken by the fingers, but gives a rough irregular fracture with the hammer.

On inſpecting the maſs, four diſtinct kinds of matter may be perceived by the eye. 1. The ſtone is thickly interſperſed with black globular maſſes, moſt of them ſpherical, ſome are oblong and irregular. The largeſt are of the ſize of a pigeon ſhot, but generally they are much ſmaller. They can be detached with any pointed iron inſtrument and leave a concavity in the ſtone. They are not

not attractible by the magnet, and can be broken with the hammer. 2. Maſſes of yellow pyrites may be obſerved. Some of them are of a brilliant golden colour, and are readily diſtinguiſhed with the eye. 3. The whole ſtone is thickly interſperſed with metallic points, many of them evident to the eye, and they appear numerous and diſtinct with a lens. Their colour is whitiſh, and was miſtaken, by the firſt diſcoverers of the ſtone, for ſilver. They appear to be chiefly malleable iron alloyed with nickel. 4. The lead coloured maſs, which cements theſe things together, has been deſcribed already, and conſtitutes by far the greater part of the ſtone. After being wet and expoſed to the air, the ſtone becomes covered with numerous reddiſh ſpots, which do not appear in a freſh fracture, and ariſe manifeſtly from the ruſting of the iron.

Finally, the ſtone has been analyzed in the laboratory of this college, according to the excellent inſtructions of Howard, Vauquelin, and Fourcroy. The analyſis was haſty, and intended only for the purpoſe of general information. The exact proportions, and the ſteps of the analyſis, are reſerved for more leiſure, and may be given to the philoſophical world hereafter. It is ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, that the ſtone appears to conſiſt of the following ingredients: ſilex, iron, magneſia, nickel, ſulphur.

The two firſt conſtitute by far the greater part of the ſtone; the third is in conſiderable proportion, but much leſs than the others; the fourth is probably ſtill leſs; and the ſulphur exiſts in a ſmall but indeterminate quantity.

Moſt of the iron is in a perfectly metallic ſtate; the whole ſtone attracts the magnet, and this inſtrument takes up a large proportion of it when pulverized. Portions of metallic iron may be ſeparated, ſo large that they can readily be extended under the hammer. Some of the iron is in combination with ſulphur in the pyrites, and probably moſt of the iron is alloyed by nickel.

It remains to be obſerved, that this account of the appearance of the ſtone accords very exactly with the deſcriptions, now become conſiderably numerous, of ſimilar bodies which have fallen in other countries at various periods; and with ſpecimens which one of us has inſpected, of ſtones that have fallen in India, France, and Scotland. The chemical analyſis alſo proves that their compoſition is the ſame; and it is well known to mineralogiſts and chemiſts that no ſuch ſtones have been found among the productions of this globe.

Deſcription of the Attack of the Sword Fiſh and Threſher upon the Whale. From Letters from Canada. By Hugh Gray.

We have proceeded up the river (St. Lawrence) a conſiderable way, but it ſtill looks like a ſea. To-day I witneſſed a very extraordinary ſcene; a fierce battle, in conſequence of a whale being attacked by a threſher and a ſword fiſh. One would think that the immenſe ſize and ſtrength of the

whale would put him entirely out of danger, but ſize and ſtrength muſt often yield to ingenuity and ſtratagem; no animal ſeems exempt from a violent death, not even the whale. Our Canadian pilot informed me that ſuch conflicts were very common in the river St. Lawrence. The *threſher* (the Canadians call it *un fleau*) is from fifteen to twenty feet long; of the flat fiſh genus, reſembling a ſole, but rather longer in proportion; the back, like that of the ſole, is black; and the belly white. He is aſſiſted in his attack on the whale by the ſword fiſh. It would ſeem that pure antipathy and miſchief are alone the cauſes of this combination; they have not the ſtimulus of hunger, as they do not eat the whale when dead. Fiſh are generally conceived to be extremely ſtupid animals; but here you have a concerted plan, and an inſtance of ratiocination, approaching to that of the dog and fox.

When the attack is to commence, the ſword fiſh gets under the whale, and darts up at him with immenſe force*. The whale, feeling the ſtroke and attack of the ſword fiſh, flies to the top of the water, where the threſher attacks him. I ſaw the whale come up, raiſing his huge back high out of the water. The tail of the threſher was immediately ſeen brandiſhed in the air, and moſt part of his body out of the water; flap after flap he ſtruck the whale on the back as faſt as I could with a ſtick, who, feeling the blows, darts down head foremoſt, raiſing his immenſe forked tail in the air, and ſtriking with it on every ſide, apparently with a view of hitting the threſher, and if it did, inſtant death moſt probably would follow. The ſword fiſh again attacks him; the whale riſes again, and is again attacked by the threſher; he again deſcends, but attempts in vain to elude the attack of his enemies. I ſaw him ſeveral times raiſe his head out of the water at the moment the threſher's tail was brandiſhing in the air and ſtriking him. He ſeemed to attempt to catch it in his mouth.

The conflict continued in view about an hour. Sometimes they remained under water for a few minutes, but the whale muſt come to the ſurface of the water to breathe, or blow, as it is called; and beſides, the attacks from the ſword fiſh, it is to be preſumed, were inceſſant, and would naturally make him riſe to the ſurface. It is probable they did not leave the whale till they had killed him. I underſtand, from the Canadians, that whales have been found

* To ſhew the ſtrength of the ſword fiſh, it may be proper to obſerve, that the ſword has been found ſticking in the bottom of a ſhip. On the 16th of September, 1806, in Ayre's ſhip-yard, in Kenſington, near Philadelphia, the ſhip Penſylvania packet was hove down, and it was found that ſhe had been ſtruck ſix feet below the bends by a ſword fiſh: the ſword had pierced the copper ſheathing and bottom plank to the ceiling inſide; the ſword was broken ſhort off outſide; it had been driven in with ſuch force as to ſplinter the plank and cauſe a leak. It is ſuppoſed that the ſword fiſh miſtakes the ſhip for a whale. I believe there is to be ſeen, in the Britiſh Muſeum, a part of the bottom of a ſhip with the ſword of the fiſh which pierced it ſticking in it.

killed

killed by the ſword fiſh, who, at the ſame time, has fallen a ſacrifice to his own furious attack, not having been able to withdraw the ſword from its whale-belly ſcabbard.

This latter circumſtance, if true, (for I have not myſelf ſeen it) is ſufficient evidence to prove that the ſword fiſh aſſiſts the threſher in his attack on the whale; and I find that the Canadians all agree that the ſword fiſh has a ſhare in the battle.

It is impoſſible to conceive any thing more deſperate than the conflict appeared to be. To ſee the tremendous animals in contact, part of both raiſed high out of the water at the ſame time; the black back and immenſe head of the whale, contraſted with the long white and black tail of the threſher, in conſtant action, literally threſhing the whale moſt unmercifully, every blow reſounding like the noiſe of a cannon: feeling the blows, and galled on all ſides by creatures he might well deſpiſe, he flounces about, blowing and making a tremendous noiſe, daſhing the water to a prodigious height, and occaſioning a ſort of local ſtorm.

Account of a Pointer Sow. From Memoirs of Britiſh Quadrupeds. By the Rev. W. Bingley.

This ſow, which was a thin, long-legged animal, (one of the ugliеſt of the New Foreſt breed) when very young, took a great partiality to ſome pointer puppies, that Toomer, then under-keeper of Broomy Lodge, in the New Foreſt, was breaking. From this circumſtance it occurred to Toomer, (to uſe his own expreſſion) that having broken many a dog as obſtinate as a pig, he would try if he could not alſo ſucceed in breaking a pig. The little animal would often go out with the puppies to ſome diſtance from home; and he enticed it further by a ſort of pudding made of barley meal, which he carried in one of his pockets: the other he filled with ſtones, which he threw at the pig whenever ſhe miſbehaved, as he was not able to catch and correct her in the ſame manner that he did his dogs. He informed Sir Henry Mildmay, who has been ſo obliging as to furniſh me with this account, that he found the animal very tractable, and that he ſoon taught her what he wiſhed by this mode of reward and puniſhment. Sir Henry Mildmay ſays, that he has frequently ſeen her out with Toomer, when ſhe quartered her ground as regularly as any pointer, ſtood when ſhe came on game, (having an excellent noſe) and backed other dogs as well as he ever ſaw any pointer. When ſhe came on the cold ſcent of game, ſhe ſlackened her trot, and gradually dropped her ears and tail till ſhe was certain, and then fell down on her knees. So ſtaunch was ſhe, that ſhe would frequently remain five minutes and upwards on her point. As ſoon as the game roſe ſhe always returned to Toomer, grunting very loudly for her reward of pudding if it was not immediately given to her. When Toomer died, his widow ſent the pig to Sir Henry Mildmay, who kept it for three years, but never uſed it, except for the purpoſe of occaſionally

amuſing his friends. In doing this, a fowl was put into a cabbage net, and hidden among the fern in ſome part of the park; and the extraordinary animal never failed to point it in the manner above deſcribed. Sir Henry was, at length, obliged to part with this ſow, from a circumſtance as ſingular as the other occurrences of her life. A great number of lambs had been loſt, nearly as ſoon as they were dropped, and a perſon being ſet to watch the flock, the animal was detected in the very act of devouring a lamb. This carniverous propenſity was aſcribed to her having been accuſtomed to feed with the dogs, and to eat the fleſh on which they were fed. Sir Henry ſent her back to Mrs. Toomer, who ſold her to Mr. Sykes, of Brookwood, in the New Foreſt, where ſhe died the uſual death of a pig, and was converted into bacon.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for New Inventions, &c. granted in 1809.

JOHN Brierley, of River Bank, in the county of Flint, for a new mode or proceſs of ſetting blue lead for corroding the ſame into white lead. Dated January 17.

James Goddart, of Newman-ſtreet, Mary-le-bone, and county of Middleſex, gentleman, for a method of, and machinery for, manufacturing a certain deſcription of wooden boxes, called chip or pill boxes, of all the various ſizes and ſhapes hitherto made. Dated January 23.

Edward Stracey, of Parliament-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Eſq., for an improved method of hanging the bodies, and of conſtructing the perches, of four-wheel carriages, by which ſuch carriages are rendered leſs liable to be overturned, and of conſtructing perch bolts and collar braces. Dated January 23.

John Peck, of Charlotte-row, Fort-place, Bermondſey, in the county of Surrey, millwright, for a machine for caſting printing types, by which three motions out of five made in the ordinary method of caſting types are ſaved. Dated January 23.

Samuel Whitfield, of Church-ſtreet, Birmingham, brazier and ſcale-beam maker, for a method for the application of ſtamps, dies, and piercing tools, to the manufacturing of ears, handles, and bevells, for culinary articles of every deſcription, whether in wood, iron, braſs, copper, tin, ſilver, or any mixed metals. Dated January 23.

Michael Logan, of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, civil engineer, for a tranſcendant ordnance or improved cannon, for either marine, fort, or field ſervice. Dated January 26.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Berwick-ſtreet, Soho, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman, for a method or methods for caſting metallic and other bodies, together or ſeparately, in moulds, in the ſtate of fluidity or ſoftneſs, in order that the ſaid bodies may preſerve the figures thus obtained when they ſhall afterwards become ſolid or conſiſtent by cooling, or by any chemical or other change, which ſhall or may take place, or be produced, in the nature, order, proportions, or quantities of the component parts or ingredients of the ſame. Dated January 28.

John Dickinſon, of the pariſh of St. Martin Ludgate, in the city of London, ſtationer, for certain improvements on his patent machinery for cutting and placing paper, and alſo certain machinery for

for the manufacture of paper, by a new method. Dated January 29.

George Finch, the younger, of King ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Anne, Soho, in the county of Middleſex, orris weaver, for certain methods of manufacturing various kinds of metal laces, ſo as to imitate gold and ſilver laces; and alſo of manufacturing gold and ſilver open laces. Dated February 4.

Thomas Potts, of Hackney, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman, for a new proceſs of freeing tarred rope from the tar, and rendering it fit for the uſe of the manufacturer. Dated February 4.

Frederick Albert Winſor, of Pall Mall, in the city of Weſtminſter, and county of Middleſex, Eſq. for certain improvements upon his former patent oven, ſtove, or apparatus, for carboniſing all ſorts of raw fuel and combuſtibles, and reducing them into ſuperior coal of coke and charcoal, as well as for extracting and ſaving, during the ſame proceſs, the oil, tar, pyroligneous acid, and ammonical coal liquors; and for extracting and refining all the inflammable air or gas ſo as to deprive it of all diſagreeable odour during combuſtion, and rendering the gas itſelf ſalutary for human reſpiration, when properly diluted with atmoſpheric air. Dated February 7.

William Congreve, of Cecil-ſtreet, in the Strand, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq. for a mode of conſtruction or arrangement for any building, ſo as to afford ſecurity againſt fire, with other advantages. Dated February 7.

Archibald Thomſon, of Manchester, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, engineer, for certain improvements or machines, applicable to various kinds of ſpinning. Dated February 7.

William Everhard Baron Dournik, of Old Liſle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-ſquare, in the county of Middleſex, for certain improvements in the manufacture of ſoap, to waſh with ſea water, with hard water, and with ſoft water. Dated February 7.

John Stead, Leith Walk, Edinburgh, card manufacturer, for a method of making cards which are employed in the carding and ſpinning of flax, tow, wool, cotton, and ſilk, ſo as to combine the quality of a fine cord with the ſtrength of a coarſe one. Dated February 9.

James Grellier, of Aldborough Hatch, in the county of Eſſex, Eſq. for a building of a peculiar conſtruction, for the purpoſe of burning coke and lime, whereby the ſuperfluous heat of the fire uſed in burning the coke is applied to burn the lime; and alſo whereby ſuch fire may be rendered perpetual; and which he denominates, *The Union and Perpetual Kiln*. Dated February 13.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, for a thermometer, or machine for aſcertaining the heat of a baker's oven, and various other purpoſes. Dated February 13.

David Meade Randolph, a citizen of Virginia, in the United States of America, but at preſent reſiding near Golden-ſquare, in the county of Middleſex, merchant, for a method of manufacturing all kinds of boots, ſhoes, and other articles, by means of a ſubſtitute for thread made of hemp, flax, or other yarns. Communicated

cated to him by a friend and correſpondent reſiding within the United States. Dated February 21.

Joſeph Hett, of Stratford, in the county of Eſſex, calico printer, for a method of producing faſt greens on cotton, and various other articles. Dated February 21.

Leger Didot, of Two Waters, in the county of Hertford, gentleman, for improvements in the conſtruction of umbrellas and paraſols. Dated March 1.

Richard Scantlebury, of Redruth, in the county of Cornwall, brazier, for a machine by which he counterbalances the weight of any volume of water, or other fluids, required to be lifted by any ſteam or water engine, or other machinery, either worked by animals or men, which gains a very conſiderable power over any machine now in uſe. Dated March 1.

Edward Steers, of the Inner Temple, Eſq. for a method, directed by machinery, of uſing the ſcrew, by which its mechanical power or its motion is increaſed. Dated March 1.

Abraham Seward, of Lancaſter, tin-plate worker, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, for an improved hook for bearing up the heads of horſes in drawing carriages. Dated March 1.

Thomas Clatworthy, of Winsford, in the county of Somerſet, ſheep-ſhears-maker, and John Clatworthy, of the ſame place, ſheep-ſhears-maker, his ſon, for ſhears, on an improved conſtruction, for ſhearing ſheep. Dated March 1.

William Proctor, of Sheffield, in the county of York, optician, for improved methods of raiſing or ſupplying tubes or lamps with oil, ſo as to remove away the ſhade of the veſſel containing the oil, and in form and uſe equal to any mould or wax candle, which he denominates *Proctor's ſpiral Argand and Candle Lamp*. Dated March 9.

Frederick Bartholomew Fölſch, of Oxford-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, merchant, and William Howard, of Bedford-ſtreet, Locksfields, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, for a certain machine, inſtrument, or pen, calculated to promote facility in writing; and alſo a certain black writing ink, or compoſition, the durability whereof is not to be affected by time or change of climate. Dated March 11.

John Heathcoat, of Loughborough, in the county of Leiceſter, lace manufacturer, for a machine for the making and manufacturing of bobbin lace, or lace nearly reſembling foreign lace. Dated March 20.

James Hakewill, of Beaumont-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middleſex, artiſt, for an improvement in the conſtruction of tables, chairs, and ſtools, for domeſtic, military, and naval ſervice, and in the packing of the ſame. Dated March 20.

Simeon Thompſon, of Maddox-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman, for a machine, or machinery, for raiſing, lowering, draining, drawing, driving, forcing, impreſſing, or moving, bodies, ſubſtances, materials, fluids, articles, or commodities. Dated March 20.

Charles Valentine, of the pariſh of St. James's, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middleſex, japanner, for a new method of ornamenting and painting all kinds of japanned and

and varniſhed wares of metal, wood, paper, or any other compoſition, and various other articles. Dated March 20.

James Younie, of Theobald's-road, in the county of Middleſex, ſmith, for a machine, or inſtrument, to be applied to ſtoves or grates, for preventing accidents by fire, and whereby the fires in ſtoves or grates may be put out and extinguiſhed with ſafety and facility. Dated March 28.

Elizabeth Perryman, of Greek-ſtreet, Soho, in the county of Middleſex, for a ſtreet and hall lamp, and the neceſſary apparatus for expediting the trimming, lighting, and cleanſing, the ſaid ſtreet and hall lamp. Dated March 28.

Richard Willcox, of the pariſh of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, mechaniſt, for ſundry apparatus or machinery for accelerating the manufacturing of felt or ſtuff hats, and for cutting and removing by machinery the furs of beavers, rabbits, and the whole variety of ſkins, the furs or wool of which are uſed for the purpoſe of hat making. Dated April 3.

Richard Willcox, as above, for certain machinery for facilitating the manufacturing of ſtuff, wool, and other hats and bonnets felted. Dated April 3.

John Thomas Groves, of Great Scotland-yard, Whitehall, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq. for an improved mode of conſtructing buildings, by which great expence, labour, and time, is ſaved, and the buildings ſecured from dry rot, with other advantages. Dated April 3.

John Frederick Archbold, of Great Surrey-ſtreet, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, for a method of converting ſalt or ſea-water into freſh water, both on land and on board of ſhip at ſea. Dated April 18.

William Pleaſant, the elder, of Abbey-ſtreet, in the city of Dublin, bachelor of arts, for a ſelf-mover, or machine which can keep itſelf in motion. Dated April 19.

Phillips London, the elder, and Phillips London, the younger, of the pariſh of St. Luke's, Chelſea, in the county of Middleſex, gentlemen, for certain new and improved methods or proceſſes of manufacturing, refining, and purifying muriate of ſoda or common ſalt. Dated April 19.

Phillis Bown Thomaſon, wife of Edward Thomaſon, of Birmingham, manufacturer, for improvements in the making of umbrellas and paraſols. Dated April 19.

Matthias Wilks, of Brabant-court, in the city of London, merchant, for a compound ſubſtance or cake, for the feeding of horſes and other animals. Dated April 20.

John Barton, of Tunbridge, in the county of Kent, gentleman, for a machine for raiſing weights or water with greater facility, and at leſs expence, than any at preſent uſed. Dated April 25.

Richard Trevithick, of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, engineer, and Robert Dickinſon, of Great Queen-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, Esq. for certain inventions calculated to improve naval architecture and navigation, and to contribute to the comforts and better ſubſiſtence of mariners. Dated April 29.

William Francis Hamilton, of Lower Mount-ſtreet, in the city of Dublin, for a new mode of preparing

paring ſoda and other mineral waters; ſpirituous, acetous, ſaccharine, and aromatic liqueurs, and ſundry improvements relative thereto. Dated May 4.

Thomas Noon, of Burton upon Trent, in the county of Stafford, clock and watch maker, for improvements on guns, piſtols, and other ſimilar fire-arms, which improvements are applicable to cannon, and other large guns. Dated May 4.

Nugent Booker, of Lime-hill, in the county of Dublin, for a plan for improving and erecting lime-kilns, whereby a very conſiderable ſaving is made in fuel, and the lime moſt perfectly burnt in a ſhort time, which he denominates *Grelker's and Booker's Lime-kiln*. Dated May 9.

Bartholomew Fölſch, of Oxford-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, merchant, for improvements on certain machines, inſtruments, or pens, calculated to promote facility in writing. Dated May 9.

William Johnſon, of Blackheath, in the county of Kent, gentleman, for a new or improved proceſs for heating fluids, for the purpoſes of art and manufacture. Dated May 15.

Edward Manley, of Uffculme, in the county of Devon, clerk, for a plough upon an entire new conſtruction. Dated May 30.

John Lindſey, (late lieutenant-colonel of the 71ſt regiment) of Grove-houſe, Edgeware, in the county of Middleſex, for a telegraph apparatus for conveying intelligence by night or by day. Dated May 30.

Edward Cragg, of Hertford, in the county of Cheſter, carpenter, and William Cragg, of Oldford, in the county of Middleſex, builders' agent, for certain new modes or improvements in the making or preparing of ſalt. Dated June 8.

John Frederick Archbold, of Great Charlotte-ſtreet, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, for improvements in the ſyſtem of diſtillation, rectification, and brewing. Dated June 8.

Thomas Wells, of Erdington, in the county of Warwick, cock-founder, for a method of making and conſtructing barrel cocks and water cocks, whereby leaking and the ſticking or ſetting faſt of the key or plug are prevented, and the cocks are leſs liable to be out of order, and more eaſy to be repaired. Dated June 8.

Mark Dobito, of Kirtling, in the county of Cambridge, farmer, for an improved plough for under-draining land. Dated June 8.

John Philip Feſenmeyer, of the pariſh of St. Clement Danes, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman, for certain improvements in the conſtruction and working of ſteam and atmoſpheric engines, by which they may be more advantageouſly worked than hitherto. Dated June 15.

George Alexander Thompſon, of Great Charlotte-ſtreet, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, for a piece of machinery or inſtrument for cutting the wick of a lighted candle, and keeping the ſame in perfect trim and of a proper length. Dated June 15.

Charles Norton, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, builder, for certain improvements in the conſtruction of houſes and other buildings, whereby a conſiderable expence will be ſaved in the erection thereof, and the ſame rendered

rendered more durable and ſecure from fire. Dated June 20.

James Cavanah Murphy, of Edward-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, in the county of Middleſex, architect, during a reſidence of eight years on the continent, he has diſcovered and found out the manner of deſigning, making, and forming Moſaics and ornaments in the Arabian ſtyle and manner, and which he purpoſes to apply to divers arts and manufactures. Dated July 26.

Samuel Clegg, of Mancheſter, in the county of Lancaſter, engineer, for a rotative engine, the piſton of which makes a complete revolution at a diſtance from the revolving axis, ſhaft, or cylinder. Dated July 26.

Thomas Botfield, of Hopton Court, in the county of Salop, for a method of conſtructing an iron or metal roof for houſes or other buildings. Dated July 26.

Richard Heaps, of Holywell-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and county of Middleſex, mill-lead and patent pipe manufacturer, for an improved method of forming pipes, and ſundry other articles, in lead, pewter, or tin, or metals of that nature. Dated July 26.

David Loeſchman, of Newman-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, piano-forte maker, for certain improvements in the muſical ſcale of keyed inſtruments with fixed tones, ſuch as pianos, organs, &c. Dated July 26.

Charles Seward, of Lancaſter, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, tin-plate manufacturer, for a new and improved ſtreet lamp and burner, and lantern head, for ſtreet and other lamps and lanterns. Dated July 26.

William Hutton, of Sheffield, in the county of York, merchant, for a method of making ſickles and reaping hooks with iron in ſteel backs fixed upon the blades thereof, whether ſuch blades be forged, rolled, caſt, hammered, or otherwiſe manufactured. Dated July 31.

Frederick Albert Winſor, of Pall Mall, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq. for a fixed telegraphic lighthouſe, and alſo a moveable telegraphic lighthouſe, for ſignals and intelligence, to ſerve by night, and by day, in rain, ſtorm, and darkneſs, in any required direction, and from any given centre. Dated Auguſt 3.

Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, of Billericay, in the county of Eſſex, Eſq. for a ſubſtitute, the produce of this country, for Peruvian bark. Dated Auguſt 4.

Thomas Dickin, of Abrewaſe Mills, in the county of Stafford, cotton manufacturer, and Henry Bradley, of the ſame place, cotton ſpinner, for a new method of preparing hemp, flax, hurds, ſhort tow, and clearings, and other inferior parts of hemp and flax, either alone or mixed with cotton wool, for the purpoſe of ſpinning the ſame into yarn or thread, and alſo certain improvements in the mode of ſpinning the ſame. Dated Auguſt 8.

Edward Lane, of Shelton, in the pariſh of Stoke upon Trent, in the county of Stafford, ſchoolmaſter, for an improved rotative engine or machine, to be worked by the power of ſteam, for raiſing water, grinding corn, and various other uſeful purpoſes. Dated Auguſt 9.

John

John Hives, of Holbeck, in the parish of Leeds, in the county of York, linen manufacturer, for a machine for hackling or dressing hemp, flax, and other materials. Dated August 12.

Isaac Kellogg, late of Connecticut, in North America, but at present residing in Addle-street, in the city of London, gentleman, for an improved machine for shearing woollen and other cloths. Dated August 21.

Samuel Long, of the town of Leicester, in the county of Leicester, gentleman, for certain improvements on horizontal windmills. Dated September 4.

Joseph Bramah, of Pimlico, in the county of Middlesex, engineer, for a method of making and constructing pens for writing. Dated Sept. 23.

George Vaughan, of Purim-place, Whitechapel-road, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, for certain improvements in the process of refining sugars. Dated September 23.

John Penwarne, of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, for a method or process by which he is enabled to give to statues, and other ornamental works in plaster (commonly called plaster of Paris), an appearance nearly resembling the finest statuary marble, at the same time rendering them more hard and durable, less liable to be soiled, and easier to be cleaned. Dated September 26.

Randolph Tschiffeli de Roche, of Great Pulteney-street, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, for certain improvements in the processes of brewing. Dated September 26.

William Watts, of the city of Bath, gentleman, for methods of combining and disposing machinery, and applying the different powers of wind, water, and cattle thereto, so as to effect improvements on mills. Dated September 26.

Egerton Smith, of Liverpool, optician, and Michael Harris, of the same place, mechanic, for certain improvements in ship's binnacles and compasses, and in the mode of lighting the same. Dated September 26.

Benjamin Flight, of St. Martin's-lane, in the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, organ builder, for a new metal nave, axle, and box, for wheeled carriages, by means of which the danger of overturning, and the concussion arising from carriages coming in contact at the nave, is considerably lessened, the nave much stronger, and gives more lightness of appearance to the carriages than those now in general use; the rattling of the carriage in action is also lessened; the oiling of the wheels, which need not be taken off for that purpose, is performed with greater ease and facility; and the oil is effectually prevented from communicating to the spoke of the wheels. Dated September 26.

John Jones, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, gun-lock and barrel maker, for certain improvements in the manufactory of skelps for fire-arms. Dated September 28.

William Bundy, of Camden-town, in the county of Middlesex, mathematical instrument maker, for a method of heading pins. Dated September 28.

John

John White, the younger, of Whitehall-wharf, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, gentleman, for a certain substance, which is capable of being converted into statues, artificial stone, melting pots, bricks, tiles, sugar-baker's pans, chimney pots, garden pots, and every description of pottery. Dated September 29.

Joseph Bramah, of Pimlico, in the county of Middlesex, engineer, for certain new improvements in the constructing and making wheels for all kinds of carriages; and also a new method of locking or sleding the wheels of carriages when passing down hill. Dated November 2.

John Isaac Hawkins, of Great Titchfield-street, in the county of Middlesex, machinist, for a certain instrument, machine, or manufacture, applicable in mechanics as a balance or equipoise. Dated November 2.

John Barton, of Argyle-street, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, for a lamp of a new construction, acting upon the natural unerring principle of the difference of gravity between two fluids, which produces a constant supply of oil or other combustible fluid to feed the wick or burner thereof, from a fountain, in a perpendicular direction from a reservoir beneath the flame, having the quality of burning or consuming the whole of the oil or other combustible fluid applied thereto. Dated November 2.

David Meade Randolph, a citizen of Virginia, in the United States of America, but now residing in Warwick-court, Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, merchant, for certain improvements in the construction of wheeled carriages, of every description. Dated November 6.

Edward Griffith, of Birmingham, optician, for an improved air-tight agitable lamp. Dated November 9.

James Hall, of Newbold Astbury, in the county of Chester, book-keeper, for a method of making and manufacturing shives or shivers, and pulley-wheels, of every description, and various other articles, from certain materials or compositions of earths and minerals, which renders the said articles more durable than such as are made in wood or metal. Dated November 14.

Robert Wass, of Sheffield, in the county of York, cutler, for certain improvements in the construction of hafts or handles for razors. Dated November 21.

John Cragg, of Liverpool, in the county palatine of Lancaster, Esq. for certain improvements in the casting iron roofs for houses, warehouses, and other buildings, and in covering them with slate. Dated November 21.

John Towill Rutt, of Basinghall-street, London, John Tretton, of St. Andrew's-hill, and John Webb, of Clapton, in the county of Middlesex, for various improvements in the construction of machines for making cards for carding wool, cotton, silk, and all substances capable of being carded. Dated November 21.

John Brown, of Mile-end New Town, in the county of Middlesex, stationer, for certain improvements on a machine or press, for letter-press printing; and also for printing various ornaments and figures; part of which improvements

ments may be applied to preſſes now in uſe. Dated November 28.

William Cornelius Engliſh, of Twickenham, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq. for a method whereby heated water, ſteam, and air, can be rendered ſerviceable, and more ſerviceable for new purpoſes, and every purpoſe for which they have ever been applied, with leſs expence of fuel than is now uſed, eſpecially for the purpoſe of working the ſteam engine, and of warming and heating buildings and ſtoves, and alſo veſſels and copper for all purpoſes, and by which water, ſteam, and air (heated), may be applied to many purpoſes hitherto unknown. Dated November 28.

Thomas Herbert, officer of the cuſtoms at the port of Malden, in the county of Eſſex, for a rotative pump or engine for raiſing and forcing air, water, and other fluids. Dated November 28.

James Barron, of Wells-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, braſs-founder, for improvements on the apparatus uſed for rollers for window blinds, maps, and other ſimilar objects. Dated December 5.

George Ware, of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, gentleman, for apparatus and machinery for the ſupport and exerciſe of the human frame, and for the prevention of bodily deformity. Dated December 5.

Samuel Felton, of Berwick-ſtreet, Soho, in the county of Middleſex, botaniſt, for a botanical or medicinal preparation, being a remedy for gravel and ſtony concretions, which he denominates *Mucilage of Marſhmallows*. Dated December 9.

John Jones, of Mancheſter, in the county of Lancaſter, cotton ſpinner, for a new ſort of inſtrument or machine for preparing and cutting cotton and linen candle-wicks. Dated December 9.

John Manton, of Dover-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, gun-maker, for an improved lock for guns and piſtols. Dated December 11.

John Murray, of Nicholſon's-ſtreet, Edinburgh, Eſq. and Adam Anderſon, of South Bridge-ſtreet, Edinburgh, tinplate worker, for a portable ſtove or furnace, which may be made of caſt iron, forged or plate iron, or of other metals or materials, by which a current of air is heated and diſcharged, ſo as to diſtribute the heat more equally than by ſtoves, ſuch as are in common uſe, and avoid the unpleaſant ſmell which they produce; and which air, if neceſſary, may be brought from the external atmoſphere ſo as to produce ventilation as well as warmth. A ſtove of this conſtruction may be uſefully applied in warming and ventilating churches, public rooms, halls, ſtaircaſes, and, by means of tubes connected with it, the apartments of houſes, and will be alſo uſeful to ventilating and heating ſhips and manufactories, drying different articles of manufacture, ventilating mines, and for other purpoſes. Dated December 14.

John Duff, of Great Pulteney-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, cutler, for an invention, communicated to him by a foreigner (M. Bertrand de Moleville,) of ſnuffers on a new and improved conſtruction. Dated December 14.

Mark Noble, of the pariſh of Batterſea, in the county of Surrey, engine-

engine-maker, for an improvement on chain and hand pumps, and a new-invented fire-extinguiſhing engine and ſteam-engine. Dated December 14.

Charles Frederick Davis, of the pariſh of Itchcombe, in the county of Glouceſter, clothier, for an improvement in the manufacture of woollen ſtocking pieces, by raiſing and producing on his improved manufacture a nap or pile in reſemblance of kerſeymere and broad cloths; and alſo an improvement on the manufacture of kerſeymere and broad cloths, by means of tranſverſe elaſticity given to his manufacture, equal in uſe from its eaſe to the woollen ſtocking manufactures. Dated December 20.

An Account of the Method of cultivating the American Cranberry (Vaccinium Macrocarpum) at Spring Grove. By the Right Hon. Sir Joſeph Bankes, Bart. K.B. P.R.S. *From the Tranſactions of the Horticultural Society of London.*

The American Cranberry has for ſome years been cultivated with ſucceſs at Spring Grove, and as the fruit of it is now become an object of ſome importance in the economy of the family, a ſhort account of the management of this unimproved plant will, it is to be hoped, prove acceptable to the members of this uſeful ſociety, and not unintereſting to the public at large.

For the better underſtanding the intended communication, it is neceſſary to premiſe, that a ſpring riſes in a ſmall grove within the precincts of Spring Grove, which is no doubt the origin of this name; this ſpring is carried in leaden pipes into the houſe, to which it affords an ample ſupply; the waſte water is ſuffered to run through a ſmall baſin and a pond in the pleaſure ground, before it eſcapes to Smallbury Green; to this conſtant ſupply of freſh water, though it is very ſmall, the great luxuriancy with which water plants of all kinds ſuitable to this climate, ſucceed in the pond, is no doubt in ſome degree to be attributed.

In the middle of the baſin a ſmall iſland has been formed, by ſupporting a box of oak upon poſts driven into the bottom; in the centre of this pond, the waſte water which uſed before to iſſue through a fountain, is ſuffered to flow in the form of a ſpring, which riſing into a large ſhell of the *chama gigas*, perforated for the purpoſe, imitates very well a natural ſpring, and gives in hot weather an appearance of freſhneſs and coolneſs, very pleaſant to thoſe who walk in the garden.

The oak box, which conſtitutes this artificial iſland, is circular, twenty-two feet in diameter, and thirteen inches deep; the bottom is five inches under the ſurface of the water, and bored through with many holes; on this a layer of ſtones and rubbiſh was firſt placed, and upon that a covering of bog earth, brought from Hounſlow Heath, which together are five inches below and ſeven inches above the ſurface of the water of the baſin; in this bed of black mould, a variety of curious bog plants were placed about ſeven years ago, which flouriſhed in an unuſual

unuſual degree, among theſe was the *vaccinium*, which flowered and ripened its fruit the firſt year.

In the autumn of the ſecond year it again produced a plentiful crop, and ſoon after began to ſend out runners ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of a ſtrawberry, but longer and rather leſs inclined to take root while young; they did, however, take root in the winter, and early in the ſpring threw out upright branches ten inches and a foot long, on which the flowers and fruit were chiefly placed; the produce was this year gathered, and found to be high flavoured berries, very ſuperior to thoſe imported, which have in general been gathered unripe, and have become vapid and almoſt taſteleſs, by long ſoaking in the water in which they are packed for carriage.

It was now determined to conſider the American cranberry as an article of kitchen garden culture, and to give up the whole iſland to it, which in a few years it entirely covered by its own runners, without any freſh plants being put in, and this bed, with the addition of ſome hanging boxes receding from the centre to the ſides, produced, in the year 1806, twenty-three bottles of very fine cranberries.

In the year 1805, a bed was made on the ſide of the pond, twenty feet long and five and a half feet broad, by a few ſtakes driven into the bottom parallel to the ſide, and lined with old boards; the bottom of this was filled up with ſtones and rubbiſh, and on theſe a bed of black mould, three inches above and ſeven inches below the uſual ſurface of the water, was laid: this was planted with cranberry plants, many of them having been rooted in a hot bed, in which they throve moſt vigorouſly. In this autumn, 1807, the bed produced a crop, which, added to that of the iſland, afforded a ſupply for the family of five dozen bottles of cranberries, beſides a ſmall baſket reſerved for preſent uſe. The total contents of the two cranberry beds is 326 ſquare feet; the quantity of land employed for raiſing ſtrawberries at Spring Grove, is, after the diviſions between the beds have been deducted, 3645 ſquare feet; the beds neceſſary to give a ſufficient ſupply of cranberries for the family, did not therefore occupy quite one-eighth of the ſpace allotted to ſtrawberries.

The ſociety will, I hope, forgive this detail of the origin and progreſs of this kind of cultivation: ſucceſsful as it has been, it muſt ſtill be conſidered in its infancy, and not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to afford general rules for the regulation of a gardener's proceedings: it originated entirely in a fortunate accident, the hiſtory of which will, it is hoped, give an adequate idea of the method now practiſed, and at the ſame time bear teſtimony in favour of the opinion, that more benefit has been derived in the advancement of horticultural knowledge, by purſuing the hints which nature continually gives, than from the effect of abſtract reaſoning and original invention.

It is remarkable that, during the ſeven years theſe cranberries have been cultivated at Spring Grove, no circumſtance has ariſen, from the variety of ſeaſons, from blight, or any other circumſtance, that has diminiſhed the quantity of

a full crop; the flowers have iſſued out of their buds in abundance, in their due ſeaſon, and fewer of them have been abortive, than in general is the caſe in other plants. The fruit has gradually ſwelled and duly ripened, without being ſubject to the attack of any vermin, or to injuries of any kind from the exceſſes of heat or cold, or from thoſe of wetneſs and drought.

An Account of a Method of haſtening the Maturation of Grapes. By John Williams, Eſq. *From the ſame.*

It is a fact well known to gardeners, that vines, when expoſed in this climate to the open air, although trained to walls of ſouthern aſpect, and having every advantage of judicious culture, yet, in the ordinary courſe of our ſeaſons, ripen their fruit with difficulty. This remark, however, though true in general, admits of ſome exceptions, for I have occaſionally ſeen trees of the common white muſcadine, and black cluſter grapes, that have matured their fruits very well, and earlier by a fortnight or three weeks, than others of the ſame kinds, and apparently poſſeſſing ſimilar advantages of ſoil and aſpect.

The vines that ripened the fruit thus early, I have generally remarked, were old trees, having trunks eight or ten feet high, before their bearing branches commenced. It occurred to me, that this diſpoſition to ripen early might be occaſioned by the dryneſs and rigidity of the veſſels of the old trunk, obſtructing the circulation of that portion of the ſap, which is ſuppoſed to deſcend from the leaf. And to prove whether or not my conjectures were correct, I made inciſions through the bark on the trunks of ſeveral vines growing in my garden, removing a circle of bark from each, and thus leaving the naked alburnum above an inch in width completely expoſed; this was done in the months of June and July. The following autumn the fruit growing on theſe trees came to great perfection, having ripened from a fortnight to three weeks earlier than uſual: but in the ſucceeding ſpring, the vines did not ſhoot with their accuſtomed vigour, and I found that I had injured them by expoſing the alburnum unneceſſarily.

Laſt ſummer theſe experiments were repeated; at the end of July and beginning of Auguſt, I took annular exciſions of bark from the trunks of ſeveral of my vines, and that the expoſed alburnum might be again covered with new bark by the end of autumn, the removed circles were made rather leſs than a quarter of an inch in width. Two vines of the White Frontiniac, in ſimilar ſtates of growth, being trained near to each other on a ſouth wall, were ſelected for trial; one of theſe was experimented on (if I may uſe the term) the other was left in its natural ſtate, to form a ſtandard of compariſon. When the circle of bark had been removed about a fortnight, the berries on the experimented tree began evidently to ſwell faſter than thoſe on the other, and by the beginning of September ſhowed indications of approaching ripe-

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neſs, while the fruit of the unexperimented tree continued green and ſmall. In the beginning of October the fruit on the tree that had the bark removed from it, was quite ripe, the other only juſt began to ſhow a diſpoſition to ripen, for the bunches were ſhortly afterwards deſtroyed by the autumnal froſts. In every caſe in which circles of bark were removed, I invariably found that the fruit not only ripened earlier, but the berries were conſiderably larger than uſual, and more highly flavoured.

The effects thus produced I can account for only, by adopting Mr. Knight's theory of the downward circulation of their ſap, the truth of which theſe experiments, in my opinion, tend ſtrongly to confirm. I therefore imagine by cutting through the cortex and liber without wounding the alburnum, that the deſcent of that portion of the ſap which has undergone preparation in the leaf is obſtructed and confined in the branches ſituated above the inciſion; conſequently the fruit is better nouriſhed, and its maturation haſtened. It is certainly a conſiderable point gained in the culture of the vine, to be able to bring the fruit to perfection, by a proceſs ſo ſimple, and ſo eaſily performed. But leſt there ſhould be any miſconception in the foregoing ſtatement, I will briefly deſcribe the exact method to be followed by any perſon, who may be deſirous of trying this mode of ripening grapes. The beſt time for performing the operation on vines growing in the open air, is towards the end of July, or beginning of Auguſt; and it is a material point, not to let the removed circle of bark be too wide: from one to two eighths of an inch will be a ſpace of ſufficient width; the expoſed alburnum will then be covered again with new bark before the following winter, ſo that there will be no danger of injuring the future health of the tree.

It is not of much conſequence in what part of the tree the inciſion is made, but in caſe the trunk is very large, I ſhould recommend that the circles be made in the ſmaller branches.

It is to be obſerved that all ſhoots which come out from the root of the vine, or from the front of the trunk ſituated below the inciſion, muſt be removed as often as they appear, unleſs bearing wood is particularly wanted to fill up the lower part of the wall, in which caſe one or two ſhoots may be left.

Vines growing in forcing houſes are equally improved in point of ſize and flavour, as well as made to ripen earlier by taking away circles of bark: the time for doing this, is when the fruit is ſet, and the berries are almoſt the ſize of ſmall ſhot. The removed circles may here be made wider than on vines growing in the open air, as the bark is ſooner renewed in forcing houſes, owing to the warmth and moiſture in thoſe places. Half an inch will not be too great a width to take off in a circle from a vigorous growing vine, but I do not recommend the operation to be performed at all in weak trees.

I think that this practice may be extended to other fruits, ſo as to haſten their maturity, eſpecially *figs*, in which there is a moſt abundant flow of returning ſap; and it demonſtrates to us, why old trees are more diſpoſed to bear fruit than young ones. Miller informs

us, that the vineyards in Italy are thought to improve every year by age till they are fifty years old. It, therefore, appears to me, that nature, in the courſe of time, produces effects ſimilar to what I have above recommended to be done by art. For, as trees become old, the returning veſſels do not convey the ſap into the root, with the ſame facility they did when young: thus by occaſionally removing circles of bark, we only anticipate the proceſs of nature; in both caſes a ſtagnation of the true ſap is obtained in the fruiting branches, and the redundant nutriment then paſſes into the fruit.

I have ſometimes found that after the circle of bark has been removed, "a ſmall portion of the inner bark has adhered to the alburnum:" it is of the utmoſt importance to remove this, though ever ſo ſmall, otherwiſe in a very ſhort ſpace of time, the communication is again eſtabliſhed with the root, and little or no effect produced. Therefore in about ten days after the firſt operation has been performed, I generally look at the part from whence the bark was removed, and ſeparate any ſmall portion, which may have eſcaped the knife the firſt time.

On preparing from Bean Stalks a Subſtitute for Hemp. By the Rev. James Hall.

From the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. Vol. XXVII.

Sir,

Though it has not been attended, to, nor ſo far as I know, has ever been mentioned by any one, yet it is certain that, according to its ſize, every bean plant contains from 20 to 35 filaments, or fibres, running up on the outſide, under a thin membrane, from the root to the very top all round, the one at each of the four corners being rather thicker and ſtronger than the reſt. It is alſo certain that next to Chineſe, or ſea graſs, in other words, the material with which hooks are ſometimes fixed to the end of fiſhing lines, the filaments, or hempen particles of the bean plants, are amongſt the ſtrongeſt yet diſcovered. Theſe, with a little beating, rubbing, and ſhaking, are eaſily ſeparated from the ſtrawy part, when the plant has been ſteeped 10 or 12 days in water, or is damp, and in a ſtate approaching to fermentation, or what is commonly called rotting. Waſhing and pulling it through hackles, or iron combs, firſt coarſe, and then finer, is neceſſary to the dreſſing of bean hemp; and ſo far as I have yet diſcovered, the eaſieſt way of ſeparating the filaments from the thin membrane that ſurrounds them.

From carefully obſerving the medium number of bean plants in a ſquare yard, in a variety of fields on both ſides of the Tweed, as well as in Ireland, and multiplying them by 4840, the number of ſquare yards in an acre, and then weighing the hemp, or filaments of a certain number of theſe ſtalks, I find that there are at a medium, about two cwt. of hemp, or theſe filaments in every acre, admirably calculated for being converted into a thouſand articles, where ſtrength and durability is of importance, as well

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as, with a little preparation, into papers of all kinds; even that of the moſt delicate texture.

Now, ſince there are at leaſt 200,000 acres of ticks, horſe and other beans planted in Great Britain and Ireland, and ſince where there is not machinery for the purpoſe, the poor, both young and old, females as well as males, belonging to each of the 9,700 pariſhes in England, &c. where beans are raiſed, might (hemp having riſen of late from 60 to 120 pounds per ton) be advantageouſly employed in peeling or otherwiſe ſeparating theſe filaments from the ſtrawy part of the plant, after the beans have been threſhed out, I leave it to the feelings of the Society to judge of the importance of the idea held out here, not only to the poor, but to the landholders, and the community at large.

It is nearly twelve months ſince, by analyſing its component parts, I diſcovered hemp in the bean plant. I would have written to you then, Sir, on the ſubject, and ſent a ſpecimen, but that I was trying experiments with other plants, as I am during my leiſure hours doing at preſent; and I wiſhed to aſcertain in what degree this ſpecies of hemp is liable to injury from different ſituations, and the changes of the atmoſphere. With a view to this, I expoſed one parcel nearly twelve months, to all the varieties of the air within doors, and kept another nearly as long *conſtantly* under water, and find them not in the leaſt injured. The chief difference I perceive is, that the one kept conſtantly under water, namely the whiteſt of the ſpecimens ſent you, has aſſumed a rich ſilky gloſs, and a much more agreeable colour than it had before.

But though this is the caſe with bean hemp after it is cleaned and dreſſed, and which, though ſtiff and hard when dry, is pliable and eaſily managed when rather damp or wet, it ſeems otherwiſe with it previous to its being ſeparated from the ſtraw. If bean ſtraw be kept for years under water, or quite dry, it produces, I find, hemp as good and freſh as at firſt. But if the ſtraw be ſometimes wet, and ſometimes dry, the filaments or fibres are apt to be injured. The ſpecimens of bean hemp accompanying this letter, in the form of oakum for caulking ſhips, having been long expoſed to the varieties of the weather, previous to being ſeparated from the ſtraw, is a proof of its being conſiderably injured. If the ſtraw of the bean was ſcattered thin on the ground, and expoſed to the weather for two or three months, I have uniformly found that the hemp, or fibres, are looſened, and eaſily ſeparated from the ſtrawy part, without any other proceſs than merely beating, rubbing and ſhaking them, and perhaps this is the eaſieſt way of obtaining bean hemp; but then, from being thus expoſed, and the fermentation that takes place in the ſtrawy part, which is of a ſpungy nature, communicating itſelf to the fibres, or hemp, I find that theſe are generally leſs or more injured, though not ſo much ſo, in my opinion, as to preſent them from being excellent materials for making paper.

I have alſo found, and the importance of the idea will, I hope, be an excuſe for mentioning it here, that, though the water in

which bean ſtraw has been put to ſteep, in a few days generally acquires a black colour, a blue ſcum, and a peculiar taſte, yet cattle drink it greedily, and ſeemed fattened by it. But my experiments have hitherto been on too limited a ſcale to be able, in a ſatisfactory manner, to aſcertain this laſt circumſtance. When the water in which bean ſtraw has been put to ſteep, become fetid, which I find it is ſcarcely more apt to become than common ſtagnant water, on being ſtirred by driving horſes or cattle through it, by a ſtick, or in any other way ſet in motion, (as is the caſe with all putrid water, even the ocean itſelf) the fetid particles fly off, and the effluvia dies away.

When ſtraw is to be ſteeped for bean hemp, the beans are to be threſhed in a mill: the beans ſhould be put to the mill not at right angles, but on a parallel, or nearly ſo with the rollers, elſe the ſtraw, particularly if the beans are very dry, is apt to be much cut. If the ſtraw is *not* to be ſteeped, on putting the beans to be threſhed at right angles, or nearly ſo, with the rollers of the mill, a certain proportion of the fibres, or hemp, may eaſily be got from the ſtraw, theſe being in general not ſo much cut as the ſtraw; but often found torn off and hanging about it like fine ſewing threads. The hemp thus taken off, though its lying under water for months would do it no harm, requires only to be ſteeped a few minutes, drawn through a hackle and waſhed, previous to its being laid up for uſe. If the hemp, or fibres, collected in this way (which is a fine light buſineſs for children, and ſuch as are not able for hard work, and requires no ingenuity), are intended only for making paper, they require neither ſteeping nor hacklings, but only to be put up into parcels and kept dry till ſent to the manufacturer.

The ſtraw of beans contains a ſaccharine juice, and is highly nutritive, perhaps more ſo than any other; and like clover, the prunings of the vine, the loppings of the fig tree, &c. produces a rich infuſion, and uncommonly fine table beer, as well as an excellent ſpirit by diſtillation. It is the hemp or fibres that prevents cattle from eating it. Theſe, like hairs in human food, make cattle diſlike it. The collecting of it, therefore, ſhould never be neglected, nor the boys and girls in workhouſes and other places be permitted to be idle, while buſineſs of this kind would evidently tend both to their own and their employer's advantage.

It is a fact, that about the generality of mills for beating and dreſſing hemp and flax, a large proportion, in ſome inland places both of Great Britain and Ireland, amounting nearly to one half of what is carried thither, is either left there to rot, under the name of refuſe, or thrown away as of no uſe, becauſe too rough and ſhort for being ſpun and converted into cloth. Now, from the experiments I have tried, and cauſed to be tried, I have uniformly found, that, though too rough and ſhort for being converted into cloth, even of the coarſeſt kind, the refuſe of hemp and flax, on being beaten and ſhaken, ſo as to ſeparate the ſtrawy from the ſtringy particles, which

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can be done in a few minutes by a mill or hard labour, as is moſt convenient, becomes thereby as ſoft and pliable, and as uſeful for making paper, as the longeſt, and what is reckoned the moſt valuable part of the plant, after it has been converted into cloth and worn for years.

In its natural ſtate, it is true the refuſe of hemp and flax is generally of a brown and ſomewhat dark colour. But what of that? By the application of muriatic acid, oil of vitriol, or other cheap ingredient, well known to the chemiſts as well as to every bleacher, ſuch refuſe, without being in the leaſt injured for making paper, can, in a few hours, if neceſſary, be made as white as the fineſt cambric.

There are at a medium, publiſhed in London, every morning, 16,000 newſpapers, and every evening about 14,000. Of thoſe publiſhed every other day there are about 10,000. The Sunday newſpapers amount to about 25,000, and there are nearly 20,000 other weekly papers, making in all the enormous ſum of 245,000 per week. At a medium 20 newſpapers are equal to one pound—hence the whole amount to about five tons per week, or 260 tons per annum. But though this, perhaps, is not one half of the paper expended in London on periodical publications, and what may be called fugacious literature, and not one fourth part of what is conſumed in printing houſes in the country at large, yet there are materials enough in the refuſe of the hemp and flax raiſed in Britain and Ireland for all this and much more.

Nor is this all, for as the bine or ſtraw of hops, a circumſtance well known to the Society, contains an excellent hemp for making many articles, ſo alſo will it prove a moſt excellent material for making all kinds of paper. And it is a fact, that were even the one half of the bine of hops raiſed in the counties of Kent, Suſſex, and Worceſter, inſtead of being thrown away or burnt, after the hops are picked, as is commonly done, ſteeped for ten or twelve days in water, and beat in the ſame way as is done with hemp and flax, independent of what might be got from bean hemp, and a variety of articles well known to the Society, there would be found annually materials enough for three times the quantity of paper uſed in the Britiſh Dominions.

I have the honour, &c.

JAMES HALL.

On the Uſes of Whins or Furze. By Major Spencer Cochrane. From the ſame.

Its utility as food for cattle has been long known, though probably not ſufficiently appreciated, but as a medicine, I never till within a few years heard of it. My information was firſt received from a gentleman who has been an officer in the army, a friend and relation of mine; he is ſeventy-five years of age, and in good health, and what he ſays may be depended on. In October, 1806, he informed me that his ſight had been much ſtrengthened by drinking an infuſion of whin or furze bloſſoms, dried in the ſun in ſummer. The infuſion is made from a tea cup full of the bloſſoms, in a tea-pot, in the

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manner of tea, and the doſe half a tumbler at night; that he never had a cough ſince he firſt uſed it, which was fifty years ago; it acts as a diuretic, and by perſpiration, and when the doſe is increaſed, promotes ſleep. In October 1808, he informed me that he ſtill continued the uſe of the whin tea, that he had no cough, and that his ſkin was remarkably fine and ſoft, which he attributes to its uſe.

I have alſo uſed the whin bloſſoms with good effect, myſelf, and can ſafely recommend them.

My friend ſuppoſes the young ſhoots of furze may anſwer, if the bloſſoms cannot be got; he informs me, that when an epidemical cold came from Germany, and deſtroyed many horſes in England, the eaſt wind continued ſix weeks, and the infection came over to Ireland, where he had the care of a troop, in ſo poor a village that he could get neither bran nor malt for maſhes, which were ordered for the horſes with ſulphur, after bleeding: that he ordered the men to cut furze, and to give it to the horſes, after they had beaten it well on the pavement; that at firſt they had to mix it with oats, but that in two days the horſes devoured it like clover. That by theſe means he recovered them all, though every other troop loſt two or three; and that his was the only troop in good condition at the review.

Directions for taking Care of growing Plants at Sea. By Dr Roxburgh. From the ſame.

Particular care, if not placed in a cabin, muſt be taken that they are kept covered during ſtormy weather, or ſuch as raiſes the leaſt ſaline ſpray in the air, for the chief danger plants are liable to at ſea, is occaſioned by the ſaline particles with which the air is then charged, theſe falling on the plants, quickly evaporate, but leave the deadly ſalt behind; every care muſt therefore be taken to guard againſt ſalt water and the ſpray at ſea. During moderate weather, it will be proper to keep the boxes open, for plants cannot long exiſt without air and light, alſo during moderate rain, which is much better for plants than water from the caſk, but too much moiſture is more dangerous than drought. When the weather is dry, it will be neceſſary to give them a little freſh water now and then, the periods and quantity cannot be pointed out in any inſtructions, as the ſtate of the weather muſt be the guide.

Directions where to place the cheſts cannot well be given, as that will in a great meaſure depend on the ſize, ſtructure, &c. of the ſhip. In our Indiamen, round the capſtan on the quarter deck, ſeems the beſt on many accounts, the greateſt danger in ſuch a ſituation is while the deck is waſhing in the mornings; the boxes muſt then be ſhut, and covered with a piece of canvas, or ſomething to prevent the ſalt water getting in between crevices.

When plants from a cold climate get into a warm one, they ſhoot moſt luxuriantly, and often kill or choke one another; the longer ſhoots muſt therefore be frequently ſhortened, and as many of the leaves thinned as will give the reſt air and room. Inſects, particularly caterpillars, often make their appearance about the ſame time;

time; they muſt be carefully picked off.

Baſkets with roots (ſuch as potatoes, &c.) or ſucculent plants, may be hung up in any cool, airy place, ſuch, for example, as the projecting part of the deck which covers the wheel in our Indiamen, or hung over the ſtern; but in that caſe they muſt be covered with a tarpaulin or painted canvas.

Seeds ought to be kept in a cool, dry place, and never put below in the gun room, hold, or lower deck.

Roots ought to be packed in dry ſand, after being moderately dried, and diſpatched in any ſhip that ſails about the cloſe of the year.

Method of making a cheap Apparatus for filtering and purifying Water. By Mr. J. J. Hawkins. From the Repertory of Arts. Vol. XIII.

This apparatus conſiſts of a veſſel of wood, metal, earthenware, or other convenient material, having holes in the bottom, covered with a piece of thick flannel, on which powdered charcoal is lain, about two inches high. This veſſel is placed over another of rather larger diameter, having an aperture near the bottom, furniſhed with a cock; the water to be purified and filtered is poured on the charcoal, through which it gradually paſſes, and drops perfectly ſweet and clear, into the lower veſſel; from whence it is drawn off by the cock for uſe.

The charcoal ſhould be made almoſt as fine as ſand, either by being pounded in a mortar, or ground in a coffee mill; which laſt plan is the beſt, ſince it leaves the particles more nearly of one ſize; it muſt of courſe be broken into ſmall pieces, before the mill can receive it.

Saw duſt may be burnt into charcoal, and would at once be fine enough for the purpoſe, if cut from hard wood; but if from ſoft, it muſt be pulverized a little more.

Some little attention is neceſſary in putting the charcoal into the veſſel; a portion of the charcoal, ſay about half an inch high, muſt be well damped, and laid in that ſtate on the flannel, then a ſecond portion of about the ſame quantity, wetted to the conſiſtence of mortar, is to be put on the firſt; afterwards a third quantity, wetted ſtill more, ſhould be added; and laſtly, the remainder, mixed with ſo much water as to be eaſily poured on; after ſtanding a quarter of an hour to ſettle down, water ſhould be poured on, a little at a time, till it begins to drop, which, if proper care has been taken, will be quite clear and ſweet, but having a ſlightly duſty taſte, that will go off after a few hours. Should, however, the firſt running be a little *black*, it will not be neceſſary to diſturb the charcoal, becauſe that blackneſs will ſoon ceaſe, if water be kept paſſing through it; and when once it runs clear, will continue to do ſo many months, and perhaps years. But although it acts as a filter for ſo long a time, and will ſeparate whatever of foulneſs is merely mixed with the water, yet it ſoon loſes the power of attracting that putridity which is in a ſtate of ſolution; and conſequently will not purify more than a given quantity of water.

The

The following are the results of my experiments on this point.

One quart of powdered charcoal purified one gallon of water taken from the macerating tubs of an anatomical laboratory, where it had been used for many months without being changed, to soak the flesh from the bones; it was the most offensive water that could possibly be procured. The charcoal rendered it perfectly sweet.

It purified six gallons of green stagnant water from a pond:

Ten gallons of the worst water found in the casks on a long sea voyage:

Two hundred gallons of such water as is usually drank on a three month's voyage: and

Five hundred gallons of river water taken opposite a large city.

It must be noted, that, when charcoal is wanted to purify, it must be fresh burnt; but if only to filter, that precaution is not necessary. When it has lost its purifying quality, it may be recovered again, by being heated red-hot in a crucible, or iron pot, or even an earthen one, over which a piece of tile, or plate of iron is loosely laid.

In taking the charcoal out of the filtering vessel, a layer of about half an inch should be left on the flannel, because in that case, much less care will be required in returning it into its place again; and the water that thus runs, will not have that dusty taste, which it would have if the whole of the charcoal were replaced by that which is fresh burnt.

In pouring on the water, great care must be taken not to disturb the charcoal to any considerable depth below the surface, lest the water should pass too rapidly for complete filtration. This accident may be avoided, by laying a piece of paper, or cloth, or even a piece of thin board over the charcoal, to pour the water on.

The size of the apparatus must, of course, depend on the quantity of water wanted; that now in my museum is eight inches diameter, and the same depth, and it filters from six to seven gallons every twenty-four hours; the holes in the bottom are about one-eighth of an inch in diameter, and distant from each other about half an inch.

The flannel is of that stout kind, usually made for ironing cloths.

The purifying power of charcoal has been known for a considerable time; but a simple and convenient way of using it, has not, I believe, yet been laid before the public; nor has its filtering property been at all taken notice of. It has been supposed necessary to use sand, or some other substance, to filter the water, after charcoal had purified it; but on trying a great variety of substances for filtering, I found powdered charcoal by far the best; it suffers a greater quantity of water to pass in a given time, and renders it more clear; and certainly no filtering apparatus can be made cheaper than this. It is also scarcely possible that a person can be in any situation, either at sea or on land, but that he may procure such a one, in case the water he uses requires it. It is more than probable he can find some kind of a vessel in the bottom of which holes may be made; a

piece

piece of flannel or blanket to lay over the holes, or, in lieu of these, some thicknesses of linen or canvas, or even some hay, straw, or moss; any thing that will support the charcoal, and yet let the water pass through: and he can find a piece of wood, that by burning to a coal, and quenching, will furnish him with charcoal, which he may reduce to powder with a stone, or hammer, in default of a pestle and mortar, or a coffee-mill.

On the culture of Sea Kail, and on the Stake-Fishing in India.

From the Farmer's Magazine.

Sir,

The intimate connection between the field and the garden, renders your Farmer's Magazine a proper channel for conveying to your numerous readers useful, and I am sure, acceptable information, concerning horticulture.

The following little piece of intelligence may be of use. The species of coleworts called Sea-Kail, is becoming a general article of cultivation in gardens all over the island, and no wonder. It is an agreeable substitute for asparagus, and sooner ripe for our tables, by a month or six weeks. If permitted to grow in the open air, it would be green and unfit for use. It requires being blanched like celery. The following account of the most proper culture may be beneficial to your readers.

The seed is to be sown in the month of April, in drills, on a good dry light soil: as the plants rise, thin them, and keep them clean. The first winter earth them up, to protect them from the frost; the following summer, thin them to about eighteen inches distance, leaving the best plants. At Christmas, take away the decayed leaves, and cover up each plant with a large deep pan or flower-pot, upon which lay a quantity of the leaves of trees, to keep off the frost, and create heat to the plants. Litter or stable-dung is sometimes used instead of leaves, but is apt to give the plants a rank taste. In the following month of April, the pots will be quite full of fine tender blanched shoots, which may be cut over by the ground, (but not too near) and the stumps covered up again for a second crop. This may be repeated with the same plants two or three times during the spring, before the plants are left for summer's growth. With this treatment the sea-kail, if sufficiently boiled in *two waters*, will be found equal to any asparagus or broccoli, and may be eaten with butter, or butter and vinegar, and pepper, as may suit the taste. The plant being a perennial one, will last for any length of time with proper culture.

The above mode is the one at present successfully practised by his Majesty's gardener at Kensington.

Allow me now to furnish you with some information on another subject.

A gentleman long resident in the East Indies, and of established veracity, informs me, that the art of catching fish of all kinds by means of stake-nets, has been long known there, and practised more

more extenſively than with us. At Surat, he ſays, he obſerved ſtake-nets ſet in the open ſea, a league and further from land, and in thirteen or fourteen fathom water. The fiſhers, in the ſpring, provide ſtakes of the proper length, by joining teakwood-trees to each other, and pointing them with iron, or hardening them by fire. The ſtakes are, at high water, let down to the bottom; a rope is laid over their upper end; the rope is faſtened to two heavy loaded boats, one on each ſide of the ſtake; when the ſea ebbs, the weight of the boats forces down the pointed ſtakes deep in the ſand; nets are faſtened between theſe ſtakes, and drawn up occaſionally, with fiſh of every kind caught in them. Before the approach of the tempeſtuous ſeaſon, the ſtakes are drawn up, and carried to land. They are pulled up by inverting the manner of faſtening them; buoyant boats are faſtened to them at low water, and as the tide riſes, the boats rise alſo, and pull up the ſtakes. I ſee no reaſon to doubt of this method of fiſhing being as practicable in our ſeas as in the Eaſt Indies. We have many banks at ſea ſhallower than fourteen fathom, and the ſhallower the better. Sand-banks are moſt frequented by fiſhes, probably on account of the worms bred in them. The high price of beef and mutton has alſo raiſed the value, and increaſed demand for fiſh; and offers great encouragement for trying new experiments to bring more to market.

DOMESTICUS.

Maſtic for reſiſting the Action of Fire and Water.

The following directions are given in the foreign journals, for preparing a compoſition of this deſcription. Take half a pint of milk, mix with it an equal quantity of vinegar, ſo as to coagulate the milk; ſeparate the curds from the whey, mix the latter with the whites of four or five eggs, after having beaten them well up. The mixture of theſe ſubſtances being complete, add quick-lime to them, which has been paſſed through a ſieve; make the whole into a thick paſte, to be of the conſiſtence of putty when you uſe it.

If this maſtic is carefully applied to broken bodies, or to fiſſures of any kind, and dried properly afterwards, it reſiſts water and fire. M. Skogo, a merchant of Carlſkrona, cloſed a large crack in the bottom of a large iron cauldron, in which he frequently boils pitch, and this cauldron has now ſerved him for five years in this ſtate, without requiring any further repairs.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

On the Paſſage of the Red Sea, by the Iſraelites. From Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, &c. By George Viſcount Valentia.

EVERY traveller who has viſited the upper part of the Red Sea, muſt naturally have turned his thoughts to the miraculous paſſage of the children of Iſrael through it, and the deſtruction of the hoſt of Pharaoh. Pocock, Niebuhr, Pere Sicard, and Bruce, have all given to the public their opinions as to the ſpot, where this event actually took place. I perfectly agree with the laſt named gentleman, that to ſeek for natural cauſes to explain a miracle, is perfectly abſurd; and that it was as eaſy for the Almighty to carry his people through the wideſt and deepeſt part of the ſea, as through the narroweſt and moſt ſhoaly. But as the diviſion of the water is the only thing that is repreſented by Moſes as being miraculous, we muſt look to the poſition of the mountains on its weſtern ſide, to diſcover in what ſpot it was poſſible for the children of Iſrael to approach the Red Sea.

A chain of hills extends from the high land of Zeyte, nearly to Abou Daraja, between which and Attaké is the firſt valley, by which 600,000 men, their children, and cattle, could reach the ſea from Egypt. Sicard and others have believed this to be the line of their march, but I am inclined to the conjecture of Niebuhr, that Attaké was the ſouthern boundary of their journey.

To place this in a clearer light, it will be neceſſary to aſcertain, whence the children of Iſrael began their journey, and to conſider the account given of their movements by Moſes. The ancient metropolis of Lower Egypt was On, or Heliopolis, and there it it probable the Pharaohs reſided in the time of Joſeph. Joſeph placed his brethren in a part of the country named Goſhen, but which is afterwards called Rameſſes. In the 46th chapter of Geneſis, it is ſaid, that Joſeph went up to meet Iſrael his father to Goſhen; which is tranſlated in the Septuagint καθ' Ηρώων πολιν, εις γῆν Ραμεσσῆ. Monſieur Du Bois Aymé in a paper read before the Inſtitute of Egypt, very juſtly obſerves, that, as this tranſlation was made by the Seventy only fifty years after the Macedonians had eſtabliſhed themſelves, the Egyptian names muſt have been ſtill known, and conſequently, that we are perfectly ſafe in believing Heroopolis

lis to have been ſituated in the land of Rameſſes, or Goſhen.

To fix the poſition of Heroopolis is rather difficult, in conſequence of the apparently contradictory aſſertions of ancient authors. Moſes, in the text above referred to, clearly ſhews, that it was on the direct road from Canaan to Heliopolis, while Strabo ſpeaks of it as being near Arſinoe, and at the top of the gulf called Heroopolitan. To reconcile theſe aſſertions in any degree, the Arabian Gulf muſt have formerly extended much farther than it does now, or a conſiderable latitude muſt be allowed to the expreſſion of Strabo.

The French engineers diſcovered, when in poſſeſſion of Suez, that at a little diſtance to the north of that place, are marſhes which extend for above twenty-five miles, and are actually lower than the ſea, though they are not overflowed, in conſequence of a large bar of ſand which has accumulated between them; nothing, therefore, can be more probable, than that, in times ſo far back as the departure of the Iſraelites, the ſea itſelf extended to theſe marſhes; and that ſince, the ſame gradual encroachments of ſand from the Deſert, which have formed the Tehama in Lower Arabia, have annihilated the ſea in a place where it was ſo much narrower. The contradictions may be ſtill further removed by the ſuppoſition, that Strabo conſidered himſelf as juſtified in deſcribing a place as being on the Gulf, which was actually ſituated on the canal that united it with the Nile, and which, from being of the greateſt conſequence in the province, gave its name to it.

Were we, however, inclined to give every weight to the deſcription of Strabo, his evidence would be ſet aſide by the higher authority of Moſes, who proves that Goſhen was in the way to Canaan; and by the ſhort account of Ptolemy, who declares, that Heroopolis was on the confines of Arabia, and that the canal of Trajan ran through it. The courſe of this canal has been traced by the French engineers, from longitude 31° 52′ to 32° 20′ running in nearly an eaſt and weſt direction, in about 30° 32′ north latitude.

It is, therefore, within this line only that we can look for it; and I am inclined to admit the opinion of M. Aymé as well founded, that the ruins he diſcovered at Aboukechied, indicate the ſpot where Heroopolis ſtood, and where, conſequently, the children of Iſrael actually reſided, extending themſelves over a country that ſuſtained their numerous flocks and herds, to the borders of that part of Egypt where grain was cultivated, but in which they would not be permitted to ſojourn, in conſequence of their deſtroying the ſacred animals. I cannot, therefore, for a moment believe, that Heliopolis was within their bounds, or that they ever went either to the ſouth or weſt of it; though it appears, indeed, from the account of the ſacred hiſtorian, that they were near to this capital of Pharoah; but Moſes is ſpoken of as having gone out to his brethren, which would ſeem to imply that they were at ſome little diſtance.

Taking

Taking, therefore, any part of the country between Aboukechied and Heliopolis as being the province of Rameſſes, whence the Children of Iſrael departed, how improbable does it appear, that they ſhould proceed into the low-land of Egypt, to the very banks of the holy river, to round Mokattem, and enter the valley, which, beginning there, extends to the Red Sea; and this at a time when they were thruſt out from the land of the Egyptians, who did not believe themſelves ſafe, till they had got rid of them.

In the 13th chap. verſe 17th of Exodus, it is declared, that "God led them not through the way of the land of the Philiſtines, although that was near" (verſe 18th) "but about through the way of the wilderneſs of the Red Sea." Now, both theſe obſervations are perfectly true, if they ſet off from the vicinity of Heroopolis, which was actually on the way to Canaan, but would be falſe, if they began their journey from oppoſite Memphis, whence it would be much nearer to reach the Red Sea than the land of the Philiſtines.

By the ſuppoſition that the Children of Iſrael reſided nearer to the deſert, we get rid of the difficulty of their having to march ſixty miles in only three ſtages, which is the diſtance from the Nile to the Red Sea, and which ſeems almoſt impoſſible, incumbered as they were, with children, cattle, baggage, and kneading troughs, even ſuppoſing that their three marches were in a direct line eaſt, which appears to have been by no means the caſe; for they were directed, after the ſecond day's march, when they quitted Etham on the edge of the wilderneſs, "to turn," and encamp before Pihaheroth, between Migdol and the ſea.

Confiding in the promiſes of Moſes, confirmed as they were by the miracles which he had wrought, it is probable that the Iſraelites had prepared for their departure, and were all aſſembled at ſome one place, waiting impatiently for the reſult of his laſt interview with Pharaoh. The ſpot choſen muſt have been where they could either move towards Canaan, or the Red Sea, and it muſt have been at ſuch a diſtance only from the Deſert, that they could, although incumbered, reach the confines of it in two marches, and the Red Sea in three.

If the Red Sea terminated then, as it now does, at Suez, it appears to me impoſſible to fix on any ſpot that unites theſe requiſite points; but if it extended then over the marſhes, ſurveyed and laid down by Monſieur Aymé, the difficulty would be removed, and the vicinity of the modern Balbeis, on the banks of Trajan's canal, would accord with the deſcription of the ſacred hiſtorian, for it is in the direct road from Heliopolis to Canaan, and not above thirty-five miles from the ſea.

As the great weight of my argument depends on the fact, that, from the preſent appearance of the country, there is every reaſon to believe that the Red Sea did actually extend, in former times, twenty-five miles north of Suez, I think it may be right to obſerve, that the Savant, from whom I have derived my information, is not a perſon who, being

zealous for the cauſe of religion, might have falſified a little to get rid of a difficulty, but that, on the contrary, he feels it neceſſary to juſtify himſelf from the ſuſpicion of believing in the miracles of Moſes, in whoſe book he declares that the tranſactions are doubtful, and the philoſophy abſurd. We may ſurely admit the evidence of ſuch a witneſs, when it tends to confirm the authenticity of religious hiſtory.

It is evident that Pharaoh could have no expectation of the Children of Iſrael's return, when he had ſo frequently witneſſed their refuſals to depart without their cattle and their children; and he muſt have been confirmed in this idea by their carrying with them the bones of Joſeph. But the terror of the laſt dreadful viſitation probably hung over him, and prevented his purſuing them, while they continued their proper route, and ſeemed under the guidance of their Almighty Leader; but when they turned aſide, and were actually entangled in the land, and ſhut in by the wilderneſs, he had reaſon to hope that he might again recover ſo valuable a body of ſlaves. This is the reaſon aſſigned by Scripture for his purſuit; and I cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Bruce, that he was influenced by reſentment at the Iſraelites carrying away their jewels. In fact, the idea is abſurd, that he ſhould feel tranquil while they were carrying off the ſpoils of the Egyptians to a country whence he could never hope to bring them back, and that his anger ſhould be rouſed when they were once more, apparently, in his power.

Deſcription of the Ruins of the ancient Temple of Iſis, at Bahbeit. From the ſame.

We here quitted the river (the Nile) to viſit the ruins of Bahbeit, or the beautiful houſe, which D'Anville has conſidered, and I think with juſtice, as the Iſis Oppidum of Pliny. It is difficult to conjecture how, without the aſſiſtance of gunpowder, the vaſt maſſes of granite, of which the ruins conſiſt, could have been thrown into the form in which they now meet the eye of the aſtoniſhed traveller. Blocks, ten feet long and five feet broad and wide, are piled on each other, in ſuch a way as frequently to leave openings ſufficiently large for a perſon to paſs underneath, and view the beautiful ſculpture with which one face of each is covered. The Arabs have removed the ſand in the centre, by which means it is apparent that there is as much of the building underground, as there is above; and in ſeveral places the maſſive foundation ſtill remains. Without any very great expenſe, the ground plan might be aſcertained, by employing the Arabs to clear away the rubbiſh; but this can never be executed in ſafety while Egypt is under its preſent ſavage maſters. Three different kinds of granite have been uſed in this beautiful temple: the firſt is a very fine grained red, mixed with black and a little white; the ſecond is black, and of an inferior quality; the third is the common Thebaic red, with much white and a little black. On each of theſe the ſubject is different, and the ſtyle of carving diſſimilar.

On

On the firſt are repreſentations of the goddeſs Iſis, ſeated, and a perſon offering gifts to her, with a border of written hieroglyphics about a foot broad, incloſing each pair of figures in a compartment. The head dreſs of Iſis not exactly the ſame in any two places, nor are the offerings ſimilar, nor made by the ſame perſons. Below theſe, but ſeparated from them by a line of fine pointed ſtars touching each other, is a range of ſmaller figures, bearing tables with three legs, on which are placed three vaſes and other ornaments. I could find no remains of the door way, except the vaſt block which covered it, and which had on it the globe, with the two ſerpents and the wings, as uſually found in the temples of Upper Egypt. Nothing could be more admirably executed than the baſſo relievo of this part of the temple, which probably formed the front, or the wings; the poliſh remained perfect on the faces: the deſigns were good, but the figures were invariably ill drawn.

On the ſecond, or black granite, which I conjecture to have covered the outer walls, are a number of figures, ſome ſeated, but the greater part ſtanding, with their hands extended, among which we found one with the hawk's head, having in his hand the croſs, with a circular handle, which has given riſe among the learned to ſo many fanciful conjectures. Theſe are of inferior execution to the firſt, and inſtead of being raiſed, are ſunk into the granite, and have only a little relief, but not ſo much as to bring the figure to the level of the ſurface in which they are cut.

The third kind has certainly been employed for the body of the temple itſelf, the roof is alſo compoſed of it, and is covered with the five-pointed ſtars. The pillars, of which we could only diſcover the remains of three, are likewiſe of the ſame material: the capitals are formed of four gigantic heads of Iſis, and the ſhafts are covered with hieroglyphics. The blocks of this granite, except thoſe intended for the roof, are ſmaller than the others, and are only ornamented with hieroglyphics cut into them without any relief. Several of theſe are very ſingular, but the gooſe with the globe, and the ſerpent with the cap on his head, are the moſt frequent. At one extremity of the ruin is a great lion of the ſame granite, but ſo buried in the earth that we could not judge of its execution.

Pococke viſited theſe ſplendid ruins, and ſpeaks of them with a juſt degree of admiration. Savary, as uſual, runs into a ſtrain of panegyric, which is abſurd. The features in the baſſo relievos are certainly beautiful, but the figures are out of all proportion, and diſplay a total ignorance of anatomy. Since their times the devaſtations of the natives have continued, and many a valuable record of the ancient ſplendour of the Delta has been deſtroyed to form a millſtone, or the ſill of a door. The French alſo removed a few, but there are ſtill remaining a ſufficient quantity to gratify the curioſity of a traveller. I hope and truſt that the day will arrive, when ſome of the moſt perfect will be conveyed to a country where they will be free

from injury, and their merit be juſtly appreciated.

Talk betweene the Scotiſh Queen and me (Mr. Sommer) *riding from Sheffeld to Wingfeld. 2. September* 1584. *From the State Papers and Letters of Sir* Ralph Sadler.

After ſhe had againe uttered her grief of her long impriſonment, having ſpent her yeres from 24 to paſt 40, and by combre and impotency become old in body, ſhe delyvered the lyke grief as ſhe had done 3 days paſt to my lord of Shrewſbury, and Mr. Chauncellor of the duchy, that the quenes majeſty had no confidence in her wordes, when ſhe told them to Sir William Meldmay and Mr. Beale*, as things have happenid ſince in Scotland, whereof, and of Mr. Secretaryes evell uſage and reception in Scotland going thither without her recommendacion, ſhe ſaid ſhe foretold, but could not be belevid. And now that her majeſtie having found her true in that, if her highneſs wold truſt her, it ſhoulde appeere yet that ſhe hath meanes and credit to do her good ſervice. I told her (as I had done thother day) that upon further proof, and leaving to practiſe, and to have unfite intelligence with her ſon, and ſom evell miniſter about him to the trouble of her majeſtie, and of her eſtates, ſhe might fynde her highnes her good freend. And that their wrytings which ar comme to her majeſtys knowledge, wherein is ſpoken of an enterpriſe in England, tending for her libertie and encreſſing of her ſon's greetnes, and ſo ment to comm to her, hath both greatly offended her majeſty, and gyven her cauſe to think, that ſhe the Scotiſh quene is a party in that enterpriſe, whatſover it is. As for to have intelligence, (quod ſhe) with my ſon, and to eſtyme of theim whome he makith accompt of, as his good ſervants, and doth ſo recommend them unto me, I muſt nedes do that; for if I ſhuld leave my ſon, who is to me more than any thing in this world, and truſt the quene my good ſuſter's favour, which I cannot gette, I might be ſo without both, and then what ſhuld become of me? And as for my ſon, nothing can ſever me from him; for I lyve for him, and not for my ſelf. And therefore ſurely, ſaid ſhe, I muſt truſt to th' one. But, quod ſhe, if I might be aſſured and fynd to have the quene my good ſiſters favor, and that ſhe wold truſt me in the points which I have long offered, and now lately movid, and in other good offices that I wold doo, ſhe ſhuld fynd good cauſe to think better of me than ſhe hath don; for, quod ſhe, I have my ſons awne hand yet to ſhow, that he offres to be ordrid altogether by me in all things, who alſo hath ſent me certein things to have myne opinion upon them: whereof he hath long callid for anſwer; but I have of purpoſe ſtayd it yet, and done no-

* Sir Walter Mildmay ſecretary, and alſo Robert Beale, clerk of the privy council, the ſame who afterwards witneſſed the execution of queen Mary, were engaged in a negotiation with Mary, which was ſuddenly broken off by Elizabeth, under pretence that the Guiſe family were forming ſome plan for the Scottiſh queen's deliverance.

thing

thing therunto, hoping that the quene my good ſuſter wold have employed me in the good motions I have made. Therfore, quod ſhe, if it wolde pleaſe her majeſty to be ſervid by me, it is tyme; for in gud faith Mr. Somer, I feare my ſon will take an other courſe ſhortly without my direction. Wherin I ſhall not be able then to ſtay him, as I am ſure I can do yet. And as to the enterpriſe you ſpoke of, by my troth I knew not nor heard any thing of it; nor, ſo God have my ſoule, will ever conſent any thing that ſhulde trouble this ſtate, whereof I ſeek the quyet with all my hart; for if any unquietnes ſhould happen heere, it wold be layd to my charge, and ſo might I be in greater danger. And as to an other point, (which indeede I had told her then of an inſtruction *gyven to ung quidam*, to be ſent to the duke of Guiſe, that he ſhuld haſten things, becauſe the quenes majeſty, as was there written, was about to cauſe the kyng of Scots to dy by an extraordinary death, (which was to greet an indignite and irreparable wrong done to the quenes majeſtie, my ſouverayn, as moſt falſe, and far from her majeſties thought,) ſhe ſaid, that indeede my lord Ruthen had told the king her ſon ſo, as ſhe heard; but ſo God have her ſoule ſhe ſuſpendid her judgment therein. Well, madame, quod I, you heere what evell miniſters do, thinking to do you and your ſon good ſervice, but it is far otherwiſe, and therefore deſerve ſmall credit by thus hindering you, and thus to trouble the quenes majeſty. But ſeeing, quod I, you diſavow the knowledg of theſe things, and do offer to do ſo good offices for her highnes ſervice, and to have her favour, may I be ſo bold to aſk your grace, what you have thought upon the mater in particularite, and what you wold do to have her majeſties favour. Mary, quod ſhe, to perſwade my ſon to entre into a good mutuall league, offenſyve and defenſyve with the queen my good ſuſter, if ſhe wold ſo lyke of it, and therin to comprehende the kinge of France in reſpect of the ancyent league betwene France and Scotland; and as I know, quod ſhe, the French king hath commaunded his ambaſſadour M. de Mauriſſiere to have ſpeciall care of that, if any treaty ſhoulde be talked of between England and Scotland: And ſuch a league, quod ſhe, wold be better for England than for Scotland, becauſe England lyeth more upon thoſe that have been dangerouſe to it than Scotland doth, and ſo ſhall thoſe two realmes lyve long in peace, ſeeing no forayne prince doth clayme any thing in them. This ſeemith a very good motion, quod I, and a thing which the princes of both realmes have always ſought by allyances and other ways. But hath been oft empeached by forayn practices and ambition of ſomme of that realme; as namely of freſh memory, the motion of a matche betwen king Edward 6 and her. Therfore, quod ſhe, it is good to looke to it now, whilſt it may be holpen, aſſuring that her ſon well harken ſhortly abrode for a party, as he did already. Madame, quod I, what other thing have you thought upon in this mater, for you have good leaſure? In good faith, quod ſhe, Scotland is poor, not able to

maynteyn a king, and therfore England muſt gyve good penſions, for ſo ſurely my ſon is ſo offrid in other places. And therby the quene my good ſuſter ſhall gayne much; for by this meanes ſhe ſhuld ſave gretly in her charge in Ireland, where, if ſhe nedid, my ſon wold healp with his folk to get her good obedyance, and ſhulde not neede (theſe two realmes being ſo united in amyty) to ſpend money to mayntayne the warres in other contreys to keepe her awne in quyat, naming what her majeſty had done in France, and in the king of Spayne's countreys, who remembre, and have their eys fixed upon her doings. Beſides that, quod ſhe, all my kinſfolkes wold be her majeſties faithful frende, whome ſhe doth now ſuſpect; and then commended highly the duke of Guiſe, for his valyantnes and faithfullnes to his frends. There is another thing to be done, quod ſhe, in this caſe, which muſt be my care, that is, the popes bull againſt all thoſe of the religion proteſtant, which I will take in hande to deale in. That in reſpect to me being a catholik queene, the ſame ſhall not tooche my realme, though my ſon be a proteſtant, and then none will dare tooche th'one realm for religion without offending both. Thus Mr. Sommer, quod ſhe, I ſpeake playnly to you, that you may teſtify of my goodwill to do good, if it pleaſe the queen to truſt me. And I wold to God the quene my good ſuſter knew my hart, which in good faith ſhe ſhall never fynd falſe to her, ſo as I and my ſon may have the quenes majeſties favour, as aperteyns, being of her blood, and ſo neere. Madame, quod I, if you mean therby any claime after her majeſtie as you have been playne with me, ſo I beſeeche yow gyve me leave to be playne with yow; that is, if you or your ſonn ſpeake any thing in the world of that mater, either in any ſuche treaty as you deſyne, or by other diſcours or meſſage that yow may make or ſend to her majeſtie, I know that you ſhall greatly diſpleaſe her highnes and her people, and do yourſelf no good, therfore, whatſoever yow or your ſon do think therof, leave of to deale therin, and leaving all to God's good will, be content wyth her majeſties favour, otherwais if you hope to have it of her highnes, for ſhe knowith by deere experience what it is to offend her majeſtie in great things. She thanked me for my playneſſe and good adviſe, and ſaid ſhe wold not offend her majeſtie therin; deſyring then that ſhe might have at the leaſt her highnes lyke favour and eſtimation as other of her blood had at her hands.

Then did I aſk her opinion where as ſhe thought, the king her ſon had fancy to match; and that I had heard of the princes of Lorrayn. She ſaid there was ſuch a motion, but thought it would not be. And ſaid that the duke of Florence had offer'd his daughter, being of 14 or 15 years, and a million of crownes with her. Why, madame, quod I, do you think that the duke wold ſend his daughter from that warm and deynty countrey of Tuſcane into that cold realme of Scotland; yea, I warrant you, quod ſhe. She ſaid alſo, that there was a motion made for a daughter of Denmark,

mark, with great commodite of money and friendſhip; but that crowne going by election, he was not ſure of longer friendſhip than the old king's lif, and therefore had no great fancy that way. Then did I aſk her of any offer of Spayne; ſhe ſaid merily ſo as her ſon may have the low countreys withall it wer not amis; but who can warrant that. But truely, ſaid ſhe, I knew of none there. But I am ſure, quod ſhe, my ſon will mary as I well adviſe him.

Heere falling into other talk, ſhe aſked me whether I thought ſhe wold eſcape from hence or no, if ſhe might. I anſwered playnely, I beleevid ſhe wold; for it is natural for every thing to ſeeke liberty that is kept in ſtrayt ſubiection. No, by my trothe, quod ſhe, ye ar deceavid in me; for my hart is ſo great, that I had rather dye in this ſort with honour then run away with ſhame. I ſaid I wold be ſory to ſee the tryall. Then ſhe aſked me if ſhe wer at liberty with the queens majeſties favour, whither I thought ſhe wold go. I think, quod I, madame, you wold goo to your awne in Scotland, ar it is good reaſon and command there. It is true, quod ſhe, I wold goo thither indeede, but onely to ſee my ſon, and to gyve him good counſell. But unleſſe her majeſtie wold gyve her countenance and ſom mayntenance in Englande, wold go into France, and lyve there among her frends with that lytle portion ſhe hath there, and never troble herſelf with government agayne, nor diſpoſe myſelf to marry any more, ſeeing ſhe had a ſon that is a man; but ſaid ſhe wold never ſtay long there, nor wold governe where ſhe hath receavid ſo many evell tretments: for her hart could not abyde to look upon thoſe folk that had don her that evell, being her ſubiects: wherof ther ar yet many remayning; for I had told her that they wer almoſt all dead. Ever in her talk beſeeching her majeſtie to make a tryall of her, that with ſomme honorable ende ſhe may lyve the reſt of her dayes out of this captivitie, as ſhe termith it.

This have I thought meete in duety to let be knowne to the queens majeſtie, becauſe heere ar ſome very materyall points.

Sir Ralph Sadler to the Lord Treaſurer.—From the ſame.

My very good L. 5 *Feb.* 1584.

With mine of the xxvth of January I ſent you by Hills the meſſenger, whom your L. ſent hither, a note from Mr. Cave of the precedent weeks charges of this whole houſholde, ſyns we came hither, as your L. requyred, which by the courſe of a lettre brought to me yeſterday from your L. of the firſt of this preſent, by my ſervant Jo. Dauet, I fynde was not then comme to you; wherin I cannot praiſe the diligence of that meſſenger, vnles he had ſome miſhap by the way. Syns that tyme, vpon conference with this Q. officers about a plat of an eſtabliſhment certeyn of her houſholde in all things, as ſhe hath long deſyred, and as your L. adviſed Mr. Somer to ſend to you, to be conſidderid of, againſt the comminge downe of the ſucceſſor: I do now ſende vnto your L. heerwith one booke of all her preſent allowance, and an other of her

demaunds for ſome augmentation, wheryn ſhe herſelf rebated ſomwhat (vpon ſight of the firſt notes) from her officers demaunds, lyke a frugall good houſwif, ſayeng that ſhe will have nothing ſuperfluous. She earneſtly deſyrith that a certeyn reſolucion may be ſettlid in that behalf, not to be altered vpon any change of governor. Mr. Somer ſendith now to your L. anſwer to the reſt of your articles ſent vnto me to be anſwerid by him, the ſame being now accompliſhed according to your direction.

I perceave by your L. ſaid lettre, brought to me by John Dauet, that my L. St. John being excuſid from this charge vpon ſuche conſiderable cauſes as your L. alleagith, Sir Amyas Pawlet, now worthely one of her Majeſties privy counſell, is appointed, and hath willingly conſented to take it vpon him, wherof I am right glad: but gladder that your L. truſtith I ſhall not tary heere many dayes. And for my further comforte, that you will haſten him to the beſt ſpeede you canne. I hartely thank her Majeſtie and your good L. for theſe good tydings.

I am very ſorie of her Majeſties diſpleaſure towards Mr. Greſley, for ſelling my L. Pagets late ſtuff, which I may think he did by the perſwaſion of ſome that wer deſyrous to have of it, and that he had authorite *ex officio*, after praiſement to ſell it to her Majeſties vſe without further warrant, being perhaps vnacquainted with the lyke preſident. I cannot perceave that he kept any part of his for his owne vſe, but vnderſtand that the beſt was gone afore he came to it: and therfore ſurely in myne opinion is not willingly faulty. But yet I will not excuſe him in the ſelling of it without warrant, as before tyme I have tolde him, when he ſeemed to be very ſory for it. According to your L. appointment by her Majeſties commandement, I will ſend for him, and delyver him the proceſſe, which I darre ſay for him, will be a great greff to him, for I take him to be of a good nature. Mr. Ferrers ſhall alſo have your L. lettre to him.

Touching the articles ſent by Nau with mine of the xxi. your L. may ſee by my anſwer for the proceſſe, that I gave him ſmall comfort, and in playne termes told him myne opinion thereof; and for an increas of horſes and ſervants, he was prayed to move his Mrs. to forbeare to requyre them yet, having no great neede, ſpecially of mo horſes this winter; but that wold not ſerve, ſeeing (as he ſaid) her Majeſtie had partly agreed to it. But though I looke for ſome miſlyke at her handes in delyvering anſwer, that the reſolution thereof ſtayd vntill my returne to her Majeſtie, yet I will do therin as your L. adviſeth me, ſo ſone as this depeche is gon, leaſt ſhe delyver now to her Majeſtie her miſlyking of that anſwer, as ſhe will do, ſhe ſaid, by her lettres. Now for the not ſending her lettres ſooner into Scotland to her ſon. The ſtay wherof ſo long after the Mr. of Grayes arryval with the king her ſon, ſhe fearith wil be greatly hurtfull to her and to him in theſe good beginnings betuene the Q. Majeſtie and them. I perceave by her ſhe wrytith now to her Majeſtie for leave to ſende one into Scotland, ſaying that ſhe feareth all wilbe marred before any can

can be there from her, by the E. of Arran and the young Mr. of Gray.

I perceave alſo that there is order taken to ſend hither ſome peeces of plate which ſhe requyrith. I have now noted to Mr. Secretary certeyn other things of no great valew; needful to be vſed heere, beſyds ſome that I haue provydid of the ſaid kynde which are entrid in the bill herin. Theſe things being provydid aboue will ſpare much of this houſhold money, which goith away apace; and may be brought downe on horſ-back by the caryers of Derby and of this town, for leſſe than 1*d.* a lib. And ſo may the plate be alſo brought in a tronk, well malid in canvas, much better chepe than by cart.

Toching this Q. note for a tent of tapiſſery doble lyind with canvas, for her chambre, wherin your L. cannot vnderſtand her meaning, I indede heard her (not) ſpeake of any ſuche tent. But of lynid hangings for her chambre, theſe ſmall vnſutable peces which ſhe hath now, being vnlynid. And for ſuche Mr. Somer ſent your L. a note of the depthe of her chambre and of the membres and lengthes of the peces requyſit for it, obſerving the ſpaces betuene the windowes, becauſe her Majeſties hangings wer to deepe almoſt by the half. It may well be that ſhe meant firſt ſuch, or ſparver, or travers as your L. doth note to be her meaning. For in ſtead of ſuch a one, at the leaſt ouer head, there is tyghtid over her bed a large pece of her Majeſties, from one ſyde of her chambre to the other, being 17 foote wyde, betweene the wall places, following the order of the roof, which is not lefted over, but ſeelid vnder the rafters, which makith her chambre the warmer, to her good lyking: and ſpeakith of no want there but of ſuch lynid ſutable hangings. But if ſhe call for ſuch a tent, or other , when I may know her meaning, it ſhalbe done as well as it may be heere. Toching the foot carpets for her bed chambre, which your L. ſayth are named by her *tapis ſerge de veloux*, I know her meaning is to have ſome Turky work carpets to lay about her bed as ſhe had at her firſt coming to this place, which with well vſing, and in ſo many yeres, to the nombre of vii or viii peces, ar not worth the carying, but onely to make vptale, and ar heere vi or vii of them altogether broken and vnſerviceable. And thoſe they call *tapiſſerie velue*, rough tapiſſery; it may be conſidered how many of them, according to their bignes, will ſerve to lay about a bed. For if they ly further in the chambre, it wilbe in vayne and ſoone ſpoylid, example the other. Betueen the hearth of the chymny and her bed is about vii foote.

Now as toching the Q. Majeſties miſlyking that I lodgid this Q. in Derby towne, coming hitherwarde, I aſſure her Majeſtie and your L. that it was full ſore againſt my will if it might haue been holpen. For to avoyde that towne if it might have ben, I ſent dyvers tymes of my ſeruants of good judgement, and one's Mr. Somer, ryding to Tutbury to ſee if there wer any waye paſſable with coche and caryage, and convenyent place to lodge her and the company in ſome village, or yn ſome gentlemans houſe, for the jorney

was

was to far in one day. And after they had well fought, they reported that there was no other poſſable way for coche, but by the common way, and ſcant that at that tyme of the yere, by reaſon of hills, rocks, and woods. And I myſelf making a tryell ii or three miles, fynding it true, cauſed bridges to be made to avoyde many evell paſſages. And as for any gent. houſe that way, or any other in dyvers miles, there was none but Mr. Knyvetons houſe of Mercaſton, a ſmall houſe for ſuch a purpoſe, and very little meanes in that village, and ſtanding in the worſt way, which makith me humbly to beſeeche her Majeſtie to think that if ther had ben any other meanes, I wold not have comme by Derby, for I did foreconſider of that, and therefore I wrote long before what way we muſt needs take.

And toching the informacion of a great perſonage, delyvered to him by ſom officious officer, that this Q. was offred to ſalute and kyſſe a multitude of the tounes wemen, and of other ſpeeches that (is ſayde) ſhe vſed to them; I do lykewiſe aſſure, and therto Mr. Somer will be ſworne if neede be, I going next before her, and he next behynd her, yea, before all the gentlemen of purpoſe, ſaving one that caryed vp her gown, that her entertaynment was this. In the litle hall was the good-wife, being an ancient wydow, named Mrs. Beaumont, with iiii other wemen her neighbours. So ſone as ſhe knew who was her hoſteſſe, after ſhe had made abeck to the reſt of the wemen ſtanding next to the doore, ſhe went to her and kiſſed her, and none other, ſayeng that ſhe was comme thither to trouble her, and that ſhe was alſo a wydow, and therefore truſted that they ſhuld agree well enough together, having no huſbands to trouble them. And ſo went into the parler vpon the ſame low floure, and no ſtranger with her but the goodwyfe and her ſiſter. And there Mr. Somer ſtayde, vntill the Q. put off her vpper garment, and toke other things about her. And further, ſo ſone as ſhe was within her lodging, the gentleman porter ſtood ſtill at the doore to ſuffre none to go into the houſe but her owne people from their lodgings next adjoyning. And then I appointed the baylifs to cauſe a good watche of honeſt houſholders to be at all the corners of the towne, and in the market-place. And viii. to walke all night in the ſtreete where ſhe lodgid, as myſelf, lyeng over againſt that lodgin, can well teſtify, by the noiſe they made all night. This your L. may boldly affirme if it pleaſe you vpon any occaſion, which I will confirme when God ſhall ſende me to anſwer, if it ſhall happen to come in queſtion. In the mean tyme, I referre the ordring of it further to your L. conſideracion.

I ſend now alſo herwith to your L. as I promiſid, the ordres which I have ſet downe heere, and made knowne to all to whome it belongith, for the ſafeguarde of this Q. and namely to be obſervid by the 30 ſoldyers, whom I have choſen out emong her Majeſties tennants of this honor and duchy, handſom, luſty men, and well appointed, at viiid. for their ſold *par diem*. And have alſo gyven them the order now ſent alſo herwith. To the articles it may

pleaſe

pleaſe you to add further as ſhalbe thought meete. 5 *Feb.* 1584.

Articles conteyning ſondry Inconvenyances, Perilles, and Daungiers, which do depend upon the Maryage now in Treatie bytwen the Q. Maj. and Mounſieur, Heir Apparent to the Crowne of France.—From the ſame.

All readers of hiſtory are familiar with the negociations for a marriage between the Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. of France; his viſit to England; the coquettiſh encouragement which he received from the queen; and the unexpected repulſe which at length broke off the treaty. All the queen's wiſeſt counſellors, and, what was hardly of leſs conſequence, her moſt favoured courtiers, oppoſed the French match with vigour. Leiceſter, Hatton, Walſingham, Sir Philip Sidney, &c. joined in remonſtrances, and at length induced the queen, after much painful irreſolution, to ſacrifice her dreams of connubial felicity to her uſual political prudence.—The wholeſome arguments by which this change of opinion was at length wrought in her mind, are well detailed in the following ſpeech of Sir Ralph Sadler.

Firſt, to beginne with Goddes cauſe, which is the matier of religion, it is to be conſidered, that her Majeſtie being princypalled noted to be the chief patroneſſe and protectrix of the ghoſpell and trew religion at this day, and Monſieur ſpeyally noted, reputed, and taken to be mere contrary, it will brede no little diſcredite to her Majeſtie, with all the prynces proteſtants in chriſtendom, to matche herſelf in maryage with a papyſticall prynce; being ſo contrary to her highnes as he is in religion.

Alſo, it cannot but brede not onely grate hinderaunce to the good ſucceſſe of the ghoſpell in all parts of chriſtendom, but alſo will brede daungerous factions and parties amongſt ourſelves here at home; for that our papiſts being alredy too bolde, will conceyve and take a gret deal more boldnes and courage by this maryage, (whereof what inconvenyence will inſue God knoweth.) It may be boldely affirmed, that her Majeſtie's ſiſter, the late Quene Mary, wolde not have been moved nor induced to mary with a proteſtant prynce, to have ben lady and ſovereigne of ten kingdomes.

Agayn, if God ſhoulde take her Majeſtie from us (which God forbidde) in the lyfe time of Monſieur, as all prynces be mortall as well as others, then the Q. of Scotts being here within the realme, hoping to ſuccede her Majeſtie, who coulde be a fytter inſtrument for her to ſet her up, or a fytter matche for her in maryage than Monſieur; which wolde be no harde matier for him to bryng to paſſe, with the helpe and ayde of our papiſtes, which indede do hope for ſuch a day, and alſo with ſuch foreign ayde as he might procure out of Fraunce and otherwiſe. And ſo ſhoulde this realme be governed by a French man and a Scottiſh woman, and all our Engliſh turned in French and Scottiſh; and, that worſe is, the ghoſpell of J. C. and trew relygion, ſhoulde be quyte and clere aboliſhed, and all poperie, ſuperſtition, and idolatrie agayn reſtored

reſtored and ſet up, as well or worſe than ever it was. The Lord inſpire her Majeſtie with his holie ſpirite, and give her grace to beware of all papiſts!

Secondly, the unyon of the two crownes of Fraunce and Englande, which may enſue of this maryage, is a principall matier to be thought on, as if Monſieur be king of Fraunce, which he loketh for daylie, and have iſſue a ſonne by her Majeſtie, it muſt then follow, by good probabilite, that both the crownes ſhall devolve and com to that iſſue; and ſo becauſe Fraunce is the more ample and rycher kingdom, this noble realme of Englande, which thes many hundreth, yea thouſands of yeres, hath ben an auncyent royall kingdom, and a monarchie of itſelf, ſhall becom vaſſall, thrall, and ſubject to the crowne of Fraunce; whereof may be ſayd hereafter, and wrytten in hiſtories, to the no little infamye, and touche in honour of the noble lyne and poſteryte of that noble and famous Prynce King Henry VIII. it may greve all trew Engliſhmen to thinke of itt; that is, that K. Henry his ſonne, in the tyme of his reigne, being in his mynoryte and tender yeres, was, by meanes of gret rebellion, and other troubles in the realme, inforced to render and give up to the French the towne of Boleyn, which the king his father, of famous memorye, King Henry VIII. did conquer and wynne with the travaile of his owne perſon, a litle before he dyed. Alſo, that Q. Mary, in the tyme of her reigne, by her maryage with Philip, K. of Spayne, was by him, and for his cauſe, moved and induced to enter into the warres with Fraunce; whereby ſhe loſt the towne of Calays, which her noble progenitors won and kept with grate honour almoſt 300 yeres. But Q. Elizabeth, in the tyme of her reigne, by her maryage with Monſieur, heir apparent to the crowne of France, loſt all Englande, and brought the ſame into thraldom and ſubjection to the crowne of Fraunce. This will be ſayed, and alſo wrytten in hiſtoryes, to remayn a matier of recorde for ever.

Trewly, thes two gret cauſes, religion, and the unyon of thes two crownes, are ſuch, and ſo many gret inconvenyances, perilles, and daungiers do depende upon the ſame, as myne opynyon ought to move all trew Engliſhmen to mislyke of this maryage.

Thirdly, if the French king do dye, who, by reaſon of the infirmyte and unſoundnes of his bodye, is not lyke to continew long, as it is thought, then Monſieur, ſucceeding in his place, muſt neds make his reſidence and abode in Fraunce; ſo that her Majeſtie ſhall eyther want the fruycyon of his company and preſence, or elles muſt go with him into Fraunce, to the grete grief and diſcomforte of all her trew and faithfull ſubjects. And in what government the realme may be lefte in that caſe, I leave to the conſideracion of wiſer men.

Fourthly, the inequalyte of yeres bytwen her Majeſtie and Monſieur, in myn opynyn, is a matier to move ſom miſlyking of this maryage, he being a very yong prynce, and her Majeſtie of ſuch yeres as by the naturell courſe of the ſame, her Majeſtie might be

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his mother *. Now, whether ſuch maryages be godly and acceptable in the ſight of God, I am not to diſpute; but ſure I am, that when this yong prynce ſhalbe in his beſt and flouryſhing age, her Majeſtie muſt neds be ſo far growen in yeres, that what miſlyking may growe thereof, and what matier of unkyndnes it may brede, it is now to be thought on, leeſt hereafter, when it were more fitter for her Majeſtie to lyve in her older yeres in moſt quyetnes, it fell out otherwiſe to her gret unquyetnes and griefe of mynde, and to the no litle regrete and diſcomforte of all that love her Majeſtie. Example we have of the maryage bytwen her highnes ſiſter, the late Q. Mary, and K. Philip, whoſe unkynde dealing, even in the lyke caſe, was a gret cauſe of the ſhortening of her dayes.

Fyvethly, what hope we may have of the frute of this maryage, of yſſue of her highnes, indede although we are not utterly to diſpare of it, yet can we not be in ſo gret hope of it now as when her Majeſtie was of yonger yeres, and a gret dele more fitte to mary then ſhe is now. Indede I am ſo jelous of her highnes perſon, that I dare not give her adviſe to mary at thes yeres; for that we have it in comen experyence, that when maydens do in their yonger yeres forbere maryage untill they be growen in yeres, as her Majeſtie now is, comonly eyther they have none yſſue, or, if they have, the birth of it is daungerous, that few or none eſcape it †. For my parte, I am ſo jelous of her perſon, that I wolde not lyve to ſee her within the compas of that daunger. And therefore ſyns her Majeſtie, in all the tyme of her yonger yeres, coulde never be affected to maryage, though gretely urged and preſſed therunto, a thyng moſt wyſhed for, and contynually prayed for; and gretely deſyred and ſought at her Majeſties hands by all her good and loveing ſubjects, and yet coulde never be obteyned of her Majeſtie by any meanes; it is to be thought that her Majeſtie now, in her elder yeres, cannot be gretely affected to mary.

Laſtly, there is another cauſe of inconvenyence depending upon this maryage, and that is, that the ſame is unyverſally miſlyked of throughout the realme; which is matier not to be neglected; for in myn opynyon, it is not good to do things to the generall diſcontentement of the hole realme.

On the laws of Property by deſcent, and on Trials relative to Lands among the ancient Welſh. From the Hiſtory of the County of Brecknock: by Theophilus Jones, *Deputy Regiſter of the Archdeacony of Brecon.*

* It may be much doubted whether this argument was acceptable to Queen Elizabeth. Yet ſhe could admit the jeſt of her courtiers upon the three ſorts of marriage, "one of God's making, as when Adam and Eve, two young folk, were coupled; one of man's making, when one is old and another young, as Joſeph's marriage; and one of the devil's making, when two old folks marry, not for comfort but coveteouſneſs." *Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. II. p. 153. Park's Edition.

† It is ſuppoſed that ſome apprehenſions of perſonal danger mingled in Elizabeth's motives for refuſing the match.

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To prevent all disputes between brethren, by the laws of Hywel Dda, the mode of partition was thus particularly described, "three times shall a general division be made, first between brethren, afterwards between cousins, and the third between second cousins, after which there shall be no division of lands. When brothers shall divide their fathers' property amongst them, the *youngest* shall have the choice tenement with the appurtenances, and the kettle and felling axe, with the coulter. In law, a father cannot bequeath these, or give them to any but the youngest son, and though they should be pawned, they shall never become forfeited; after that, let every brother take by seniority: the youngest brother to divide: in all cases, however, the younger held his share in subordination to the elder, who was therefore called Cyn-rhan.

Before I part with the laws of Hwyel, I beg leave briefly to state the practice of the ancient Britons in questions as to land, particularly as neither Powel nor Warrington are perfectly correct in the descriptions they give of their courts of justice. * In causes of this nature, the whole of the proceedings were had, and held upon the lands in dispute. † The king, or the person who represented him, presided and sat with his back to the sun and wind, least he might be incommoded by them; the judge of the palace, or senior judges of the Cwmwd being placed on his left, and another judge on his right hand; next to them sat the priest or priests, then two elders and the great men of the country; in the middle or immediately before the king or his representative, was left a lane or entrance into the court, or his presence, on the right of which stood the demandant, his council, and attorney, ‡ and behind them the summoner, and on the left, the defendant, his council, attorney, and summoner in the same manner. Pledges being first taken from both parties to abide by the decision of the court, and silence being proclaimed by the vizer, upon pain of forfeiting three cows or one hundred and twenty pence, the judges proceeded to hear the cause. The demandant was first called to name his council and attorney; this done, the judge asked

* Leges Wallicæ, 1. 2. 220, 1. 12.

† This was attended with great advantage, where there was (as frequently happened) a difficulty in describing the lands, or in questions as to boundaries; this is sometimes resorted to by our jury of view, but (if it could be done) it would be much more desirable that the whole court could see the land, as by the Welsh practice.

‡ *Cunllaw* has been translated "a champion," by Warrington, and Wotton in his glossary has a query, whether this is not the meaning of the word: he has however rendered it otherwise, and with correctness observed, that wager of battle was introduced into Wales (and indeed into Britain) by the Anglo Saxons; as the only word the Welsh have for that mode of deciding a controversy is *Ornest*, probably a corruption of earnest by which they meant to distinguish the serious from the sham fights, and in the certificate and inquisition before the bishop of St. David's, and other commissioners at Rhuddlan, appointed by Edward I. in the ninth year of his reign, Tigwared, a Welsh judge, being examined as a witness, deposes, that in Wales it was not customary to offer wager of battle.

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him, "Do you place your entire confidence in them to gain or loſe? Are you alſo determined to abide by the deciſion of this court?" Being anſwered affirmatively, he put the ſame queſtions to the defendant; and upon his agreeing to abide by the directions and conduct of thoſe he employed, and to obey the ſentence of the court, the demandant orally declared, "I am the true proprietor of the lands in diſpute, and if any one will this gainſay, I have here thoſe who are ready to maintain my rights and inheritance, from which I have been wrongfully put out. I therefore pray the aid of the court, to be rightfully reſtored to my land, from which I have been thus unjuſtly expelled." His witneſſes were now produced, and the whole of his proof gone through before defendant was heard, who now being called upon for his defence, ſaid: "truly I am the proprietor of the land by right and inheritance, and becauſe my title to it is perfect and ſecure, do I hold it, and if any one will gainſay, I have here ſufficient witneſſes to verify what I now aſſert; and if thou wert formerly poſſeſſed of this ſoil, thou wert afterwards rightfully ouſted from it, and if any one this doubteth, I have here credible witneſſes, who this fact well know." His witneſſes being then examined, the judge aſked both parties if they had done, or if they choſe to amend their plaint or plea, which it ſeems either ſide had a right to do in this ſtage of buſineſs; if they declined it, the judge recapitulated the evidence, explaining or commenting upon it, when he thought that neceſſary, and afterwards departed or retired to ſome little diſtance from the place where the court was held, accompanied by the reſt of the court, (the parties and the advocates excepted) and by the ſummoner, whoſe buſineſs it was to take care that no one overheard their conſultations, under pain of forfeiting ſix cows to the king, or in his abſence, three to his repreſentative. When they had retired, the prieſt in a ſhort prayer craved the interpoſition and direction of Providence, to guide them to the truth, and to enable them to decide rightfully, and then chaunted the Paternoſter, upon which the judge again ſummed up the whole of the proceedings, in which, if there appeared any defect of evidence, or any circumſtances requiring further explanation, two of the judges appointed a conference with the parties and their advocates; this was called "Gair Cyforth," ſignifying "an addreſs," after which proceeding, no witneſſes could be produced by the parties. This rule was adopted upon ſound policy, and was the reſult of good ſenſe and experience, as it would have been highly improper to have permitted either the demandant or defendant, after a hint from the court as to any error, inſufficiency, or contradiction in the evidence, to amend the defect by additional proof, which would make the cauſe endleſs; indeed their practice, as here related, ſeems in ſome meaſure to be liable to that objection; eſpecially when we learn, that when this conference was not appointed, the parties might have another and another day to bring further witneſſes, if they required it, even after the judge had retired, upon bringing pledges into the field for their

their punctuality, which pledges frequently, if not invariably, were confined in priſon until the day aſſigned for hearing further witneſſes, on as the Welſh call it, "the day of gaining or loſing." When the day arrived, and the witneſſes were examined, the pledges were liberated; and the judges proceeded to decide in favour of that party with whom the weight of evidence preponderated; if that was doubtful from contrariety of teſtimony, or any other cauſe, the land in diſpute was divided into moieties, and aſſigned, one half to the demandant, and the other ſhare to the defendant. The fee to the chief juſtice in a cauſe of this nature was forty-eight pence, and to every judge half as much.

Extract from an old Pariſh Book, belonging to the Pariſh of Crundal in Kent.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, the church-wardens charge themſelves yearly with money received at God's board towards the Paſchal light; varying in the ſum, but never exceeding 3*s.* 7*d.*

And once with money received from the gatherers of the fifteenths, Anno 5° and 6° Philip and Mary, being an overplus of the ſeſſe, and to remain to the uſe of the church by conſent of the pariſhioners. 7*s.* 10*d.*

In their diſburſements of the ſame reign, there is a yearly charge for wax from 2lbs. to 4¾lbs. and for ſtrekying the ſame for the paſchal or forli taper, as it is once ſaid; ſometimes only for the paſcall, or the paſchall light, or for the rood light, never exceeding 3*s.* 9*d.*

Item, paid a joiner in Canterbury, for making the Rood, Mary and John, and paynting the ſame, 40*s.*

For ſetting up the Rood, Mary and John, and for paper and thread to truſſe the ſame, 1*s.* 6*d.*

For a book of articles of injunctions at the Viſitation at Canterbury, 2*d.*

For certain church goods bought in King Edward VIth's time, 3*s.*

Making a coffin for the ſepulchre, 9*d.*

Making a deſk and a little cupboard for the Chriſmatory, 10*d.*

For a lock and key to the font, 5*d.*

Making two childres rochets, mending of the albs, reveſſes, veſtments, and croſſe cloths, and for new cloth put in, 2*s.*

Paid for waſhing the church gere for two years, 1*s.*

For a paper book for burying, marrying, and chriſtening, 3*d.*

Supplication to my Lord Cardinal for the church houſe, 2*s.*

Paid at the Lord Cardinal's viſitation at Eaſter, 1*s.* 3*d.*

Paid the ſomner and regiſter when the Archdeacon was at Crundall, 10*d.*

A reward given to Milord Suffragan's ſervants, when the chalice and corpus cloth were hallowed, 4*d.*

For making a bill at the viſitation, 3*d.*

Anno 1° Elizabeth, the church wardens charge themſelves with money received at God's board toward the paſchal light of old time accuſtomed, 3*s.*

Item, from the gatherers of the xvths, being an overplus of their collections, 2*s.* 11*d.*

In their diſburſements, Do. they charge for 26¾lbs. of wax for the paſchal taper, and for ſtrekying it, 2*s.* 3*d.*

But no mention is made of either of theſe articles in the following years.

Anno. 1585. Paid for lack of a Bible at Canterbury, 1*s.* 3*d.*

1592. Called before the commiſſary about hunting on the Sabbath day before morning prayer. Paid 2*s.* 6*d.*

1593. Called before the high commiſſioners about the ſtate of the church, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Called divers times before them about recuſants, whether there were any in Crundale, 4*s.* 8*d.*

Paid at the court at Canterbury, Nov. 26, for not going the perambulation, 3*s.* 8*d.*

1597. Paid the ſomner for a new Prayer-book to be uſed in the church, 4*d.*

1603. Two new Prayer-books in time of the plague, 1*s.*

1605. Nov. 30, Two Prayer-books (gunpowder treaſon) 1*s.* 4*d.*

1610. Paid for Biſhop Jewel's Works, 26*s.*

1633. Book of lawful recreation, 6*d.*

1636. A childwife pew, 26*s.* 6d.

1638. Paid at Canterbury upon a citation about the communion table, 3*s.* 8*d.*

Paid for poſts, and rails, and boards, ditto, 25*s.*

For framing and ſetting up ditto, 18*s.*

1639. Paid at Canterbury on a citation to certify whether the communion table was, according to order, railed in, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Paid a miniſter towards a hood, 10*s.*

1645. For the Directory, 2*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Deſcription of an Elephant fight, and of a Tiger fight, at Lucknow. From Travels to India, &c. By George Viſcount Valentia.

April 16, early in the morning I went to one of his Excellency's gardens beyond the palace, one ſide of which was cloſe to the Goomty. In a pavilion erected by his brother, and now nearly in decay, breakfaſt was prepared for us, and a large party. From this ſpot we had a full view of the oppoſite ſide of the river, where the elephants are uſually watered. The amuſement of the day was to be a fight of theſe huge animals. The plain was crowded with ſpectators, and with a body of foot, and cavalry armed with ſpears. The elephants choſen were in *muſt*, (heat) and attended each by their female, whom they followed quietly till they ſaw the crowd. They then ſet off at a very quick pace, and would eaſily have overtaken the people on foot, had not their attention been called off by the horſemen, who rode up ſo cloſe to them as ſometimes even to touch them with their ſpears. The elephant thus touched turned his reſentment againſt the horſemen, whom, however, he purſued in vain. The inſtant he caught a ſight of his antagoniſt, he ruſhed forward to meet him; and the ſhock was ſo violent as generally to raiſe one of them on his hind feet. Their trunks were elevated in the air, and they continued to puſh againſt each other for ſome time; one generally receding as the other advanced. I was ſurpriſed that the mohouts * were able to keep their ſeats. They ſeemed anxious for the glory of their animals, encouraged them, and drove them on with their ſharp iron ſpears. After it was thought that a pair had fought ſufficiently, they were allured off the ground by the females, who were indeed the cauſe of all this warfare. The firſt pair were cowards, and ran away: the ſecond and third behaved very well; but the fourth gave us the greateſt amuſement. The ſtrongeſt drove the other into the river, where he followed him. They threw water againſt each other, and made ſeveral attacks. The weakeſt, however, when he came to the oppoſite bank, retreating ſtill backwards, found the elevation of ground aſſiſt him ſo much, that he made a ſtand and prevented the

* On theſe occaſions they ſit on the centre of the animal's back, to be out of the reach of the trunk of the adverſe elephant.

other

other from advancing. For ſome time they continued looking at each other, till the mohout of the weaker drove his elephant into the middle of the ſtream, where they had a laſt ſtruggle, in which the victory was undecided. It was conſidered as a very admirable fight, and certainly was a ſcene well worth ſeeing once, but not oftener. There was no variety, nor was any ſkill ſhewn in the attack: it was mere brutal force: and the only viſible injury was the excoriation of their faces. From the elevated ſummer-houſe we had an excellent view of the whole without any danger: fortunately, indeed ſingularly ſo, no accident happened.

May 27th, I breakfaſted with the Nawaub in order to be preſent at a tiger fight. A ſpace of about fifty feet ſquare had been fenced off on the plain, between the Dowlat Khanak and the river, in front of the Sungi Baraderi, a building open in the Aſiatic ſtyle, raiſed about twenty feet from the ground, and which is occaſionally uſed as a breakfaſt or banquetting room. It formed one ſide of the ſquare already mentioned, and was covered with a lattice work of bamboo ſeveral feet high, leſt the tiger, by a violent ſpring, ſhould make his way among us, a circumſtance that, on a former occaſion, nearly occurred. On the three other ſides was a lattice work of bamboos, ſuſtained by very ſtrong pillars of timber, driven firmly into the ground, perfectly ſecuring the crowd on the outſide from danger. The tiger was in a ſmall cage on the ſide, from which he was driven by fire-works. He took ſeveral turns round the area, and eyed us moſt accurately. A buffalo was now driven in, on which he quickly retired to one corner: the other watched him, but did not ſeem inclined to commence the attack. By fire-works the tiger was ſeveral times obliged to move, when the buffalo invariably advanced a little towards him; but, on his lying down, ſtopped and eyed him for ſome time. Seven other buffaloes were now introduced, but with all our excitements we could not induce either party to commence the attack. A dog was thrown into the area by ſome one. He retreated into a corner, into which the tiger was ſoon driven by the fireworks; but, on the little animal's ſnarling at him, he quickly retired to another corner. The Nawaub then ſent for an elephant. The firſt approach of this beaſt cauſed the tiger to give a cry of terror, and to run into a corner, where by a ſpring he attempted to leap over the fence. In this he failed; and the elephant approaching by direction of his rider attempted to throw himſelf on his knees on the tiger. This the latter avoided, and immediately ran to another place. All the exertions of the mohout could not induce the elephant to make a ſecond attack; but advancing to the gate, he began to puſh againſt it, and ſoon made his way good. The tiger did not attempt to take advantage of the opening, but lay panting in a corner. A ſecond elephant was now introduced, who immediately ruſhed towards the tiger, and made a kneel at him. The tiger, however, ſprang on his forehead, where he fixed by his teeth and claws, till the animal raiſing his head, with a violent jerk daſhed him on the ground, ſo

completely bruiſed, that he was not able to riſe. The elephant did not chooſe to ſtay to complete his victory, but ruſhing againſt the ſide of the incloſure, with his tuſks raiſed up the whole frame-work of timber and bamboos, with a great number of people hanging on it. The alarm was great, and they ſcrambled off as ſoon as poſſible. The elephant made his way through, fortunately hurting no one; and the tiger was too much exhauſted to follow. The ſun was now far advanced, and the heat ſo conſiderable, that the fight was adjourned *ſine die*.

Hiſtory of Abyſſinia. From Mr. Salt's *Diſſertation, in* Lord Valentia's *Voyages and Travels.*

Abyſſinia is a corruption of the Arabic word Habeſh, ſignifying 'convena.' This name has been invariably uſed by the Arabians, though adopted in modern times only by the Abyſſinians, who prefer that of their different provinces, as Amharians, Tigrians, or the more general one of Caſhtam (Chriſtians), of which they are extremely proud, and which generally was the firſt word they addreſſed to us on our entering the country, accompanying it by laying hold of a blue ſilk ſtring round their necks, which is with them the indiſputable proof of their being entitled to the appellation. In their books they are ſtyled Ethiopians, ſons of Ethiopia, Agazi, and Axomians; by a ſimilar name to which (Axomites) they were alone deſignated among the Romans. Many authors, particularly Ludolf, a writer who has entered very deeply into their hiſtory, have ſuppoſed them to have paſſed over from Arabia; but to this there are many objections, for I do not recollect any inſtance of a nation having ſent back ſettlers to its mother country; yet we have an account in Procopius, of a band of the Axomites, on invading Arabia, having been ſo pleaſed with it, that they gave up their own country, and continued there. It appears more probable from the general tenor of their hiſtory, that they were refugees from Egypt, who conquered, and mingled with, the aborigines of the country; elſe, from what ſource could they derive their veneration for the Nile, of the conſequence of which, in Abyſſinia, they could form no idea? Whence their ſtyle of building, ſo totally different from any in Arabia? Or their written character which is as eſſentially different from that of the ancient Cufic? The Greek or Ethiopic written from the left to right, the Cufic from right to left; the former having each character diſtinct and ſquare in its form, and the latter chiefly conſiſted of curves running wildly into each other. Even the very form of their government, which always appears to have been monarchical, points out Egypt, rather than Arabia, for their origin.

But as this is a point of conſiderable importance, it may not be unintereſting to enter a little deeper into the diſcuſſion.

In the earlieſt records of hiſtory, we find the Ethiopians repreſented as a very numerous and powerful people; their importance, however, progreſſively declined, as Egypt advanced in conſequence; for as the

the population of that country increaſed, it naturally extended its conqueſts in the direction of the Nile, compelling the Ethiopians to retire towards the ſouth. Meroe ſeems to have been the point at which their progreſs was ſtopped; yet, beyond this, bands from Egypt afterwards emigrated and ſettled themſelves among the Ethiopians: of one of theſe flights we have an account in Herodotus, who mentions that it conſiſted of two hundred and forty thouſand in number; that they were called, as a nation, Aſmack, or Aſkam; that they fled from Pſammeticus ſix hundred and thirty years before the time of that hiſtorian, and went as far beyond Meroe as that place is from Elephantine. Theſe people are conſidered by Dr. Vincent to be the ſame as thoſe deſcribed by Strabo, under the name of Sebritoe, or Sembritoe (Advenæ), who inhabited all the country above Meroe, and extended acroſs the mountains nearly to the Red Sea. They are alſo deſcribed, more accurately perhaps, by Pliny, under the names of Semberritoe, and Aſachie, on the mountains. Theſe I conſider, with Dr. Vincent, to be no other than the Axomites, or as they term themſelves in their moſt ancient books, Agazi.

The Abyſſinians, in their modern books, lay claim to great antiquity, as being deſcended from Ham. They alſo boaſt that one of their queens, named Magueda, was the Queen of the South, who viſited Solomon, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Menilech, from whom their preſent kings are lineally deſcended. The only thing like evidence on this ſubject, depends on the authenticity of a ſeries of chronicles, ſaid to have been kept regularly by the prieſts at the ancient city of Axum. The authority of theſe has, however, been with reaſon diſputed, as it is ſcarcely poſſible that they ſhould have been preſerved, conſidering the wars in which the country has continually been engaged. Beſides, the evidence of the Axum inſcription ſeems deciſive againſt them, as a king certainly would not call himſelf ſon of Mars, who prided himſelf on his deſcent from Solomon. It ſeems, on the whole, probable, that this idea was borrowed from their dependents, the Homerites, and was aſſumed long after the introduction of Chriſtianity.

Whatever their religion may have been in early times, they do not appear to have been excluſively attached to it, ſince, when the Romans ſucceeded to the trade of the Red Sea, they found the Axomites, as they were then called, ready to receive, together with their merchandize, the worſhip of their gods. This is proved by the inſcription I found at Axum, where the ſovereign of the country ſtyles himſelf the ſon of the God, the invincible Mars, even if we do not refer to the ſecond Adulitic, which if allowed to have been erected by an Abyſſinian king, would be ſtill more ſatisfactory.

It is only about one or two centuries after the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, that the Abyſſinian hiſtory begins to emerge from obſcurity. A very cloſe commercial connection was then formed with the country by the traders from Egypt, as appears in the Periplûs, and the Greek language became ſo common in the

country, that it was uſed by the king of Abyſſinia to commemorate his exploits even ſo far in the interior as Axum, which alſo moſt ſtrongly corroborates the knowledge of Greek attributed by the Periplûs to Zoſkalis.

This connection with Egypt ſeems to have added greatly to their power and conſequence in the Red Sea: for in the firſt information we have of them, we find them confined to the weſtern coaſt, and the trade chiefly in the hands of Arabians: but in a few centuries afterwards, we perceive they became maſters of the greater part of the Arabian coaſt, and appointed viceroys over the Homerites, who, after conquering the Sabeans, had in their turn become ſubject to the King of Axum. To effect this, however, required a long period of time; and might never have taken place, had not a peculiar ſeries of external and favourable circumſtances concurred to farther their progreſs.

After the Phœnicians had ceaſed to be a maritime power, Egypt had occupied the Red Sea with her fleets, and had engroſſed all the valuable productions of India and the eaſt of Africa: but ſhe was content to hold this monopoly in conjunction with the Arabians, who, from time immemorial, had been joint poſſeſſors of the trade. When the dynaſty of the Ptolemies had been overthrown and Egypt had become a province of the Roman empire, the Romans ſucceeded of courſe to this trade: but the genius of that people was ill formed for commerce; and the very nature of their government was ſuch, as to render their power of ſhort duration in this part of the world; for ſo long only could they hope to hold it, as they followed the line marked out to them by their predeceſſors. On the contrary, inſtead of adding ſtrength to the union that ought to have ſubſiſted between them and the Arabians, their deſire of conqueſt led them to take poſſeſſion of their ſea ports, and even to ſend an army into the heart of their country. In this expedition, however, they effected nothing of conſequence, but were haraſſed, baffled, and driven back with diſgrace. The remoteneſs, too, of their ſeat of government, was in itſelf alone ſufficient to prevent a long continuance even of their influence here; for the viceroys of Egypt were more likely to think of enriching themſelves, than of benefitting the Egyptian traders: beſides that the empire itſelf was haſtening faſt to its end. Theſe circumſtances, added to the ſupineneſs and indolence of the Arabians, made an opening for the neighbouring powers, too advantageous to be long neglected; and accordingly we find, that it was ſhortly afterwards laid hold of, and by a nation which, until the Chriſtian æra, had been known only by vague report.

Theſe were the very Egyptian tribes, which, mingling with the ancient inhabitants of the country, had extended their conqueſts eaſtward, and had eſtabliſhed their power at Axum, under a feudal ſovereignty; a government which, more than all others, is likely to attach the neighbouring tribes to its intereſt, ſince it does not require any change in their general ſyſtem of policy, to enable them to become an integral part of the

ſtate.

ſtate. From Axum, their conqueſts ſoon extended to the Red Sea; and here, finding friends in the inhabitants of the city of Adulis (which had alſo been built by refugees from Egypt) they together formed a very powerful nation, which was enabled to aſſume a conſequence in the Red Sea, that the then poſſeſſors of the trade were unequal to oppoſe. Of theſe facts we have information alſo in the Adulitic and Axum inſcriptions, and in the Periplûs, written, I conceive, after the time of Pliny, who, except Strabo, was the firſt to notice this riſing nation; the latter writer having only remarked, in his account of the Ethiopians, that "as yet none of the Ethiopians had interfered with the commerce of the Red Sea." From the date of the Adulitic inſcription, their power became ſupreme in this part of the world; and they formed a maritime barrier between the Romans and the Perſians, which induced the former to conciliate them by repeated embaſſies, and annual preſents, the magnificence of which ſtrongly points out the conſequence that they held in the ſcale of eaſtern politics, which conſequence continued, in ſome degree, until a conſiderable time after the riſe of the Arabians under Mahomet.

As idolatry declined among the Romans, by the ſame channel that the worſhip of Mars had been introduced, the true religion of Chriſt found its way into Abyſſinia, and at length was happily eſtabliſhed as the religion of the country, about the year 330, in the reign of Abreha, or, as he was called by the Romans, Aeizana, (who had at this time taken his brother Abybeha, or Saeizana, to ſhare in the empire.) The perſons to whom the introduction of Chriſtianity is attributed, are Frumentius and Ædeſius, according to the account given by Rufinius, who declares that he had it from Ædeſius himſelf, who alſo returned from Abyſſinia, and was made Biſhop of Tyre; but he ſpoke of it as in India, which occaſioned much confuſion; yet it is moſt clearly made out to refer to the Axomites, by St. Athanaſius, and Conſtantius's letter to Aeizana and Saeizana; and that the former reigned at Axum, is clearly eſtabliſhed by the Axum inſcription.

Frumentius and Ædeſius, two young men, Chriſtians, but unordained, in company with one Meropius, a Tyrian, were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt, where, being captured by the barbarians, Meropius was killed; but the young men were taken before the King of Axum, and accepted into his ſervice. Afterwards, on the king's death, they roſe to great honours, even to the adminiſtration of the government, by the appointment of the queen, during the minority of her ſon.

By their influence, the foundation was laid for the converſion of the Abyſſinians; and for the purpoſe of promoting it, Frumentius returned to Egypt, and was there appointed Biſhop of Axum by Athanaſius, in which capacity he returned to Abyſſinia. On the diſgrace of St. Athanaſius, Frumentius was attacked by the Arian party, as appears by a letter from the Emperor Conſtantius to the Kings Aiezana and Saeizana, now extant in St. Athan: Apol. (vide B.) requiring that they

would ſend Frumentius to Alexandria. An embaſſy alſo was ſent about this time for the ſame purpoſe into Arabia and Abyſſinia, as appears in Philoſtorges an Arian writer; and it is not improbable, that by this embaſſy was ſent the letter of Conſtantius above referred to. The chief of this embaſſy was Theophilus, an Arian Biſhop. The account of his miſſion is valuable, and appears to me not to have been before ſufficiently noticed.

He was an Indian, who in Conſtantine's reign was ſent as a hoſtage from the Divæi; and being a man of great learning and knowledge, was afterwards raiſed to the epiſcopal dignity. In this miſſion he is ſaid to have carried out two hundred Cappadocian horſes, beſides other preſents, to the eaſtern princes. He built three churches, one at Tapharon in Arabia, another at the Roman emporium at Aden, and another on the iſland of Ormuz. He then paſſed over to Diabé, and to many other parts of India; croſſing from Arabia, he went over to the Æthiopians called Axomites, who lived on the left ſide, to thoſe ſailing up the Red Sea, and who were ſo called from their metropolis, Axum. Having there ſettled every thing to his ſatisfaction, he returned to the Roman territory. Beſides his extenſive learning, he is recorded to have underſtood medicine (hunc enim divina virtute morbos curare fama celebras erat). His ſucceſs in Abyſſinia, however, though aſſerted in general terms, can ſcarcely be allowed, when we conſider the high favour in which Frumentius was held; for if we may believe the Abyſſinian annals, which here are perfectly conſiſtent with the Byzantine writers, both he and the other miſſionaries with him, were, on his return, received with open arms by the chiefs, treated with high honour and reſpect, and by the common people almoſt venerated as divine agents. No nation, indeed, ever received the Chriſtian religion with more willingneſs than the Abyſſinians, ſo that a great part of them were in a ſhort time baptized to the faith; lands were ſet apart for the prieſthood; churches were erected, and others afterwards excavated out of the ſolid rocks, by workmen ſent for out of Egypt, by the orders of the Abyſſinian emperors, and which they to this day retain. One of theſe I ſaw at Abhahaſuba, which is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and reſembles much the architecture of Egypt. With the rites of Chriſtianity, however, they either incorporated many ceremonies which they had borrowed from the Jews, or, which is perhaps as likely, they received Chriſtianity mixed with many Jewiſh rites, which had not, in the early periods of the church in Egypt, been ſo decidedly ſeparated from it. Over this church, from its firſt foundation, the ſupremacy of the Patriarch of Alexandria ſeems to have been acknowledged, for the Emperor Juſtin writes to Aſterius, Biſhop of Alexandria, to incite the King of the Axomites againſt Dupaan; and it was wiſely determined that the chief prieſt, or Aboona, ſhould be a ſtranger appointed by him; thus ſecuring to ſo remote a country, on the death of each Aboona, a renewed ſupply of learning and Chriſtian knowledge, ſuperior at leaſt to what was likely

likely to be found there. In ſubſequent periods, from time to time, many holy men went over from Egypt, who were invariably received with reverence by the inhabitants, particularly nine or ten of great ſanctity, between the year 470 and 480, whoſe memory is ſtill highly reſpected in the province of Tigré, where as many churches were built and called after their names.

The faith which they received with enthuſiaſm, they maintained with firmneſs; for ſo early as the time of Juſtin, about the year 525, when it appears that they were abſolute maſters of the Red Sea, we have a well authenticated account of a formidable army having been ſent over to aſſiſt the Chriſtians in Arabia by Caleb Negus, or Elisbaas, which proved ſucceſsful. It was to this prince that Nonnoſus was ſent as ambaſſador by Juſtin, part of whoſe account is ſtill extant in Photius, and the Adulitic inſcription was alſo copied at this time by Coſmas.

This, and the ſucceeding reign of Guebra Maſkal, or Helleſtheus, who was cotemporary with Juſtinian, and to whom the latter ſent Julianus as ambaſſador, for the purpoſe of awing the Perſians, and gaining a monopoly of the Indian trade, particularly ſilk, form the brighteſt period of the Abyſſinian monarchy, as clearly aſcertained in hiſtory; but I think we may preſume, that it was alſo powerful at the time of the ſecond Adulitic inſcription being erected: to aſcertain the date of this, is therefore of the greateſt importance. But even computing from the time of the Axum inſcription, when Aeizana was ſtyled King of the Homerites and of the Sabæans, it will give us a ſpace of upwards of two centuries for the duration of the ſuperiority of Abyſſinia over Arabia, and conſequently of its command of the Red Sea, although the Arabian authors allow the Abyſſinians to have abſolutely ruled by their viceroys over Arabia Felix for no more than ſeventy-two years. Soon after Helleſtheus, or in the latter part of his reign, their power began to decline in Arabia, owing to the deſertion of their own troops, who became independent ſettlers there, and to the increaſing power of the Perſians, who were gaining in this part a decided ſuperiority, and who ſucceeded at laſt in driving them from the country, though they moleſted the coaſt afterwards by frequent invaſions, and kept up their influence in the Red Sea even to a later period than the time of Mahomet; for we find in Abulfeda, that the King of Abyſſinia gave protection to all the refugees who then fled from Arabia, among whom were ſome of the firſt families in that country, particularly Gafar, the ſon of Abu Taleb, in defiance of all the ſolicitations made to him to give them up.—Afterwards, when the Mahommedan dynaſty became all-powerful in this quarter of the world, though all their Arabian poſſeſſions were taken from them, their commerce and their conſequence annihilated, their country invaded, and even their capital itſelf endangered, yet the Abyſſinians remained firm; and alone, of all the nations of the eaſt, ſucceſsfully continued to defend their faith againſt the ferocious attacks of the ſurrounding Mahommedan ſtates. Yet the

ſtruggle

ſtruggle in which they were engaged was ſevere indeed; and it is almoſt certain that they would ultimately, and even ſhortly, have ſunk under it, had not, almoſt at this laſt extremity, the Portugueſe arrived, after the diſcovery of the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, to their aſſiſtance. This happened in the year of our Lord 1541, when Claudius ſat on the throne, who, as well as his father David, to whom he had juſt ſucceeded, had been for ſome years engaged in a defenſive war againſt Mahomet Gragné, King of Adel, one of the moſt blood-thirſty ſavages hiſtory has recorded. The acceſſion of European troops, as might be expected, ſoon changed the face of affairs; and after many deſperate battles, in which the Portugueſe were chiefly engaged under their brave commander, Diego de Gama, who in enterprize, though not in ſucceſs, almoſt equalled his brother, the Moors were driven back, their king killed, and their armies nearly annihilated; while all hope of reſources from the other coaſt were cut off by the Portugueſe fleet, which then rode triumphantly in the Red Sea.

It has been uſual with many to condemn altogether theſe cruſading expeditions; yet, in this inſtance, the effects reſulting from it were in a high degree beneficial to the empire of Abyſſinia, which was, in fact, completely ſaved, by the mode of warfare then introduced, and by the progreſs in civilization which the natives made under the tuition of the Portugueſe, and to which alone is to be attributed the ſuperiority which they have to this day retained above all the nations around them. This ſuperiority has, however, been kept up only by a continual ſtruggle, which gradually has tended to weaken their power, and render their ſituation every day more and more precarious, ſo as to make it likely that they may not, without aſſiſtance, be able much longer to ſtand out againſt the ſuperior numbers of the Galla.

Much, however, as we may admire the effects reſulting from this expedition of the Portugueſe, we cannot but condemn the bigotry with which their prieſts attempted to force the Roman Catholic religion on the Abyſſinians, which ſucceeded only for a ſhort time, merely from the weakneſs of one of their kings. For they were not content with infringing upon their ancient rites and ceremonies; with altering their faſts, and denying them a participation in the holy ſupper; with burning their altars, and conſecrating new ones; but they were abſurd enough, which more particularly incenſed the people, to treat them all as pagans or idolaters, by inſiſting on their re-baptiſm and the re-ordination of their prieſts; thus unneceſſarily heaping, as their king complains in one of his letters, baptiſm on baptiſm, and prieſthood on prieſthood. To this their patriarch added the folly, not to give it a worſe term, of daring to excommunicate the legitimate ſovereign of the country. Such repeated acts of aggreſſion at length brought on them the merited puniſhment, and the exhauſted patience of the Abyſſinians gave way to a bitter rancour, which burſt forth in the deſtruction of part of the prieſts; in the expulſion of the reſt; and finally, in the excluſion of all ſtrangers

ſtrangers from the country. Yet the gratitude ſtill felt for the ſervices which, as ſoldiers, the Portugueſe had rendered them, induced the Abyſſinians to treat all but the prieſts with kind and continued attention, which cannot be more ſtrongly ſhewn, than by an extract from a letter, written by Baſilides, when he expelled the fathers from the country.

"Lo, our meſſengers have faithfully delivered to us many things that you ſaid, and various reaſons that you urged, when they declared to you our command that you ſhould return to your own country. Firſt, you ſay, 'we did not come of our own accord, but were ſent in conſequence of repeated letters written to invite us.' What! do you ſtill pretend ignorance of the numerous cauſes, though ſo clearly laid before you in our former letter, for which we have obliged you to migrate to your own country? why ſeek you that we ſhould again repeat them? Recollect you not the late fierce diſputes between you and the people of Abyſſinia, nay, which have always exiſted, from the contempt in which they have held your rites, your ceremonies, and your religion; and which have been carried to ſuch a length, that, had not God protected you on high, and the favour of our emperor below, would have prevented your ſtaying, I will not ſay twenty-two years, but even half a year in the country? It is needleſs to deſcribe how many men for this cauſe have been ſacrificed, or how many labours and troubles the late emperor ſuffered in your cauſe, ſince all this muſt be freſh in your memory. But, in truth, the emperor finding that this change of religion could by no means ſtand, himſelf, as he had firſt introduced, ſo he again changed it, returning to the fundamental doctrines of his fathers, which is the rock of the Alexandrian faith; and this he confirmed by his public edicts, ſo that it may not again be altered from generation to generation. What belongs to the faithful account of thoſe brave Portugueſe, whom you have wiſhed to recall to our memory, who, in defence of religion, came into Ethiopia in the time of the emperor Claudius, we perfectly know that they came for a good cauſe, and that in the very year they entered the country, peace flowed in like a river, and one people no longer roſe againſt the other. For they did not teach the doctrine of perſecution, or aſſemble together for the purpoſe of deſtroying the ancient religion handed down by the fathers and apoſtles, nor did they force any one to obſerve other rites than thoſe which were in public uſe, but rather fought in the defence of them, to free their country from the hands of a plunderer and a robber, commanding an army too truly Mahommedan. Theſe men are worthy of every praiſe, and they received their reward from our kings, ſo that they planted their vines, and tilled their lands in a country, where they had received nothing, not even a foot of land, as an inheritance. And whatſoever they have left, it remains to their children, who to this day live among us, upon the bread granted by us, and bequeathed to them by their fathers; nor is there any one who can ſay to them, What do you here? or, what

what buſineſs have you in this country? ſince all know that they came for the public good."

From theſe facts it will appear, that although partial hereſies and gradual corruptions may have crept into the Abyſſinian church, which was the natural conſequence of their peculiar and iſolated ſituation, yet they can juſtly claim the honour, not only of having reſiſted the open and formidable attacks of the Mahommedans, but likewiſe the more inſidious attacks of the Romiſh church; as alſo, in its earlier period, of having reſiſted the Arian ſchiſm, and, like the Coptic Greeks, to whom their church is nearly allied, may ſtill conſider themſelves as adhering to the faith which they firſt received. At the preſent moment, however, the nation, with its religion, is faſt verging to ruin; the Galla and Muſſulman tribes around are daily becoming more powerful; and there is reaſon to fear that, in a ſhort time, the very name of Chriſt may be loſt among them. Some events have lately occurred likely to haſten their fall; namely, the death of their late Aboonâ Marcus, and the failure of their endeavours to procure another from Egypt.—By this, the laſt tie which bound them to the mother country is cut aſunder; diviſions among the prieſts have already enſued; the conſequence of which is, that their moſt holy rites are likely to become objects of deriſion, from the ſlovenly manner in which they are performed, and the ſacred character of the prieſthood to fall into contempt, from the dubious authority by which the prieſts are now ordained to its duties. To this may be added, that the little learning they have among them will ſoon be exhauſted, being cut off entirely from the ſource that ſupplied it.

It appears to me, that theſe circumſtances call for the ſerious conſideration of all Chriſtians; for when ſo much trouble is taken, and ſo much expence incurred, in endeavouring to convert infidels to the faith, might it not be of equal, or more conſequence, to give relief to a nation, already profeſſing generally, the ſame faith with ourſelves, who at ſo very early a period received the Chriſtian religion, cheriſhed and defended it againſt its open and ſecret enemies, and who ſtill maintain it; not pure indeed, but as their eſtabliſhed faith; and to prove that they are a people not unworthy of our care, let us refer to what the Jeſuits have ſaid of them, at a time indeed when they were friends, but which, as Ludolf well obſerves, they never afterwards contradicted. In a letter from Fremona they write thus: "Let it be particularly noted, that although the Abyſſinians have fallen into many and great errors concerning the faith, yet, excepting theſe, it is certain that they ſtill preſerve that excellent diſpoſition, and good natural inclination to all virtue and piety, which, from of old, they have poſſeſſed; and that even now, according to what the Fathers have ſeen, much fewer ſins are found among them, than in many other Chriſtian countries in Europe, where our holy faith remains as yet uncorrupted."—Again: "They give with much willingneſs alms to the poor, and treat ſtrangers with hoſpitality."

The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez alſo thus ſpeaks of them, and his authority

authority is of great weight, conſidering that he retained theſe opinions after his expulſion from the country: "They are wonderfully affected towards divine matters; and have, from the time of the apoſtles, amid the darkneſs of the Gentiles and Mahommedans, kept alive a ſpark of faith and of the Chriſtian name. Above all things they are inclined to reading and knowledge. As to what belongs to their diſpoſition, I can generally ſay, that the more noble and cultivated among them do not yield to Europeans, and that thoſe of the lower order far excel our common people; ſo that there is ſcarcely one among them who can be called ſtupid and fooliſh," &c.

Poncet, whoſe fidelity as a traveller muſt ever rank him high, (p. 242.) bears witneſs to their piety, attention to the duties of their religion, and their ſingular moderation with regard to others differing from them in point of doctrine. In addition to theſe, my own obſervations tend fully to corroborate what I have here quoted. I believe them in general to be poſſeſſed of moſt excellent inclinations, with great quickneſs of underſtanding, and an anxious deſire of improvement; and I am fully perſuaded that there is no part of the world where European influence might be exerted with more beneficial effects than in Abyſſinia.

Cauſes why the Arts are not patronized. From Elements of Art, a Poem, by M. A. Shee, Eſq.

However prophetic the author may have imagined himſelf to be in his poetry, he muſt confeſs, he does not now think that there is ground to be quite ſo ſanguine in his proſe. The more he conſiders the invincible apathy to the intereſts of literature and art, which has through ſo long a period, characterized every fluctuation of our manners, and every change of our adminiſtrations; the more he feels convinced, that the general torpor has continued too long to be ſuddenly removed.

There is alſo, ſome reaſon to fear, that beſides theſe cauſes which in all countries impede the progreſs of pure taſte, there are here, obſtructions to its advancement, which may be conſidered, as peculiar to our political conſtitution and commercial character. The purſuits of politics and commerce, though highly important to our freedom and our wealth, are but little favourable to that refinement which reſults from great ſenſibility of feeling, and high intellectual cultivation. They are ſchools for men of buſineſs, not academies for men of taſte. They ſharpen all our coarſer faculties, but the poliſhed edge of genius is turned and blunted in the rough contact they afford.

Trade and politics, are become mighty gulphs, in which, all minor intereſts are ſwallowed up and loſt. To the buſy votaries of wealth and power, all other purſuits appear to be of no moment: they appreciate every thing, in proportion as it is ſubſervient to the attainment of thoſe great objects, and revere no talents, but thoſe, which will enable you to get a fortune or a place.

Unhappily for the arts and ſciences, the whole population of this great empire, is embarked in theſe two

two comprehenſive occupations. The trade of politics, or the politics of trade, may be ſaid to engroſs all ranks and degrees. There is no man ſo high, or ſo low, as to be removed out of the ſphere of this influence. They occupy all hearts and all heads; uſurp all our faculties and powers: they cling to us in public and in private, ſupply the only objects of our ambition, and the conſtant topics of our converſation. At the tables of the great or the gay, the rich or the poor, you find the ſame ſubjects of diſcuſſion and contention: politics and trade, in anxious alternation: the miniſtry or the money market, the intrigues of an election, or the terms of a loan. "Ab ovo uſque ad mala," even our drawing-rooms are converted into debating ſocieties, and every company ſeems a committee from the commons or the change.

How is the voice of taſte to be heard in this politico commercial din? What Orpheus of the modern lyre can charm to ſilence or attention this Rhodopean rant?

If the degree of eſtimation in which the arts are held, be conſidered the beſt criterion, by which to judge of the refinement of a nation, as well as of the knowledge of an individual, how ſhall we appreciate the character of the age in which we live? In what civilized period of the world have they been leſs generally eſteemed, or leſs liberally rewarded? Without a chance of honour, or a proſpect of competence; without motive or means of exertion, they are allowed to droop in the drudgery of daily expedients for ſupport; to pine over the miſapplication of their powers in hopeleſs inutility, and find neither conſideration with the public, nor protection from the ſtate.

The higher claſſes of ſociety, engroſſed in pleaſure and politics, have no time to attend to the intereſts of taſte; or if a few more liberal and enlightened individuals from amongſt them, ſtep forward in their behalf, they have only the mortification to experience a more convincing proof of the general inſenſibility, in the little which their zeal and their example can effect.

But of all the characters in ſociety, whoſe habits, prejudices, and views, render them callous to the allurements of the arts, the political man of buſineſs (as he is called), appears to be the moſt hoſtile to their intereſts: he wears a buſk not penetrable to the touch of taſte. The creature of routine and detail, while putting a political document through the formalities of office, he fancies himſelf the prop of the ſtate, and the depoſitary of all human wiſdom. With him, the miniſter of the day is the only man of ſenſe, and the borough-monger the only man of conſequence. The compoſition of a ſtate paper, is the higheſt effort of human wit, and the management of a political intrigue, the *ne plus ultra* of human ſagacity.

Occupied in working the coarſer wheels of the ſocial machine, he neither ſees nor comprehends its more delicate movements; and is quite inſenſible to the influence of thoſe remote ſprings and interior agents, which are often the moſt important in their effects, though the leaſt palpable in their operation.

If the commercial man of buſineſs is rarely a man of taſte, he is,

almoſt

almoſt always, a man of liberality: though he may not ſee their utility in its full extent, he is willing to allow the arts a ſhare in the great concern of ſociety; and ſometimes, is pleaſed to be a collector, without pretending to be a connoiſſeur. But the political man of buſineſs is commonly as devoid of ſenſibility as of ſcience. As deficient of generoſity as of genius. His habitual dulneſs is rouſed into wrath at the mention of genius and taſte, and he conſiders all liberality to learning and merit, as a provoking diverſion of thoſe funds, which he would more uſefully and honourably employ in a patriotic profuſion of penſions, ſinecures, and ſubſidies.

This is he, who has been the characteriſtic and the curſe of our government through all its adminiſtrative fluctuations. This is the leach, who ſticks to the vitals of public proſperity, and what he cannot gorge himſelf, takes care ſhall not be given to ſcience or to virtue. This is he, who dams up the ſtream of national munificence, leſt it ſhould flow down and fructify the flinty plains of taſte: who ſees no blemiſh in power; no vice in wealth; and no virtue in poverty; who ſaps the ſpirit of independence, and ſneers down the diffidence of merit: who checks and ſtifles the firſt birth of generous feeling in high characters: who turns aſide the liberality of the ſtateſman, and intercepts the beneficence of the prince *.

From the lower ranks of official inſenſibility, from the cold tribe of ſubſervients, deſk drudges and deputies, the baleful ſpirit of this character, riſing like a noxious vapour, pervades the higher regions of authority, and degrades by its illiberal influence, the nobleſt functions and faculties. What a blank of benevolence, has its operation occaſioned in the annals of the laſt century! What muſt have been its prevalence and its power, when an adminiſtration of twenty years continuance—commanding the energies of a mighty empire, and wielding treaſures unexampled in the hiſtory of national opulence, could have paſſed off, without leaving on record, one public act of liberality or policy, towards the arts, the ſciences, or the literature of their country. Of what other great ſtateſmen—of what other great ſtate can this be ſaid?

"It is the want of rewards," ſays Helvetius, "which occaſions the want of talents of every deſcription." Great men will always come when they are called—when they are ſupplied with the motives and the means—when the occaſion is worthy of the character, and the exertion is rivalled by the remuneration.

But where is the man of genius in the preſent day, who, out of the circles of politics and war, can point to any honourable diſtinction beyond the attainment of the vulgar and vile, and ſay, "Behold what my talents have obtained for me! Where is the poet—the artiſt—the man of ſcience, who ſitting under the ſhade of his vine, and ſurrounded by the bleſſings of affluence, can ſay to aſpiring youth, theſe, my

* The author has met with ſome of theſe modern Goths, who openly avowed their diſregard of the arts; who declared that they knew of no advantage which a nation derived from pictures and ſtatues, and that they would oppoſe the appropriation of any part of the public money to the cultivation of ſuch objects.

grateful

grateful country has beſtowed upon me, as the reward of my labour, and the means of my repoſe."

Where is the "otium cum dignitate" for him who has deſerved well of his country in arts, as well as for him who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in arms? The honourable aſylum of national munificence for the veterans of the eye and the pencil—the invalids of literature and taſte; who in the face of penury and pride, have devoted themſelves to the intereſts of public inſtruction and refinement—to the promotion of learning and virtue! Alas! there is no half-pay for the legions of Apollo; with worn out powers and exhauſted hopes, they are abandoned, like Beliſarius, on the high-way of ſociety, and live, only to lament the infatuation of their youth, and the ingratitude of their country.

But hint in public, or in private, the advantage that would attend a little liberality to this long neglected race—the propriety—the expediency—the neceſſity, of letting a crum fall from the profuſe feaſt of national opulence, to ſatisfy the wants of genius and ſtimulate the failing powers of taſte; the porcupine of public economy is raiſed in an inſtant, he puts forth all his quills to defend the public purſe from encroachment, and prevent the impoveriſhment of the ſtate. Now the grave Catos of the day expatiate on the virtues of miniſterial frugality, on the preſſure of the times, and the burthens of the people! What philoſophical obſervations do we not hear, on the animating ſpur of neceſſity, and the invigorating influence of neglect! But, if a political retainer is to be penſioned, if the avaricious venality of ſome party tool is to be gratified, at an expence that would enrich all the regions of taſte, and rouſe all the genius of the age, we hear no more of the virtues of frugality; economy is ſuddenly in diſgrace, and generoſity is the virtue of a great nation. All voices join in chorus, to the propriety of rewarding liberally the ſervants of the public, and ſupporting the dignity of the ſtate.

What, then! are there no public ſervants but placemen, courtiers and politicians? Are there no public ſervices performed by thoſe who exhauſt their lives in the arduous purſuits of art and ſcience, for the benefit of man, and the honour of their country? Shall we call over the muſter roll of the Muſes, to compare it with the penſion liſt of the day? In the eſtimation of poſterity, how many dull diplomatiſts, ex-clerks and ſub-ſecretaries, would weigh in the ſcale of utility or glory, againſt a Johnſon or a Goldſmith, a Hogarth or a Barry!

Shall every underſtrapper of office, every ſubordinate and ſubſervient of place and authority, wrap himſelf in the ſtipendiary cloak of national liberality, and under the arrogant and ſelf-aſſumed title of a public ſervant, engroſs thoſe funds of honorable remuneration, which all public talent, and all public virtue have a right to ſhare! While the venerable artiſt, who has contributed to the wealth, the pleaſure, and the improvement of ſociety, ſhall ſolicit in vain a miſerable pittance, to ſave the palſied hand of age from the neceſſity of labour, and be driven to accept from the generoſity of ſtrangers that aſylum, which had been refuſed

fuſed to him in the country that he had adorned by his taſte, and enriched by his induſtry *. While the venerable bard, who has maintained the cauſe of literature and morality, whoſe genius, for half a century, has miniſtered to the inſtruction and amuſement of the public; whoſe liberal pen has oppoſed every unfeeling prejudice, encouraged every generous ſentiment, and ſtrengthened every patriotic virtue, ſhall remain unregarded—unrewarded in the general prodigality of the day, and find the evening of an honourable and laborious life gloomed perhaps by embarraſſment, and embittered by neglect.

Are theſe the excitements which a generous and judicious policy would hold out to the aſpiring ability of the time? Is this the courſe of ſtimulants and provocatives, which ſtate phyſicians preſcribe, as the moſt invigorating regimen of genius? Or are the Muſes and the Graces of ſociety, marked out as the firſt victims to the new theory of population, and left to die off, for the convenience of trade, and to give elbow-room to politicians and philoſophers? The "preventive check" has indeed been ſo much reſorted to in critical economy, that it is ſurpriſing there ſhould be an overplus population on the ſide of theſe diſcouraging caſts; but the additional efficacy of neglect, inſenſibility, and expoſure, will ſoon reduce this Parnaſſian fecundity within the deſired limits of civil ſuſtenance, and ſocial accommodation.

Letters from Burns to his Friends. From Reliques of Robert Burns; collected and publiſhed by R. H. Cromek.

To Mr. W. Nicol.

Mauchline, June 18, 1787.

My dear Friend,

I am now arrived ſafe in my native country, after a very agreeable jaunt, and have the pleaſure to find all my friends well. I breakfaſted with your grey-headed, reverend friend, Mr. Smith; and was highly pleaſed, both with the cordial welcome he gave me, and his moſt excellent appearance and ſterling good ſenſe.

I have been with Mr. Miller at Dalſwinton, and am to meet him again in Auguſt. From my view of the lands, and his reception of my bardſhip, my hopes in that buſineſs are rather mended; but ſtill they are but ſlender.

I am quite charmed with Dumfries folks. Mr. Burnſide, the clergyman, in particular, is a man whom I ſhall ever gratefully remember; and his wife; Gude forgie me, I had almoſt broke the tenth commandment on her account. Simplicity, elegance, good ſenſe, ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, good humour, kind hoſpitality, are the conſtituents of her manner and heart; in ſhort—but if I ſay one word more about her, I ſhall be directly in love with her.

* Bartolozzi, at the advanced age of eighty-two, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters that ever adorned the annals of art in any country, could not, (it is ſaid) even through the interceſſion of his friends, obtain from our patriotic parſimony, a ſmall penſion, which the government of Portugal (a nation that never derived any advantage from his talents) out of reſpect to his genius had the liberality to beſtow upon him.

I never, my friend, thought mankind very capable of any thing generous; but the ſtatelineſs of the Patricians in Edinburgh, and the ſervility of my plebeian brethren, (who perhaps formerly eyed me aſkance,) ſince I returned home, have nearly put me out of conceit altogether with my ſpecies. I have bought a pocket Milton, which I carry perpetually about me, in order to ſtudy the ſentiments—the dauntleſs magnanimity; the intrepid, unyielding independence, the deſperate daring, and noble defiance of hardſhip, in that great perſonage, Satan *. 'Tis true, I have juſt now a little caſh; but I am afraid the ſtar that has hitherto ſhed its malignant, purpoſe-blaſting rays full in my zenith; that noxious planet ſo baneful in its influence to the rhyming tribe, I much dread it is not yet beneath my horizon. Misfortune dodges the path of human life; the poetic mind finds itſelf miſerably deranged in, and unfit for the walks of buſineſs; add to all, that, thoughtleſs follies and hare-brained whims like ſo many *ignes fatui*, eternally diverging from the right line of ſober diſcretion, ſparkle with ſtep bewitching blaze in the idly-gazing eyes of the poor heedleſs Bard, till, pop "he falls like Lucifer, never to hope again." God grant this may be an unreal picture with reſpect to me! but ſhould it not, I have very little dependence on mankind. I will cloſe my letter with this tribute my heart bids me pay you—the many ties of acquaintance and friendſhip which I have, or think I have in life, I have felt along the lines and, d—n them! they are almoſt all of them of ſuch frail contexture, that I am ſure they would not ſtand the breath of the leaſt adverſe breeze of fortune; but from you, my ever dear Sir, I look with confidence for the apoſtolic love that ſhall wait on me "through good report and bad report"—the love which Solomon emphatically ſays, "Is ſtrong as death." My compliments to Mrs. Nicol, and all the circle of our common friends.

To Miſs Chalmers.

Edinburgh, Dec. 19, 1787.

I begin this letter in anſwer to yours of the 17th current, which is not yet cold ſince I read it. The atmoſphere of my ſoul is vaſtly clearer than when I wrote you laſt. For the firſt time, yeſterday I croſſed the room on crutches. It would do your heart good to ſee my bardſhip, not on my *poetic*, but on my *oaken* ſtilts; throwing my beſt leg with an air! and with as much hilarity in my gait and countenance, as a May frog leaping acroſs the newly-harrowed ridge, enjoying the fragrance of the refreſhed earth after the long expected ſhower!

* * * * *

I can't ſay I am altogether at my eaſe when I ſee any where in my path, that meagre, ſqualid, famine-faced ſpectre poverty; attended as he always is, by iron fiſted

* In one of his fragments, Burns, apparently referring to this paſſage, ſays "My favourite feature in Milton's Satan is, his manly fortitude in ſupporting what cannot be remedied—in ſhort, the wild, broken fragments of a noble, exalted mind in ruins: I meant no more by ſaying, he was a favourite hero of mine."

oppreſſion,

oppreſſion, and leering contempt; but I have ſturdily withſtood his buffetings many a hard-laboured day already, and ſtill my motto is —I DARE! My worſt enemy is *Moi-même*. I lie ſo miſerably open to the inroads and incurſions of a miſchievous, light-armed, well-mounted banditti, under the banners of imagination, whim, caprice, and paſſion; and the heavy armed regulars of wiſdom, prudence, and forethought, move ſo very, very ſlow, that I am almoſt in a ſtate of perpetual warfare, and alas! frequent defeat. There are juſt two creatures that I would envy, a horſe in his wild ſtate traverſing the foreſts of Aſia, or an oyſter on ſome of the deſert ſhores of Europe. The one has not a wiſh without enjoyment, the other has neither wiſh nor fear.

To the ſame.

No date.

Now for that wayward, unfortunate thing, myſelf, I have broke meaſures with ***, and laſt week I wrote him a froſty, keen letter. He replied in terms of chaſtiſement, and promiſed me upon his honour that I ſhould have the account on Monday; but this is Tueſday, and yet I have not heard a word from him. God have mercy on me! a poor d—m—ed, incautious, duped, unfortunate fool! The ſport, the miſerable victim, of rebellious pride, hypochondriac imagination, agonizing ſenſibility, and bedlam paſſions!

"I wiſh that I were dead, but I'm no like to die!" I had lately "a hair breadth ſcape in the imminent deadly breach" of love too. Thank my ſtars I got off heart-whole, "waur fleyd than hurt." *Interruption.*

* * * * *

I have this moment got a hint ****** I fear I am ſomething like undone—but I hope for the beſt. Come, ſtubborn pride and unſhrinking reſolution! accompany me through this, to me, miſerable world! You muſt not deſert me! Your friendſhip I think I can count on, though I ſhould date my letters from a marching regiment. Early in life, and all my life, I reckoned on a recruiting drum as my forlorn hope. Seriouſly though, life at preſent preſents me with but a melancholy path: but my limbs will ſoon be ſound, and I ſhall ſtruggle on.

To Mr. Robert Ainſlie.

Elliſland, June 14, 1788.

This is now the third day, my deareſt Sir, that I have ſojourned in theſe regions; and during theſe three days you have occupied more of my thoughts than in three weeks preceding: In Ayrſhire I have ſeveral *variations* of friendſhip's compaſs, here it points invariably to the pole.—My farm gives me a good many uncouth cares and anxieties, but I hate the language of complaint. Job, or ſome one of his friends, ſays well, "Why ſhould a living man complain."

I have lately been much mortified with contemplating an unlucky imperfection in the very framing and conſtruction of my ſoul; namely, a blundering inaccuracy of her olfactory organs in hitting the ſcent of craft or deſign in my fellow-creatures. I do not mean any compliment to my ingenuouſneſs, or to hint that the de-

fect is in conſequence of the unſuſpicious ſimplicity of conſcious truth and honour: I take it to be, in ſome way or other, an imperfection in the mental ſight; or, metaphor apart, ſome modification of dulneſs. In two or three ſmall inſtances lately, I have been moſt ſhamefully out.

I have all along, hitherto, in the warfare of life, been bred to arms among the light horſe—the piquet guards of fancy; a kind of huſſars and highlanders of the *brain;* but I am firmly reſolved to *ſell out* of theſe giddy battalions, who have no ideas of a battle but fighting the foe, or of a ſiege but ſtorming the town. Coſt what it will I am determined to buy in among the grave ſquadrons of heavy-armed thought, or the artillery corps of plodding contrivance.

What books are you reading, or what is the ſubject of your thoughts, beſides the great ſtudies of your profeſſion? You ſaid ſomething about Religion in your laſt. I don't exactly remember what it was, as the letters are in Ayrſhire, but I thought it not only prettily ſaid, but nobly thought. You will make a noble fellow if once you were married. I make no reſervation of your being *well* married: You have ſo much ſenſe, and knowledge of human nature, that though you may not realize perhaps the ideas of romance, yet you will never be *ill-married.*

Were it not for the terrors of my tickliſh ſituation reſpecting proviſion for a family of children, I am decidedly of opinion that the ſtep I have taken is vaſtly for my happineſs. As it is, I look to the exciſe ſcheme as a certainty of maintenance; a maintenance; luxury to what either Mrs. Burns or I were born to.—Adieu.

To Miſs Chalmers.

Elliſland, near Dumfries, Sep. 16, 1788.

Where are you? and how are you? and is Lady M'Kenzie recovering her health? for I have had but one ſolitary letter from you. I will not think you have forgot me, Madam; and for my part—

"When thee Jeruſalem I forget,
Skill part from my right hand!"

"My heart is not of that rock, nor my ſoul careleſs as that ſea." I do not make my progreſs among mankind as a bowl does among its fellows—rolling through the crowd without bearing any mark or impreſſion, except where they hit in hoſtile colliſion.

I am here, driven in with my honeſt folks by bad weather; and as you and your ſiſter once did me the honour of intereſting yourſelves much *a l'egard de moi,* I ſit down to beg the continuation of your goodneſs—I can truly ſay that, all the exterior of life apart, I never ſaw two, whoſe eſteem flattered the nobler feelings of my ſoul—I will not ſay more, but, ſo much as Lady M'Kenzie and Miſs Chalmers. When I think of you—hearts the beſt, minds the nobleſt, of human kind—unfortunate, even in the ſhades of life—when I think I have met with you, and have lived more of real life with you in eight days, than I can do with almoſt any body I meet with in eight years,—when I think on the improbability of meeting you in this world again,—

I could

I could ſit down and cry like a child! If ever you honoured me with a place in your eſteem, I truſt I can now plead more deſert —I am ſecure againſt that cruſhing grip of iron poverty, which, alas! is leſs or more fatal to the native purity of, I fear, the nobleſt ſouls; and a late important ſtep in my life has kindly taken me out of the way of thoſe ungrateful iniquities, which, however overlooked in faſhionable licence, or varniſhed in faſhionable phraſe, are indeed but lighter and deeper ſhades of villainy.

Shortly after my return to Ayrſhire, I married "my Jean." This was not in conſequence of the attachment of romance perhaps; but I had a long and much-loved fellow creature's happineſs or miſery in my determination, and I durſt not trifle with ſo important a depoſit. Nor have I any cauſe to repent it. If I have not got polite tattle, modiſh manners, and faſhionable dreſs, I am not ſickened and diſguſted with the multiform curſe of boarding ſchool affectation; and I have got the handſomeſt figure, the ſweeteſt temper, the ſoundeſt conſtitution, and the kindeſt heart in the country. Mrs. Burns believes, as firmly as her creed, that I am *le plus bel eſprit, et le plus honnete homme* in the univerſe; although ſhe ſcarcely ever in her life, except the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and the Pſalms of David in metre, ſpent five minutes together on either proſe or verſe.—I muſt alſo except from this laſt, a certain late publication of Scots' Poems, which ſhe has peruſed very devoutly; and all the ballads in the country, as ſhe has (O the partial lover! you will cry) the fineſt "wood note wild" I ever heard.—I am the more particular in this lady's character, as I know ſhe will henceforth have the honour of a ſhare in your beſt wiſhes. She is ſtill at Mauchline, as I am building my houſe; for this hovel that I ſhelter in, while occaſionally here, is pervious to every blaſt that blows, and every ſhower that falls; and I am only preſerved from being chilled to death, by being ſuffocated with ſmoke. I do not find my farm that pennyworth I was taught to expect, but I believe, in time, it may be a ſaving bargain. You will be pleaſed to hear that I have laid aſide idle *eclat*, and bind every day after my reapers.

To ſave me from that horrid ſituation of at any time going down, in a loſing bargain of a farm, to miſery, I have taken my exciſe inſtructions, and have my commiſſion in my pocket for any emergency of fortune. If I could ſet *all* before your view, whatever diſreſpect you, in common with the world, have for this buſineſs, I know you would approve of my idea.

I will make no apology, dear Madam, for this egotiſtic detail: I know you and your ſiſter will be intereſted in every circumſtance of it. What ſignify the ſilly, idle gewgaws of wealth, or the ideal trumpery of greatneſs! When fellow partakers of the ſame nature fear the ſame God, have the ſame benevolence of heart, the ſame nobleneſs of ſoul, the ſame deteſtation at every thing diſhoneſt, and the ſame ſcorn at every thing unworthy —if they are not in the dependance of abſolute beggary, in the name of common ſenſe are they not equals? And if the bias, the inſtinctive

ſtinctive bias of their ſouls run the ſame way, why may they not be friends?

When I may have an opportunity of ſending you this, Heaven only knows. Shenſtone ſays, "When one is confined idle within doors by bad weather, the beſt antidote againſt *ennui* is, to read the letters of, or write to, one's friends;" in that caſe then, if the weather continues thus, I may ſcrawl you half a quire.

I very lately, to wit, ſince harveſt began, wrote a poem, not in imitation, but in the manner of Pope's Moral Epiſtles. It is only a ſhorteſſay, juſt to try the ſtrength of my Muſe's pinion in that way. I will ſend you a copy of it, when once I have heard from you. I have likewiſe been laying the foundation of pretty large poetic works; how the ſuperſtructure will come on, I leave to that great marrer and warner of projects—Time. Johnſon's collection of Scot's ſongs is going on the third volume; and of conſequence finds me a conſumpt for a great deal of idle metre.—One of the moſt tolerable things I have done in that way, is, two ſtanzas that I made to an air, a muſical gentleman of my acquaintance, compoſed for the anniverſary of his wedding-day, which happens on the ſeventh of November. Take it as follows:

The day returns—my boſom burns,
The bliſsful day we twa did meet, &c.
Dr. Currie's Ed. Vol. III. P. 289.

I ſhall give over this letter for ſhame. If I ſhould be ſeized with a ſcribbling fit, before this goes away, I ſhall make it another letter; and then you may allow your patience a week's reſpite between the two. I have not room for more than the old, kind, hearty, Farewel!

Letters from Mrs. Montague *(then Miſs* Robinſon*) to her Friends. From the Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth* Montague. *Part* 1. *Publiſhed by M.* Montague, *Eſq.*

To the Ducheſs of Portland.

Dec. 17. 1738*.

Madam,

Your Grace's moſt welcome, and very circumſtantial letter, ought to have been acknowledged long ago, but the ſurpriſing and entertaining incidents ſo frequent at Bulſtrode, are ſo ſcarce at Mount Morris, that it is hardly poſſible to amaſs a parcel of circumſtances together. Here we ſleep with our forefathers, and all acts which we do, which are to eat, drink, ſleep, and die, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles! As a want of buſineſs at home gives one great leiſure to look after other people's, I muſt take the liberty to adviſe what is to be done in the caſes you mention.

I heard a ridiculous ſtory a few days ago: Mr. Page, brother to Sir Gregory, going to viſit Mr. Edward Walpole, a tame goat which was in the ſtreet followed him unperceived when he got out of the coach, into the houſe; Mr. Walpole's ſervant thinking the goat came out of Mr. Page's coach, carried them into the room to Mr. Walpole, who thought it a little odd that Mr. Page ſhould bring

* Miſs Robinſon was then Eighteen.

ſuch

ſuch a viſitor, as Mr. Page no leſs admired his choice of ſo ſavoury a companion; but civility, a great diſguiſer of ſentiments, prevented them declaring their opinions; and the goat, no reſpecter of perſons or furniture, began to rub himſelf againſt the frame of a chair which was covered and gilt, and the chair, which was fit for a Chriſtian, but unable to bear the ſhock of the goat, fell almoſt to pieces. Mr. Walpole thought Mr. Page very indulgent to his dear crony goat, and wondering he took no notice of the damage, ſaid, he fancied that tame goats did a great deal of harm, to which the other ſaid he believed ſo too; at laſt, after much free eaſy behaviour of the goat, to the great detriment of the furniture, they came to an explanation, and Mr. Goat was turned down ſtairs with little ceremony or good manners.

I do not know whether your Grace has heard that Lord Caſtlemain and Mr. Child took their horſes, and went, out of a frolic, and robbed a taylor, who had juſt received a large ſum of money of Lord Tylney, and the taylor returning directly to my Lord T— to tell his ſad ſtory to the ſervants, ſaw my Lord Caſtlemain ride into the yard; and ſaid, not knowing his Lordſhip, that he was the man who robbed him. The ſervants, who were not privy to the frolic, laughed much at the taylor, who perſiſted in the ſtory; and Mr. Child, while they were in this diſpute, likewiſe came in, and the taylor ſaid that was the other highwayman, and grew very clamorous. Lord Tylney enquired what noiſe he heard, which ſet the young gentlemen laughing ſo much that he inſiſted upon their acquainting him with the ſtory; and they thinking they had carried it on far enough, told him the ſtory, ſending, as they intended, the money to the taylor, after having ſufficiently frightened him. But the taylor, who recovered his ſpirits with his money, inſiſted upon 50*l.* as a recompence for ſilence upon a ſubject that did not do much honour to the adventurers. I muſt ſay I was much ſurpriſed to hear Lord Caſtlemain was concerned in ſo manly an exploit; he ſmells ſo ſweet, and talks ſo like a waiting gentlewoman, I ſhould never have ſuſpected him to be able to put even a taylor in fear of his life.

Lady T—— has ſet an aſſembly on foot about eight miles from hence, where we all meet at the full moon and dance till twelve o'clock, and then take an agreeable journey home. Our aſſembly, in full glory, has ten coaches at it; and Lady H— to make up a number, is pleaſed, in her humility, to call in all the parſons, apprentices, tradeſmen, apothecaries, and farmers, milliners, mantua-makers, haberdaſhers of ſmall wares, and chambermaids. It is the oddeſt mixture you can imagine; here ſails a reverend parſon, there ſkips an airy apprentice, here jumps a farmer; and then every one has an eye to their trade; the milliner pulls you by the hand till ſhe tears your glove; the mantua-maker treads upon your petticoat till ſhe unrips the ſeams; the ſhoemaker makes you foot it, till you wear out your ſhoes; the mercer dirties your gown; the apothecary opens the window behind that you may be ſick; and the parſon calls out

for Joan Saunderſon. Moſt of our neighbours will be in town by the next moon, ſo we ſhall have no more balls this winter. In town the ladies talk of their ſtars, but here

If weak women go aſtray
The moon is more in fault than they.

Will o'wiſp never led the bewildered traveller over hedge and ditch as a moon does us country gentlefolks; a ſqueaking fiddle is an occaſion, and a moonlight night an opportunity to go ten miles in bad roads any time. I muſt tell your Grace that my papa forgets twenty years and nine children, and dances as nimbly as any of the quorum; but is now and then mortified by hearing the ladies cry, "old Mr. Robinſon! Hay ſides and turn your daughter;" other ladies who have a mind to appear young, ſay "well! there is my poor grand papa, he could no more dance ſo!" Then comes an old bachelor of fifty, and ſhakes him by the hand, and cries, "why, you dance like one of us young fellows;" another, more injudicious than the reſt, ſays by way of compliment, "who would think you had ſix fine children taller than yourſelf? I proteſt, if I did not know you, I ſhould take you to be young;" then ſays the moſt antiquated virgin of the company, "Mr. Robinſon wears mighty well; my mother ſays he looks as well as ever ſhe remembers him; he uſed to come often to the houſe when I was a girl." You may ſuppoſe he has not the hyp at theſe balls; but indeed it is a diſtemper ſo well bred as never to come but when people are at home and at leiſure; I think I have the pleaſure of obſerving his health to mend every day, and I am of opinion with the ſpinſter's mother, that he never looked better.

I have not heard any thing of Lady A — ſince her wedding; Sir Robert had an apoplectic fit at Sir Philip B——'s a little before they married; Sir Philip is ſo fond of him and his lady, that it is thought he will leave him ſome part of his eſtate, which is very conſiderable. I don't know from whence the friendſhip ariſes; there may indeed be a ſympathy in the ſouls of Sir Philip and Sir Robert, but there was never leſs reſemblance of body. Sir Robert Auſtin's ſhadow, by moonlight, would make a dozen of the other. The apothecary in Caius Marcius is a corpulent man, in compariſon of him. I cannot deſcribe him to your Grace, a ſhadow is too material, and a ſkeleton too fat.— Charon will not aſk half his fare to waft him over Styx, for he will take up no room in the boat; Pluto will make him his prime miniſter, and Proſerpine will take him for her huſband's relation. He is really the grim king of the ghoſts; he will be preſident of the court of death. His wife and he are literally one fleſh, for ſhe has all the fleſh herſelf. But why ſhould the fat and lean equally torment your Grace? I know if I was to undertake to deſcribe her, I could never bring her circumference within my ſheet of paper. For once, ſhe ſhall come into a narrow compaſs, for I think now compaſſion is due to you, and I will, for your ſake, let Lady B—— grow a little fatter. It is two o'clock; I ſat up after every body

was

was gone to bed on purpoſe to write you this letter. "Sleepleſs myſelf, to give my readers ſleep." I aſſure your Grace it is no ſmall pleaſure to me to think that you may get as good a nap by my letter as I have loſt by it. I beg my compliments to his Grace. I could deſcribe Lady B—— in much leſs compaſs than I could tell you how much I am your Grace's obedient ſervant,

ELIZ. ROBINSON.

To the ſame.

Mount Morris, 1738.

Madam,

Your Grace's lively deſcription of the pleaſures of the Town made me rejoice that one ſo ſenſible and deſerving of its diverſions ſhould have ſo large a ſhare of them. But I envy and grudge the opportunities to thoſe drowſy mortals who can ſleep on a ridotto night, nod in their chimney on the firſt night of a new play, and never dream of drawing rooms, &c. They ſhould live at Mount Morris. You ſay you ſuppoſe I have no ſpirits left, but, alas! that is not the caſe; I have much prate, which is of no uſe but to talk to the echo, a nymph of no invention or reply, and though never ſilent in my company, never diverting. Were things as in Eſop's days, when beaſts could talk, the country might be a place of converſation; a jay might flutter about like a beau, a nightingale ſing an opera ſong, a calf talk like a ſquire's eldeſt ſon, a ſtately ox be as grave a companion as the chairman of the bench of juſtices, a bull roar like a patriot ſenator, a ſheep whine like a lover, and dame Partlet be as polite in converſation as a notable houſewife, Jowler bark ſcandal, Finder hunt out ſecret hiſtory, and a greyhound run down a weak reputation. But if theſe metamorphoſes cannot be compaſſed, it is very common to ſee the reverſe of my ſcheme; though I never ſaw a calf a direct young ſquire, I have ſeen many a heir apparent a very calf, and ſo of the reſt. Pray, Madam, if you meet with any of my animals upon two legs, adviſe them to take to all fours and people woods, not crowd cities. They had better live in the country where they are reſpected, than in town where they are laughed at; and I obſerve here nobody laughs at what they ſay but themſelves. I have heard a definition of man, that he is a riſible animal, and ſuppoſe therefore theſe ſort of gentlemen laugh only to prove they are of the honourable ſpecies; for it would be barbarous to imagine they laughed all their lives without a reaſon, as without a jeſt. I aſſure you nothing but deafneſs can make my father forget London, for I take care to make honourable mention of that noble city once a day at leaſt; but my unwearied diligence in aſking queſtions, cannot yet bring me to the knowledge of the time fixed for our departure, but it will be in March; I ſhall conjure him to come up by the ſecond ridotto; one of thoſe charming aſſemblies is too much to loſe. I hope your Grace will have leiſure to beſtow on your humble ſervant, while ſhe is in town, that I may have the ſatisfaction of enjoying the moſt agreeable company in the pleaſanteſt place. You are very good to ſay you will

will write to me. I hope the young marquis, and the little ladies are well. My beſt reſpects attend my Lord Duke. My papa, and mama, and ſiſter, beg their compliments.

I am, Madam,

&c. &c.

ELIZ. ROBINSON.

To the ſame.

Wedneſday Night, April 8, 1741.

Madam,

I cannot loſe the opportunity which juſt offers to me to ſend a letter to the poſt, though I troubled your Grace but yeſterday. My ſiſter continues as well as it is poſſible to be, and has found out her diſorder, with which ſhe is perfectly content, and ſends me very merry meſſages upon it: they are of the ſeven days ſort, ſo will turn on Sunday; and on Monday, when it is over, I ſhall poſſeſs my ſoul in quietneſs. I am afraid this hurry of ſpirits, and fatigue, will not prove of ſervice to my mama, and if the dire hyp does haunt a ſolitary chimney corner, ſure it will viſit my papa, now it is ſure to find him at home and alone. For my part I am in the caſe of poor David, my friends and kinsfolk ſtand afar off; and when I am to return home I don't know. That the diſtemper may not continue, my papa has ſent away, (for the time) half a dozen ſervants who have not had it, and ſays he hopes to have me back again very ſoon; but indeed I hope to prevail on him to try how the air of Mount Morris agrees with his ſervants before I return. I live here very eaſy, and have as much time as I pleaſe; and I have got books, and all the neceſſaries and comforts, though not the pomps and pleaſures of life. The family are civil and ſenſible people. As to the maſter of the houſe, he is indeed to a tittle, Spenſer's meagre perſonage called Care; his chief accompliſhment, as to behaviour, is ſilence. I never ſee him but at dinner and ſupper, and then he eats his pudding and holds his tongue. I believe his learning amounts to knowing that four pennies make a groat, and the ſooner that groat becomes ſixpence, he thinks, the better. To give your Grace a notion of my way of life, I muſt inform you of the ſort of perſons who compoſe the drama, and their rank of life. They are above farmers conſiderably, have been poſſeſſed in the family, for aught I know, ſince William the Conqueror, of about four hundred pound a year; they have a good old houſe neatly furniſhed; but there is nothing of modern ſtructure to be ſeen in it. I am now ſitting in an old crimſon velvet elbow chair I ſhould imagine to be elder brother to that which is ſhewn in Weſtminſter Abbey as Edward the Confeſſor's. There are long tables in the room that have more feet than the caterpillar you immured at Bulſtrode. Why ſo many legs are needful to ſtand ſtill, I cannot imagine, when I can fidget upon two. My toilette, I fancy, was worked by one of Queen Maud's maids of honour. Here is a goodly cheſt of drawers in the figure of a cathedral, and a looking glaſs, which Roſamond or Jane Shore may have dreſſed their heads in. All things are very neat and clean, though not quite young or handſome.

ſome. Amongſt the old furniture, not to forget the clock, who has indeed been a time ſerver; it has ſtruck the bleſſed minutes of the Reformation, Reſtoration, Abdication, Revolution, and Acceſſion, and by its relation to time ſeems too to have ſome to eternity. It is like its old maſter, only good to point the hour to induſtry, to wake the ſlothful ſoul to labour, to mark the time by voice, though not by action; it is the miniſter of old care; it calls his ſervant to yoke the oxen, to get ready the plough, wakes the dairy-maid to milk and churn: the daughters hear in it the paternal voice chiding the waſte of hours, and riſe obedient to its early call; even me it governs, ſends me to bed at ten, and makes me riſe, oh barbarous! at eight. I go to bed awake, and ariſe aſleep; but I have ever held conformity one of the beſt arts of life, and though I might choſe my own hours, I think it proper to follow theirs. If age be honourable, why ſhould I neglect the vane of antique ſtructure, which ſhook in the wind that blew the Danes to Britain; turned with the blaſt that ſent our hero Richard to the holy wars, and then ſtood fair for France with Edward, moved with the glorious gale that brought a conquered king from France with our young victor the Black Prince; it pointed out the hour for gallant Henry to attempt a kingdom greater than his own; it obeyed the wind that brought over the chaſtiſer of wicked Richard; then turned full to the happy wind that ſcattered the Armada, and moved as readily to the fair gale that wafted over our glorious William: but of late days it has ſeldom ſtirred; tired of bringing terror to nothing but a timorous valetudinarian, or informing the ſpleen when the wind is in the eaſt, and loath to have the idleneſs of ſome admiral imputed to its advice, it moves no more; but ſeems indeed to be founded on ſteady and fixed principles, and I believe will turn no more, except it be for Vernon. What will your Grace ſay to this inventory? I am aſhamed, but I obſerve people are apt to converſe like the company they keep; and really I ſee hardly any thing but this poor vane planted on an aged oak juſt over againſt my window, and I hear nothing but the clock telling me how I kill time, while I unhappily reflect the ſad revenge it will take upon me; therefore, what can I repeat but what I learn? I am ſpinning out a happy hour; ſuch I account it when I write to you, and really I have not the art of abbreviation. However, to follow the order of Providence in my ſtory, I will begin with the mother of the family, a venerable matron of grave deportment, who was well educated, and moves in the form of antique ceremonies, but is really a ſenſible woman: the daughters are very good houſewives, and I like ſome other qualities in them, which I underſtand better than their economy. I only wiſh they could ſleep in their beds in the morning, and wake in a chair in the evening; the youngeſt is very converſable, and the eldeſt, for mature deliberation, I really believe incomparable; but as I rather want converſation than advice, ſhe is not ſo agreeable to

me as her ſiſter; but conſidering how well the youngeſt and I love talking, it is very happy the other does not, or we might want an audience which ſhe gives us at any time. I have brought the gold bag and baſket;* my tooth-pick caſe, and the egg, and we converſe every day, and indeed they are very good company. Reading over to day the firſt letter I had from your Grace, I ſee you are under apprehenſions of being in my debt, I wiſh I could recollect one circumſtance of my life by which you might be ſo; but really I am ſure you are miſtaken. My dear Lady Ducheſs, for how much happineſs am I indebted to you! for how many favours! But in anſwer to them I muſt ſay, with the poor but paſſionate lover, who pays their worth muſt pay in love, and in that form, my ineſtimable friend, I pay the greateſt tribute. It is impoſſible to be more than I am your Grace's faithful, grateful, and affectionate ſervant,

E. Robinson.

* Preſents from the Ducheſs.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *to the* NEW YEAR, 1809.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Poet Laureat.*

FULL orb'd in equinoctial ſkies,
When the pale moon malignant rides,
And bids the howling tempeſt riſe,
And ſwells the ocean's briny tides,
Dreadful againſt the ſounding ſhore,
The winds and waves tumultuous roar,
The torrent-braving mound in vain
The ſtormy inroad would reſtrain,
The ſurges with reſiſtleſs ſway
Force o'er the labour'd mole their way,
Scorn every weak reſource of human toil,
O'erwhelm the peopled town, and waſte the cultur'd ſoil.

But when, by native fences barr'd
From billowy rage, the happier land,
And rocky cliffs for ever ſtand
To the wide water'd coaſt a guard,
Such as on Vecta's ſouthern ſteep,
Look down defiance on the raging deep,
Such as on Dover's breezy down,
On Gallia's hoſtile borders frown,
Though billows urging billows roar,
And idly beat againſt the ſhore,
While from the heights ſublime the ſwain
Mocks the vain efforts of the foaming main,
Till Nature bids the deluged ſurge ſubſide,
Huſh'd is the tempeſt's voice, and refluent rolls the tide.

So o'er Europa's ravaged plain,
We ſaw the torrent of wild war
Reſiſtleſs ſpread its iron reign,
And ſcatter ruin wide and far;
The embattled wall, the warlike band,
Vainly the Tyrant's courſe withſtand;

Before

Before the impious ſons of Gaul
The legions fly, the bulwarks fall;
Yet Britain's floating caſtles ſweep
Invaſion from her ſubject deep,
Yet by her rocks ſecure from harm,
Securer by her patriot arm,
Iberia turns the battle's tide,
Reſiſts the injurious Tyrant's pride,
While freely floating in the ambient ſky,
Sacred to Freedom's cauſe, their mingled enſigns fly.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY'S *Birth-Day.*

By the ſame.

WHILE Europe with dejected eye
Beholds around her rural reign,
Whilom of Peace the fair domain,
The ſcene of deſolation lie;
Or if with trembling hope ſhe caſt
Her look on hours of glory paſt,
And burn again with virtuous fame,
Her ancient honours to reclaim,
And brace the corſlet on her breaſt,
And graſp the ſpear, and wave the creſt;
Yet lies her courſe through war's enſanguined flood;
Yet muſt ſhe win her way thro' carnage and thro' blood.

Ah! happier Britain, o'er thy plain
Still ſmiling Peace and Freedom reign;
And while thy ſons with pitying eye,
Behold the fields of ruin round them lie;
The ſtorms that ſhake each neighbour realm with fear,
Like diſtant thunder roll upon the ear:
They bleſs the halcyon hour that gave
To rule a people free and brave,
A patriot monarch all their own,
Their ſwords his bulwark, and their hearts his throne.
And while to this auſpicious day
The Muſe devotes her tributary lay,
A nation's vows in choral Pæan join
And conſecrate to Fame a "verſe as mean as mine."

Yet not to ſelfiſh thoughts confin'd
Are the warm feelings of a virtuous mind;
The royal Patriot, while he views
Peace o'er his realms her bliſs diffuſe,
Mourns for the ſorrows that afflict mankind.

Go

Go forth, my ſons, he cries; my Britons, go,
And reſcue Europe from her ruthleſs foe.
Behold in arms Auſtria's imperial Lord;
Behold Iberia draw the avenging ſword;
O let with their's your mingled enſigns fly,
In the great cauſe of injur'd Liberty!
Go forth, my ſons, and to the world declare,
When ſuffering Freedom calls, Britannia's arms are there.

The VALENTINE WREATH. *By* Mr. Montgomery.

From the Poetical Regiſter, Vol. VII.

Roſy red the hills appear
With the light of morning,
Beauteous clouds, in ether clear,
All the Eaſt adorning;
White thro' miſt the meadows ſhine;
Wake, my Love! my Valentine!

For thy locks of raven hue,
Flowers with hoar froſt pearly,
Crocus-cups of gold and blue,
Snow-drops drooping early,
With Mezereon ſprigs combine:
Riſe, my Love! my Valentine!

O'er the margin of the flood,
Pluck the daiſy peeping;
Thro' the covert of the wood
Hunt the ſorrel creeping;
With the little Celandine,
Crown my Love! my Valentine!

Panſies, on their lowly ſtems,
Scatter'd o'er the fallows;
Hazel-buds, with crimſon gems,
Green and gloſſy ſallows,
Tufted moſs and ivy-twine,
Deck my Love! my Valentine!

Few and ſimple flowerets theſe!
Yet to me leſs glorious
Garden-buds and orchard trees!
Since this wreath victorious
Binds you now for ever mine,
O my Love! my Valentine!

The

The Firm Reſolution. By Mr. Davenport. From the ſame.

YES! you may ſigh, and pout, and fret!
Vain are your efforts to ſecure me;
For ſince, at laſt, I've broke the net,
There's nothing ſhall again allure me.

Not the dark luſtre of thoſe eyes,
At once ſo brilliant and ſo tender,
Though by each glance a lover dies,
Shall make my heart its peace ſurrender.

Nor care I for thoſe coral lips,
Nor cheeks ſuffuſed with bluſhes roſeal,
Though he who taſtes them ſurely ſips
Of more, far more, than ſweets ambroſial.

So free am I, that even thy voice,
Whoſe tones might charm the angry ocean,
And bid the ſoul of woe rejoice,
Wakes in my breaſt no wild emotion.

I'll not be ſnared by any wile
That once before in bondage brought me.
Ah! idle boaſt! that 'witching ſmile,
That 'witching ſmile again has caught me!

Stanzas from the French of Pannard. By the ſame.

From the ſame.

O how ſoft beam your eyes! O how tender their gaze!
If I dare to believe them, you love me moſt dearly.
But does you heart feel what I learn from their rays?
O tell me, dear youth! are they ſpeaking ſincerely?

If you love not, alas! with my peace do not play:
To allure me, no longer thus cruelly ſeek:
And if that your heart has got nothing to ſay,
O let not your eyes with ſuch eloquence ſpeak.

Epigram from the Greek. By Dr. F. Laurence. From the ſame.

To make the boy a ſcholar, to my care
An advertiſing Doctor gave his heir.

We

We got to Homer * ; and " that wrath, the ſpring
" Of woes unnumber'd," ſoon he learnt to ſing ;
Then, in due courſe, " to Pluto's gloomy reign
" Hurl'd many a gallant ſoul untimely ſlain."
But now he came no longer. In the ſtreet
It ſhortly was my luck the ſire to meet ;
And " thanks my friend," he cried, " but, to be free,
" What you were teaching he may learn of me.
" I, ere their time, hurl many a ſoul below ;
" Yet not one word of Homer need to know."

London. At the Break of Morning in the Seaſon. From Lady Jane Grey, a Tale, in two Books; with Miſcellaneous Poems in Engliſh and Latin. By Francis Hodgson, A.M. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; and Author of a Tranſlation of Juvenal.

THROUGH the ſtrange ſcenes of town at early day,
Sad as I took my ſolitary way,
What motley groups preſented to my eye
Vice in its varied ranks of low and high.

Forced from his pallet, with unwilling feet
Here crept the labourer down the ſilent ſtreet ;
Stopp'd at his favourite houſe, where pearl and gin
The day of toil and drunkenneſs begin ;
Or temperate ſipp'd, at Nancy's noted ſtand,
His black tea breakfaſt from her lily hand.
Here, reeling homeward from the tavern drunk,
Or filthier ſojourn of his faithleſs punk,
Beneath a vaſt cock'd-hat a little beau
At Brookes's call'd, to loſe his laſt rouleau.
Here the proud gambler in his ſilken chair,
With purſe repleniſh'd quaff'd the morning air ;
Return'd from ruining ſome eaſy tool,
And mock'd the madneſs of the beggar'd fool.
Where yon late torch emits a dying fire
See ſlinking dominos to bed retire :
Hide from the ſun their man-degrading dreſs,
Bluſh if they could, and feel a feign'd diſtreſs.
While maſks more impudent all ſhame forſwear,
And ape the character they ill can bear.

See, daſhing brightly from yon weſtern ſtreet,
With lamps that laughingly the morning meet,

* There is a propriety in the original, which could not be preſerved in the imitation. Homer was the firſt book taught in the Grammar Schools of Greece.

The paint broad glaring in each hackney'd face,
The ſole, unmarried daughter, and her grace.

But lo! Surrounding thick the water's ſide,
And gazing anxious on the gloomy tide,
A crowd is ſeen with earneſt air to ſtand:
While, dreadful ſight! dragg'd breathleſs to the land,
A woman's corſe, a lovely woman's, lies;
Stiff the cold limbs and fix'd the glazing eyes.
Thoſe limbs are yet in ſoft proportion fair,
Blue that dead eye, and beauty yet is there.
Strange and afflicting contraſt! mirth around,
And faſhion ſhines, the ſtreets with revel ſound,
While in yon dark canal the wretch has ſought
A long forgetfulness of guilty thought.

The Praiſes of Wine. From the ſame.

Δισσαι νυν καρυκες, δισσαι νυν λαμπαδος ἀυγαι,
Ἡμιν δισσα χαρις, και μια σεμνολογοις. H. D.

Oh moment moſt bleſt in the ſhort life of man!
Brighteſt ſpot of enjoyment in time's gloomy ſpan!
When, juſt languid enough for delight! we recline
By the fire's cheerful blaze o'er the faſt flowing wine,
With ſenſations too ſoothing for words to expreſs,
Alive to all joy, dead to every diſtreſs.
Then, then, guſhing forth from the rapturous ſoul
Good humour and genius unitedly roll;
Laughing friendſhip recounts all the paſtimes of youth,
And at leaſt we diſplay that one excellence—truth.
Cold prudence is baniſh'd, hypocriſy dies,
And the warm honeſt ſpirit looks out at the eyes.

With ſarcaſtic reflection let Raſſelas paint
The ſinner convivial, a hermit the ſaint:
But annals of convents! full well can ye ſhow
That ſtagnation engenders corruption below;
And though heavenly retirement may purify man,
Monaſtic retirement on earth never can.
Nay—vain is the cenſure that aims at the mind,
And deſcribes the good fellow to dulneſs confin'd;
Calls his mirth void of fancy, his joy inſincere—
Who can recognize Oldham and Rocheſter here?
Or, to leave thoſe choice wits and good fellows of yore,
Who will own this the picture of Morris and Moore?

Wine

Wine mitigates ſorrow, wine ſtimulates joy!
Its virtues ne'er fail, its delights never cloy.
It gives ſtrength to the weak, gentle thoughts to the ſtrong,
Renovation to hope, inſpiration to ſong.
Age gathers freſh verdure from wonderful wine,
And the beſt bloom of youth, radiant liquor, is thine!
Thou eaſeſt the captive; thou lull'ſt to repoſe
The ſad eye that too long has forgotten to cloſe;
All, all canſt thou conquer—ah! wouldſt thou but prove
Victorious for me over abſence and love.

tanzas. From the ſame.

Intermiſſa, Venus, diu.
Rurſus bella moves—parce, precor, precor,
Non ſum qualis eram bonæ
Sub regno Cynaræ.

Ah! why theſe new tumults to haraſs my breaſt?
This unſettled wild fever that burns in my veins?
Ah give me, ſweet Helen, ah give me my reſt,
Or ſhare with thy ſlave his affectionate pains.

Where, where will it end? When at night I lie down,
My toſſed limbs cannot find a ſhort hour of repoſe;
Deep thought ſtrives in vain thy dear image to drown,
And my eyes, fix'd on thee, are unable to cloſe.

I ſwore but this morning to ſtruggle with love,
To return to harſh duty, and manly emprize:
But ah me! I remember'd laſt night in the grove,
That I preſt Helen's lips, that I gaz'd in her eyes.

Diſhoneſt, ungenerous! how could I forget
The dear girl who ſo long has exalted my fame?
Her blue eyes, her fair cheek—ah! forgive me, and yet—
Ah hide in that boſom of fragrance my ſhame.

'Tis the wildneſs that lurks in her beautiful eyes,
'Tis the ſtrange animation that glows in her face;
'Tis her boſom, unſtain'd with a ſpeck of diſguiſe,
That imparts ſuch a charm to my Helen's embrace.

Such a charm fair Eliza could never impart—
Such a charm fickle Harriet but ſhortly beſtow—
Such a charm hapleſs Lucy—alas! my falſe heart,
At the name tears of penance and tenderneſs flow.

I'll ſhake off this delirium that buries my ſoul!
Burſt the thraldom of fondneſs, awake, and be free:
Then adieu, idle love, and ſweet Helen's control;
And adieu, pretty Lucy!—Oh, never to thee.

O'Connor's Child. From Poems, by T. Campbell, Eſq.

I.

OH once the harp of Innisfail
Was ſtrung full high to notes of gladneſs;
But yet it often told a tale
Of more prevailing ſadneſs.
Sad was the note, and wild its fall,
As winds that moan at night forlorn
Along the iſles of Fion-Gall,
When from O'Connor's child to mourn,
The harper told, how lone, how far
From any manſion's twinkling ſtar,
From any path of ſocial men,
Or voice, but from the fox's den,
The lady in the deſert dwelt,
And yet no wrongs, no fear ſhe felt:
Say, why ſhould dwell in place ſo wild
The lovely pale O'Connor's child?

II.

Sweet lady! ſhe no more inſpires
Green Erin's hearts with beauty's pow'r,
As in the palace of her ſires
She bloom'd a peerleſs flow'r.
Gone from her hand and boſom, gone,
The royal broche, the jewell'd ring,
That o'er her dazzling whiteneſs ſhone
Like dews on lilies of the ſpring.
Yet why, though fall'n her brother's kerne,
Beneath De Bourgo's battle ſtern,
While yet in Leinſter unexplor'd,
Her friends ſurvive the Engliſh ſword,
Why lingers ſhe from Erin's hoſt,
So far on Galway's ſhipwreck'd coaſt;
Why wanders ſhe a huntreſs wild—
The lovely pale O'Connor's child?

III.

And fix'd on empty ſpace, why burn
Her eyes with momentary wildneſs;

And

And wherefore do they then return
To more than woman's mildneſs?
Diſhevell'd are her raven locks,
On Connocht Moran's name ſhe calls;
And oft amidſt the lonely rocks
She ſings ſweet madrigals.
Plac'd in the foxglove and the moſs,
Behold a parted warrior's croſs!
That is the ſpot where, evermore,
The lady, at her ſhieling door,
Enjoys that in communion ſweet
The living and the dead can meet:
For lo! to love-lorn fantaſy,
The hero of her heart is nigh.

IV.

Bright as the bow that ſpans the ſtorm,
In Erin's yellow veſture clad,
A ſon of light—a lovely form,
He comes and makes her glad:
Now on the graſs-green turf he ſits,
His taſſell'd horn beſide him laid;
Now o'er the hills in chace he flits,
The hunter and the deer a ſhade!
Sweet mourner! thoſe are ſhadows vain,
That croſs the twilight of her brain;
Yet ſhe will tell you, ſhe is bleſt,
Of Connocht Moran's tomb poſſeſs'd,
More richly than in Aghrim's bow'r,
When bards high praiſed her beauty's pow'r,
And kneeling pages offer'd up,
The morat in a golden cup.

V.

'A hero's bride! this deſert bow'r,
'It ill befits thy gentle breeding:
'And wherefore doſt thou love this flow'r
'To call—my love lies bleeding?'
This purple flow'r my tears have nurſed;
A hero's blood ſupplied its bloom:
I love it, for it was the firſt
That grew on Connocht Moran's tomb.
Oh! hearken, ſtranger, to my voice!
This deſert manſion is my choice:
And bleſt, tho' fatal, be the ſtar
That led me to its wilds afar:

For here theſe pathleſs mountains free
Gave ſhelter to my love and me;
And every rock and every ſtone
Bear witneſs that he was my own.

VI.

O'Connor's child, I was the bud
Of Erin's royal tree of glory;
But woe to them that wrapt in blood
The tiſſue of my ſtory!
Still as I claſp my burning brain,
A death-ſcene ruſhes on my ſight;
It riſes o'er and o'er again,
The bloody feud—the fatal night,
When chafing Connocht Moran's ſcorn,
They call'd my hero baſely born;
And bade him chooſe a meaner bride
Than from O'Connor's houſe of pride.
Their tribe, they ſaid, their high degree,
Was ſung in Tara's pſaltery;
Witness their Eath's victorious brand,
And Cathal of the bloody hand,—
Glory (they ſaid) and power and honour
Were in the manſion of O'Connor:
But he, my lov'd one, bore in field
A meaner creſt upon his ſhield.

VII.

Ah, brothers! what did it avail,
That fiercely and triumphantly
Ye fought the Engliſh of the pale,
And ſtemm'd De Bourgo's chivalry?
And what was it to love and me,
That barons by your ſtandard rode;
Or beal-fires for your jubilee,
Upon an hundred mountains glow'd.
What tho' the lords of tower and dome
From Shannon to the North-ſea foam,—
Thought ye your iron hands of pride
Could break the knot that love had tied?
No:—let the eagle change his plume,
The leaf its hue, the flow'r its bloom;
But ties around this heart were ſpun
That could not, would not, be undone!

VIII.

At bleating of the wild watch-fold
Thus ſang my love—"Oh come with me:

"Our

" Our bark is on the lake, behold:
" Our ſteeds are faſten'd to the tree.
" Come far from Caſtle-Connor's clans—
" Come with thy belted foreſtere,
" And I, beſide the lake of ſwans,
" Shall hunt for thee the fallow deer;
" And build thy hut and bring thee home
" The wild fowl, and the honey-comb;
" And berries from the wood provide,
" And play my clarſhech by thy ſide.
" Then come, my love!"—How could I ſtay?
Our nimble ſtag-hounds track'd the way,
And I purſued by moonleſs ſkies,
The light of Connocht Moran's eyes.

IX.

And faſt and far, before the ſtar
Of day-ſpring ruſh'd we thro' the glade,
And ſaw at dawn the lofty bawn
Of Caſtle-Connor fade.
Sweet was to us the hermitage
Of this unplough'd, untrodden ſhore:
Like birds all joyous from the cage,
For man's neglect we lov'd it more.
And well he knew, my huntſman dear,
To ſearch the game with hawk and ſpear;
While I, his evening food to dreſs,
Would ſing to him in happineſs.
But oh, thou midnight of deſpair!
When I was doom'd to rend my hair:
The night, to me of ſhrieking ſorrow!
The night, to him that had no morrow!

X.

When all was huſh'd at ev'n tide,
I heard the baying of their beagle:
Be huſh'd! my Connocht Moran cried,
'Tis but the ſcreaming of the eagle.
Alas! 'twas not the eyrie's ſound,
Their bloody bands had track'd us out;
Up-liſt'ning ſtarts our couchant hound—
And hark! again, that nearer ſhout
Brings faſter on the murderers.
Spare—ſpare him—Brazil—Deſmond fierce!
In vain—no voice the adder charms;
Their weapons croſs'd my ſheltering arms:

Another's ſword has laid him low—
Another's and another's;
And every hand that dealt the blow—
Aye me! it was a brother's!
Yes, when his moanings died away,
Their iron hands had dug the clay,
And o'er his burial turf they trod,
And I beheld—Oh God! Oh God!
His life-blood oozing from the ſod!

XI.

Warm in his death-wounds ſepulchred,
Alas! my warrior's ſpirit brave,
Nor maſs nor ulla-lulla heard,
Lamenting ſooth his grave.
Dragg'd to their hated manſion back,
How long in thraldom's graſp I lay,
I know not, for my ſoul was black,
And knew no change of night or day.
One night of horror round me grew;
Or if I ſaw, or felt, or knew,
'Twas but when thoſe grim viſages,
The angry brothers of my race,
Glared on each eye-ball's aching throb,
And check'd my boſom's pow'r to ſob;
Or when my heart with pulſes drear,
Beat like a death-watch to my ear.

XII.

But Heav'n, at laſt, my ſoul's eclipſe
Did with a viſion bright inſpire:
I woke, and felt upon my lips
A propheteſs's fire.
Thrice in the eaſt a war-drum beat,
I heard the Saxon's trumpet ſound,
And rang'd as to the judgment ſeat
My guilty, trembling brothers round.
Clad in the helm and ſhield they came;
For now De Bourgo's ſword and flame
Had ravag'd Ulſter's boundaries,
And lighted up the midnight ſkies.
The ſtandard of O'Connor's ſway
Was in a turret where I lay;
That ſtandard, with ſo dire a look,
As ghaſtly ſhone the moon and pale,
I gave,—that every boſom ſhook
Beneath its iron mail.

XIII.

And go! I cried, the combat ſeek,
Ye hearts that unappalled bore
The anguiſh of a ſiſter's ſhriek,
Go!—and return no more!
For ſooner guilt the ordeal brand
Shall graſp unhurt, than ye ſhall hold
The banner with victorious hand,
Beneath a ſiſter's curſe unroll'd.
Oh ſtranger! by my country's loſs!
And by my love! and by the croſs!
I ſwear I never could have ſpoke
The curſe that ſever'd nature's yoke;
But that a ſpirit o'er me ſtood,
And fir'd me with a wrathful mood;
And frenzy to my heart was giv'n,
To ſpeak the maliſon of heav'n.

XIV.

They would have croſs'd themſelves all mute,
They would have pray'd to burſt the ſpell:
But at the ſtamping of my foot
Each hand down pow'rleſs fell.
And go to Athunree! I cried,
High lift the banner of your pride!
But know that where its ſheet unrolls
The weight of blood is on your ſouls.
Go where the havoc of the kerne
Shall float as high as mountain fern!
Men ſhall no more your manſion know!
The nettles on your hearth ſhall grow!
Dead as the green oblivious flood,
That mantles by your walls, ſhall be
The glory of O'Connor's blood!
Away! away to Athunree!
Where downward when the ſun ſhall fall
The raven's wing ſhall be your pall;
And not a vaſſal ſhall unlace
The vizor from your dying face!

XV.

A bolt that overhung our dome
Suſpended till my curſe was giv'n,
Soon as it paſs'd theſe lips of foam
Peal'd in the blood-red heav'n.
Dire was the look that o'er their backs
The angry parting brothers threw;
But now, behold! like cataracts,
Come down the hills in view

O'Connor's plumed partizans;
Thrice ten Innisfallian clans
Were marching to their doom:
A ſudden ſtorm their plumage toſs'd,
A flaſh of lightning o'er them croſs'd,
And all all again was gloom;
But once again in heav'n the bands
Of thunder ſpirits clapt their hands.

XVI.

Stranger! I fled the home of grief,
At Connocht Moran's tomb to fall;
I found the helmet of my chief,
His bow ſtill hanging on our wall;
And took it down, and vow'd to rove
This deſert place a huntreſs bold;
Nor would I change my buried love
For any heart of living mould.
No! for I am a hero's child,
I'll hunt my quarry in the wild;
And ſtill my home this manſion make,
Of all unheeded and unheeding,
And cheriſh, for my warrior's ſake,
The flower of love lies bleeding.

To * * * *.

By Lord Byron. *From Imitations and Tranſlations from the Ancient and Modern Claſſics, together with Original Poems never before publiſhed. Collected by* J. C. Hobhouse, B.A. *of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

WELL! thou art happy, and I feel
That I ſhould thus be happy too,
For ſtill my heart regards thy weal,
Warmly, as it was wont to do.

Thy huſband's bleſt—and 'twill impart
Some pangs to view his happier lot;
But let them paſs—Oh! how my heart
Would hate him if he lov'd thee not!

When late I ſaw thy favorite child,
I thought my jealous heart would break;
But when the unconſcious infant ſmil'd,
I kiſſed it for its mother's ſake.

I kiſſ'd

I kiſſed it—and repreſt my ſighs,
Its father in its face to ſee;
But then it had its mother's eyes,
And they were all to love and me.

Mary, adieu! I muſt away,
While thou art bleſt, I'll not repine!
But near thee I can never ſtay,
My heart would ſoon again be thine.

I deemed that time, I deemed that pride,
Had quenched at length my boyiſh flame;
Nor knew, till ſeated by thy ſide,
My heart in all,—ſave hope,—the ſame.

Yet was I calm: I knew the time
My breaſt would thrill before thy look:
But now to tremble were a crime,
We met—and not a nerve was ſhook.

I ſaw thee gaze upon my face,
Yet meet with no confuſion there;
One only feeling couldſt thou trace,
The ſullen calmneſs of deſpair.

Away! away! my early dream
Remembrance never muſt awake:
Oh! where is Lethe's fabled ſtream?
My fooliſh heart be ſtill, or break.

To the ſame. By the ſame.

AND wilt thou weep when I am low?
Sweet lady! ſpeak thoſe words again;
Yet if they grieve thee, ſay not ſo,
I would not give that boſom pain.

My heart is ſad, my hopes are gone,
My blood runs coldly thro' my breaſt;
And when I periſh, thou alone
Wilt ſigh above my place of reſt.

And yet methinks a gleam of peace
Doth thro' my cloud of anguiſh ſhine,
And for awhile my ſorrows ceaſe
To know thy heart hath felt for mine.

Oh, lady! bleſſed be that tear,
It falls for one who cannot weep;
Such precious drops are doubly dear
To thoſe whoſe eyes no tear may ſteep.

Sweet lady! once my heart was warm,
With every feeling ſoft as thine;
But beauty's ſelf hath ceaſed to charm
A wretch created to repine.

Yet wilt thou weep when I am low?
Sweet lady! ſpeak thoſe words again;
Yet if they grieve thee, ſay not ſo,
I would not give that boſom pain.

Song. By the ſame.

FILL the goblet again! for I never before
Felt the glow which now gladdens my heart to its core;
Let us drink! who would not? ſince thro' life's varied round,
In the goblet alone no deception is found.

I have tried in its turn all that life can ſupply;
I have baſked in the beam of a dark-rolling eye;
I have loved! who has not? but what heart can declare
That pleaſure exiſted while paſſion was there?

In the days of my youth, when the heart's in its ſpring,
And dreams that affection can never take wing,
I had friends! who has not? but what tongue will avow
That friends, roſy wine! are ſo faithful as thou?

The breaſt of a miſtreſs ſome boy may eſtrange;
Friendſhip ſhifts with the ſunbeam—thou never canſt change;
Thou grow'ſt old, who does not? but on earth what appears
Whoſe virtues, like thine, ſtill increaſe with its years?

Yet if bleſt to the utmoſt that love can beſtow,
Should a rival bow down to our idol below,
We are jealous! who's not?—thou haſt no ſuch alloy,
For the more that enjoy thee, the more we enjoy.

Then the ſeaſon of youth, and its vanities paſt,
For refuge we fly to the goblet at laſt;
There we find, do we not? in the flow of the ſoul,
That truth, as of yore, is confined to the bowl?

When

When the box of Pandora was open'd on earth,
And misery's triumph commenced over mirth;
Hope was left, was she not? but the goblet we kiss,
And care not for hope, who are certain of bliss.

Long life to the grape! for when summer is flown,
The age of our nectar shall gladden our own;
We must die, who shall not? may our sins be forgiven,
And Hebe shall never be idle in heaven.

*Stanzas to ******, on leaving England. By the same.*

'TIS done—and shivering in the gale
The bark unfurls her snowy sail;
And whistling o'er the bending mast
Loud sings on high the fresh'ning blast;
And I must from this land begone,
Because I cannot love but one.

But could I be what I have been,
And could I see what I have seen,
Could I repose upon the breast
Which once my warmest wishes blest,
I should not seek another zone,
Because I cannot love but one.

'Tis long since I beheld that eye
Which gave me bliss or misery;
And I have striven, but in vain,
Never to think of it again;
For tho' I fly from Albion,
I still can love but only one.

As some lone bird without a mate,
My weary heart is desolate;
I look around, and cannot trace
One friendly smile, or welcome face;
And e'en in crowds am still alone,
Because I cannot love but one.

And I will cross the whitening foam,
And I will seek a foreign home;
Till I forget a false fair face,
I ne'er shall find a resting place;
My own dark thoughts I cannot shun,
Must ever love, and love but one.

The

The poorest, veriest wretch on earth
Still finds some hospitable hearth,
Where friendship's or love's softer glow
May smile in joy, or soothe in woe;
But friend or lover I have none,
Because I cannot love but one.

I go—but wheresoe'er I flee,
There's not an eye will weep for me;
There's not a kind, congenial heart,
Where I can claim the meanest part:
Nor thou, who hast my hopes undone,
Wilt sigh, although I love but one.

To think of every early scene,
Of what we are, and what we've been,
Would whelm some softer hearts with woe,
But mine, alas! has stood the blow;
Yet still beats on as it begun,
And never truly loved but one.

And who that dear lov'd one may be,
Is not for vulgar eyes to see;
And why that early love was crost,
Thou know'st the best, I feel the most;
But few that dwell beneath the sun,
Have loved so long, and loved but one.

I've tried another's fetters too,
With charms, perchance, as fair to view;
And I would feign have lov'd as well,
But some unconquerable spell
Forbade my bleeding breast to own,
A kindred care for aught but one.

'Twould soothe to take one lingering view,
And bless thee in my last adieu;
Yet wish I not those eyes to weep,
For him that wanders o'er the deep;
Tho' wheresoe'er my bark may run,
I love but thee, I love but one.

Stanzas. By Robert Burns. From Reliques of Robert Burns, collected and published by R. H. Cromek.

THE wintry west extends his blast,
And hail and rain doth blow;
Or the stormy north sends driving forth
The blinding sleet and snow:

While

While tumbling brown, the burn comes down,
An' roars frae bank to brae,
And bird and beaſt in covert reſt,
And paſs the heartleſs day.

"The ſweeping blaſt, the ſky o'ercaſt *,"
The joyleſs winter day,
Let others fear, to me more dear
Than all the pride of May:
The tempeſt's howl, it ſoothes my ſoul,
My griefs it ſeems to join,
The leafleſs trees my fancy pleaſe,
Their fate reſembles mine!

Thou Power Supreme, whoſe mighty ſcheme
Theſe woes of mine fulfil,
Here, firm, I reſt, they muſt be beſt,
Becauſe they are Thy will!
Then all I want (O do thou grant
This one requeſt of mine!)
Since to *enjoy* thou doſt deny,
Aſſiſt me to *reſign*.

Evan Banks. By the ſame. From the ſame.

SLOW ſpreads the gloom my ſoul deſires,
The ſun from India's ſhore retires;
To Evan Banks, with temperate ray,
Home of my youth, he leads the day.
Oh banks, to me for ever dear!
Oh ſtreams, whoſe murmurs ſtill I hear!
All, all my hopes of bliſs reſide,
Where Evan mingles with the Clyde.

And ſhe, in ſimple beauty dreſt,
Whoſe image lives within my breaſt;
Who trembling heard my parting ſigh,
And long purſued me with her eye;
Does ſhe, with heart unchang'd as mine,
Oft in the vocal bowers recline?
Or where yon goat o'erhangs the tide,
Muſe while the Evan ſeeks the Clyde?

Ye lofty banks that Evan bound!
Ye laviſh woods that wave around,

* Dr. Young.

And

And o'er the ſtream your ſhadow throw,
Which sweetly winds ſo far below;
What ſecret charm to memory brings
All that on Evan's border ſprings?
Sweet banks! ye bloom by Mary's ſide:
Bleſt ſtream! ſhe views thee haſte to Clyde!

Can all the wealth of India's coaſt
Atone for years in abſence loſt?
Return, ye moments of delight,
With richer treaſures bleſs my ſight!
Swift from this deſart let me part,
And fly to meet a kindred heart!
Nor more may aught my ſteps divide
From that dear ſtream which flows to Clyde.

Song. From the ſame. By the ſame.

OUT over the Forth I look to the north,
But what is the north and its Highlands to me?
The ſouth nor the eaſt give eaſe to my breaſt,
The far foreign land, or the wild rolling ſea.

But I look to the weſt, when I gae to reſt,
That happy my dreams and my ſlumbers may be;
For far in the weſt lives he I lo'e beſt,
The lad that is dear to my babie and me.

Fragments. From the ſame. By the ſame.

Her flowing locks, the raven's wing,
Adown her neck and boſom hing;
How ſweet unto that breaſt to cling,
And round that neck entwine her!

Her lips are roses wet with dew,
O what a feaſt, her bonnie mou!
Her cheek's a mair celeſtial hue,
A crimſon ſtill diviner.

* * *

THE winter it is paſt, and the ſummer comes at laſt,
And the ſmall birds ſing on every tree;
Now every thing is glad, while I am very ſad,
Since my true love is parted from me.

The roſe upon the brier, by the waters running clear,
May have charms for the linnet and the bee;
Their little loves are bleſt, and their little hearts at reſt;
But my true love is parted from me.

Deſcription of the Ionian Iſlands. From Horæ Ionicæ. By W. R. Wright, Eſq.

YE iſles beyond the Adriatic wave!
Whoſe claſſic ſhores Ionian waters lave;
Ye plains of Greece! the Muſe's ancient pride,
Whoſe riſing beauties crown the weſtern tide;
That ſmile beneath November's deepeſt gloom;
Where April wantons in luxuriant bloom,
No longer vocal to your native lyre,
Forgive the daring ſtrain your charms inſpire;
Though all unworthy of the meed ye claim,
A meed as deathleſs as your ancient fame.
For well I know, that not to me belong
The lofty raptures of poetic ſong:
My ſimple Muſe in fancy's gilded ray
May ſport, the inſect of a ſummer day;
May ſparkle like the dew-drop on the flower;
But never pleaſe beyond the tranſient hour.
Yet, when the year renews its lovely prime,
And ſpring, advancing from the ſouthern clime,
With roſy ſmile the infant zephyr greets,
And bathes his tepid wing in balmy ſweets,
My heart, reſponſive, owns the genial glow;
And the wild numbers all unbidden flow.
Hail to the mountains! round whoſe ſacred head
Their early pride the vernal hours have ſhed:
Hail to the dryads of each hallow'd ſhade!
Whoſe waving foliage crowns the ſhelter'd glade;
Where Scheria's * rocks the northern wave divide,
And old Caſſopo † greets the ſtraiten'd tide:

Hail

* Scheria, the ancient name of Corfu; probably as ſeeming to reſtrain the waters of the Adriatic. This iſland was alſo denominated Δρεπανον, "the ſickle," on account of its form, and is celebrated in Grecian mythology as the inſtrument of Jupiter's revenge againſt Saturn.

† Anciently Caſſiope, ſituated oppoſite to a city of the ſame name on the weſtern ſhore of the Grecian continent, from which it is divided only by a narrow ſtrait. It was ſacred to Jupiter, and the ſtream which now flows from among its ruins, is traditionally reported to have had its ſource under the altar of his temple. It is remarkable, that Caſſiope at the northern, and Sybora at the ſouthern extremity of this iſland, were both nearly oppoſite to places on the continent of Greece, diſtinguiſhed

Hail bleſt Phæacia! from his dewy wing
O'er thee Favonius ſheds eternal ſpring:
No chilling blaſt thy early harveſt knows;
Nor bend thy groves beneath December ſnows.
Alike the riſing and declining year
Diſpenſe the varied gifts of ſummer here;
Through ev'ry ſeaſon blooms the tender roſe;
The ſhelter'd vi'let here for ever blows;
Jonquils and hyacinths their mingling dyes
Here blend with ſweets unknown to colder ſkies.
Nor does Pomona's bounteous hand diſdain
To ſwell the triumphs of her ſiſter's reign;
For, while the bending orange ſcarce can hold
Its glowing harveſt of Heſperian gold,
The fruitful tree freſh-budding ſweets adorn,
Whoſe ſpreading bloſſoms drink the dews of morn;
And wintry ſuns, with more than vernal power,
Mature the fruit and court the op'ning flow'r.
Here guſhing founts, and ſprings that never fail,
Pour health and plenty through the ſmiling vale;
Fair ſmiles the vale, with myrtle hedges crown'd,
And aromatic fragrance breathes around;
The riſing hill wide-ſpreading olives ſhade,
Skirt the deep ravine, and embow'r the glade
With ſober tints of never-fading green;
While diſtant mountains cloſe the varied ſcene,
Beyond the cultivated landſcape riſe,
And ſternly frown amidſt the cloudleſs ſkies.
Such is the ſpot where flows Creſſida's ‡ ſtream;
The peaſant's ſolace, and the poet's theme:
From the cold rock her limpid fount diſtils;
A rocky bed receives the falling rills.
'Twas here, ſequeſter'd 'midſt embow'ring ſhades,
The bright Naſicaa ſported with her maids,
What time Laertes' god-like ſon addreſſed
His tale of ſorrow to her pitying breaſt;
And, as the ſuppliant chief his ſuit preferr'd,
She gaz'd with rapture, and with wonder heard.
Hence to the left extends a ſpacious plain,
Nor rich with paſtur'd herds, nor waving grain:

reſpectively by the ſame appellations. This circumſtance, combined with the very ſhort diſtance between the iſland and the main, may ſeem to indicate that at ſome diſtant period they were united.

‡ Creſſida ſeems to be a corruption of χρυσυδωρ, "golden water." Tradition ſtill points out this as the ſpot where Ulyſſes is ſaid to have preſented himſelf before Nauſicaa: and Homer certainly could not have ſelected a ſituation more appropriate for ſuch an incident.

There

There bending vines their purple pride diſplay,
And peaches ripen in the ſummer ray;
There ſwells the fig to more than common ſize,
And various fruits in rich ſucceſſion riſe:
No chilly blaſts the tender germ aſſail,
By mountains ſhelter'd from each ruder gale;
The rip'ning fruits no blaſting mildews fear,
Nor fails the vernal promiſe of the year.
Oft for theſe ſhades *, where nature reigns alone,
Would great Alcinous quit his regal throne;
And theſe the ſcenes whoſe beauties could inſpire
The mighty father of the Grecian lyre:
Nor ſtill the monarch nor the muſe they wrong,
But ſmile in nature as they bloom in ſong.
Far to the right, as from Criſſida's ſource
I trace the Naiad through her devious courſe,
O'er the declining hills, in proſpect new,
The diſtant ocean burſts upon my view.
There ſtands, for ever rooted in the ſea,
The monument of Neptune's ſtern decree †,
Whoſe rugged lines a ſhip's rude ſemblance keep;
And ſtill it ſeems to plough the foaming deep,
Juſt at the point, where parting rocks divide,
And yield reluctant entrance to the tide.
The curving ſhores on either ſide give place,
And fold the waters in their wide embrace;
A beauteous lake the ſpreading waters form,
Secure from winds, impervious to the ſtorm.
Here once, proud iſle! thy conqu'ring navies rode,
And wealth and trade in plenteous current flow'd:
E'en now, in thought, I ſee the buſy ſtrand
Throng'd with the merchants of each diſtant land;
With fancy's eye thy wide bazars behold,
Enrich'd with Perſia's ſilk, and Afric's gold;
Thy fleets, that waft Arabia's balmy ſpoil,
Or bear to foreign ſhores thy native oil.
The bright illuſion clothes yon eaſtern height,
And palaces and temples meet my ſight:

* It is impoſſible for any one, who traverſes the ſhores of the old harbour with the Odyſſey in his recollection, to doubt the perſonal acquaintance of Homer with the ſcenery of Corfu, or to heſitate in aſſigning the garden of Alcinous to the ſpot here deſcribed, which lies at the weſtern extremity of the harbour, and is ſtill excluſively devoted to the ſame ſort of culture.

† The ſhip of Ulyſſes, as it is ſtill denominated, is another convincing proof that the Phæacia of Homer was not merely a picture of his imagination. The ſituation of this little rock, in the midſt of the narrow channel which forms the entrance of the old harbour, ſuggeſts moſt naturally the idea of a veſſel arreſted at the moment when ſhe is entering the port: and its ſize and appearance are by no means incongruous with this poetical metamorphoſis.

Odyss. lib. xiii.

There,

There, ſeated on the cliff's impending brow,
Thy citadel commands the port below:
With conſcious pride o'erlooks the ſubject plain,
And frowns indignant on the proſtrate main.
The ſpell diſſolves! nor can my ſearching eye
One relic of thy former pomp deſcry:
Save, that yon riſing bank of olive ſhows
Where once the ſtately theatre aroſe*.
Thine ancient harbour chok'd with riſing ſand,
No footſteps mark the ſolitary ſtrand;
While finny ſhoals through deſart waters ſtray,
And ſea-gulls hover o'er their deſtin'd prey.
Far from the dreary ſcene mine eye retires
To Corfu's diſtant walls, and riſing ſpires:
Where, ſpringing from the ocean's rocky bed,
Iſthone † ſternly lifts her tow'ring head.
Rever'd for ever be Iſthone's name,
To valour ſacred, nor unknown to fame;
Since on her rugged brow, in honour's cauſe,
The noble guardians of Corcyra's laws,
Their laſt deſpairing effort bravely tried,
And ſtrove, in vain, to ſtem rebellion's tide.
When civil diſcord ſcourg'd the ſuff'ring land,
And mad ſedition raiſed her flaming brand;
Whilſt blood ſtain'd anarchy, with furious yell,
Ruſh'd forth, like Atè from the depths of hell;
And Corinth, vainly ſeeking to aſſuage
Her offspring's ſtrife, provok'd their impious rage;
Corcyra fiercely turn'd, with rebel hate,
Her guilty arms againſt the parent ſtate.
Athenian wiles her factious councils ſway'd,
Athenian arms ſupplied inſidious aid;
Till injur'd Corinth mourn'd her vanquiſh'd fleet,
And ſaw Corcyra at her rival's feet.

* The area of this theatre, which may be diſtinctly traced, is the only relic of genuine antiquity in the ſpot where Corcyra ſtood, and which is ſtill called Palæopoli. Fragments of columns and extenſive foundations are frequently diſcovered among the gardens which at preſent occupy this ſite, but nothing ſufficiently perfect to lead to even a probable conjecture of its former deſtination. A large baſilicon, of the date of the Emperor Jovian, ſtill remains entire; and in another church, of ſtill more recent foundation, are preſerved a few columnns of verde antique, and other valuable marbles.

† Iſthone, the lofty and extenſive mountain, which now bears the name of St. Salvador.

In the account of the Corcyrean ſedition which follows, I have endeavoured to adhere, as cloſely as poſſible, to the narrative of Thucydides. It is almoſt unneceſſary to remind the reader, that Corcyra was a Corinthian colony, and that this formidable ſedition, which broke out in the firſt year of the 85th Olympiad (B. C. 439) was the cauſe of the great Peloponneſian war.

See THUCYDIDES, Lib. β.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, the noble and illuſtrious few
In faith unſhaken, and to honour true,
Were ſternly doom'd on foreign ſhores to know
A wretched life of penury and woe.
But, ah! can diſtance quench the patriot's flame?
Or wrongs efface a bleeding country's claim?
How vain the thonght! Where'er thoſe footſteps ſtray
That bear him from his native land away,
Indignant though the exile quit his home,
And, like Camillus, curſe ungrateful Rome,
Some kindred ſcene will meet his tearful eyes,
Some ſad remembrance in his boſom riſe:
His heart ſtill melting, as he ſtill recedes,
Forgets its wrongs, and for its country bleeds.
Thus, many a year, where Achelöus guides
His turbid wave, or mild Eurotas glides,
With penſive ſtep the joyleſs exiles rov'd,
And fondly linger'd near the ſpot they lov'd.
At length, indignant, they collect their pow'rs,
Where old Buthrotum * rears her warlike tow'rs.
Ill-fated warriors! ſoon the eaſtern gale
With unpropitious breezes fills your ſail;
And, as it wafts you to your native home,
But ſpeeds your paſſage to the deſtin'd tomb.
And now, reſtor'd to lov'd Corcyra's ſtrand,
Array'd in martial pride I ſee them ſtand,
While penſive courage gleams from ev'ry eye;
Too few to conquer, yet reſolved to die.
Long, 'midſt the ruins of their falling ſtate,
I mark the heroes ſtruggling with their fate;
I view them on Iſthone's rocky height,
From cliff to cliff renew the doubtful fight;
Till parch'd with thirſt, by want and famine preſs'd,
Fainting with wounds, and unreſtor'd by reſt,
Their nerveleſs arms no more the falchion wield,
They ſink exhauſted, and, deſpairing, yield.
Reckleſs of life, whoſe ev'ry charm was paſt,
As wither'd oaks defy the ſtormy blaſt,
The vanquiſh'd chiefs, ſuperior to their fate,
In Ptichia's iſle† their final doom await;

* Now called Bucintro, a ſmall town and fortreſs, formerly ſubject to the Venetians, but now to the Pacha of Joannina: ſituated nearly oppoſite to the foot of St. Salvador.

† This beautiful little iſland, now called *Scoglio di Vido*, lies in the harbour, and oppoſite to the city of Corfu, at the diſtance of about a quarter of a mile from the ſhore. It was highly cultivated, and covered with vineyards and olive groves before the year 1800, when the French deſtroyed the plantations, and reduced it to a barren waſte.

While thirſt of blood inflames the madd'ning crowd,
Fir'd with revenge, of guilty conqueſt proud,
Oh, mercy! deareſt attribute of heav'n!
Beſt pledge of hope, for mortal ſolace giv'n!
Thou great prerogative of godlike ſouls!
Whoſe gen'rous fire thy ſoothing ſpell controuls;
In noble breaſts thy pure emotions live,
Alone who know to pity and forgive:
But when plebeian rage, in evil hour,
With ſtep profane invades the throne of pow'r,
Unheard thy voice, unmark'd thy pleading tears,
Urg'd by his hate, and counſell'd by his fears,
The iron deſpot tracks his path with blood,
And proudly tramples on the great and good.
Yet, though the voice of pity ſeldom charms
The rebel's vengeance, or his fear diſarms,
The victor's fierce intent ſeem'd half ſubdued,
As ſons for ſires, for brothers brothers ſued:
Inſidious Athens ſaw with jealous eyes
The tender conflict in their boſoms riſe;
Nor bluſh'd her deſtin'd conqueſt to ſecure
By arts too treach'rous, and, alas! too ſure *.
Deluded victims! whither would ye fly
While treaſon lurks, and vengeance hovers nigh?
The fiends that prompt your flight your ſteps betray,
And ruthleſs faction ſeizes on its prey!
Here let the Muſe in pity draw the veil,
Nor paint the ſequel of the horrid tale:
Nor tell how, 'midſt her ſons' funereal fires
Corcyra's ancient liberty expires.
Fain would her hand your tomb with laurel crown,
Martyrs of honour! victims of renown!
Hence, though by heav'n untaught the hero's name
To blazon in the deathleſs rolls of fame,
With conſcious pride her feeble lyre ſhe ſtrung
To deeds, which nobler bards have left unſung.
Nor leſs their fame, who from their native coaſt
In later times repell'd th' invading hoſt;
And, from yon triple rampart's † iron brow,
Hurl'd proud defiance on the aſſailing foe,

What

* Συνελάβοντο δὲ τῷ τοιῷδε οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὥστε ἀκριβῆ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰς τεχνησαμένας ἀδιέξερον ἐγχειρῆσαι, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καλάδηλοι ὄντες τὰς ἄνδρας μὴ ἂν βούλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων νομισθέντας, δίοτι αὐτοὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον τὴν τιμὴν τοῖς ἄγουσι προυποιῆσαι. This paſſage, from the narrative of an Athenian writer is, I conceive, a ſatisfactory demonſtration of the part which his countrymen took in this affair: their political motives are too evident too require any comment.

THUCYD. β. 47. HUDSON'S EDITION.

† Corfu is defended by two citadels and a triple chain of fortifications towards the land ſide. Theſe works, which are perforated in every direction with covered gal-

leries,

What time the Ottoman, with ruthleſs force,
Like wintry torrents in their wildeſt courſe,
On Europe pour'd the deluge of his arms,
And fill'd the Chriſtian world with dire alarms.
From Candia's tow'rs in Chriſtian ſlaughter dy'd,
Whoſe bulwarks long the infidel defied;
Still breathing vengeance, and imbru'd with gore,
He ſought, Corcyra! thy devoted ſhore;
Full on thy coaſt his ſquadrons urg'd their way,
And deem'd thy fertile fields an eaſy prey:
But deem'd in vain. From each ſurrounding land
The champions of the croſs, a dauntleſs band,
With grief recalling Candia's fatal plain,
Their faith inſulted, and their brethren ſlain,
Their ſacred banners to the wind diſplay'd,
And * nations ruſh'd impetuous to thine aid:
From where Otranto's rugged cliffs ariſe,
And the wild Apennine ſupports the ſkies;
Or where Liguria, thron'd in wealthy pride,
Sees at her feet the ſtream of commerce glide;
From genial climes, and ſcenes for ever gay,
Where bleſt Etruria courts the ſummer ray;
Or ſoft Neapolis the ſenſe invites
To varied joys, and ever new delights;
From damp Ravenna, and the mouths of Po;
From plains where Tibur's claſſic waters flow;
From Brenta's bank, and Padua's learned bow'rs;
Verona's palaces, and Mantua's tow'rs;
But chief, from where encircling waters lave
The miſtreſs of the Adriatic wave.
Around her banners throng'd, from ev'ry ſide,
Temeſwar's chiefs, and Auſtria's warlike pride:
And bleak Dalmatia pour'd her hardy ſwarms,
And fierce Sclavonia call'd her ſons to arms.
For Venice, erſt impatient that a ſtain
Should dim the glories of her ancient reign,
Conſpicuous ſhone in deeds of warlike fame,
Beneath the ſhelter of her pow'rful name;

leries, and conſidered by ſome as equal to thoſe of Malta, were, for the moſt part, conſtructed previouſly to the ſiege of this city by the Turkiſh force, which was commenced immmediately after the termination of that of Candia, A.D. 1645, and raiſed about five years afterwards with conſiderable loſs on the part of the aſſailants. The vigorous reſiſtance that the Turks experienced before Corfu gave an effectual check to the progreſs of their arms, which had at that time ſpread ſo great an alarm throughout Chriſtendom.

* At the ſiege of Corfu, as at that of Candia, the Venetian armies were ſtrongly reinforced by volunteers from every part of Chriſtendom, and more particularly from the Italian, Auſtrian, and Hungarian ſtates.

Whilſt tributary nations dwelt in peace,
And Rome's proud daughter rul'd the ſons of Greece.
Nor leſs the foe, whoſe arms had borne away
The bloody palm of many a well fought day:
No more to conquer. Fain the Muſe would tell
Beneath whoſe arms their braveſt leaders fell;
But dark oblivion ſhrouds each glorious name,
And fate, which crown'd their valour, wrongs their fame.
Let Europe, with exulting voice, record
The final triumph of the Chriſtian ſword;
How, ſtill diſplay'd, the winged lion flew
Victorious o'er the rampart of Corfu:
While the fierce Saracen, o'erwhelm'd with ſhame,
Deſpairing fled, and curſed the Chriſtian name.

The Heroes and Bards of Greece. From the Same.

RAPT in extatic thought my ſoul ſurveys
The pride of Greece in long-forgotten days;
Beyond or ſpace or time purſues her flight,
And all Elyſium riſes to her ſight.
See, where, reſtor'd in all its ancient pride,
The temple opes its Doric portals wide!
And, lo! emerging from the diſtant cloud
That o'er the altar ſpreads its awful ſhroud,
Like meteors flaſhing o'er the darken'd ſkies,
The glimm'ring ſhades of demigods ariſe!
Now, gaining on the ſenſe, diſtinct and ſlow,
Like pencil'd forms, the fleeting ſhadows glow.
Behold the mighty ſage! whoſe pow'rful mind
Th' Athenian tribes in ſocial bonds combin'd;
And him! whoſe brow inſpires reluctant awe,
The man that founded Sparta's iron law.

Next theſe in ſlow ſucceſſion move along
The ancient maſters of the ſacred ſong:
He, who the frozen rocks of Thrace could move,
Or wake to life Dodona's liſt'ning grove;
Who ſung how order roſe, and heav'nly light,
In juſt ſucceſſion from the womb of night:
And he, whoſe daring ſtrains revealed to earth
The ſecret tale of each immortal birth,
Or taught the ruſtic train beneath what ſign
To turn the ſoil and prune the ſpreading vine;
What ſtars propitious to their labour riſe,
And which beſtows increaſe, and which denies.

Hark!

Hark! great Alcæus ſtrikes the Leſbian lyre;
And Sappho breathes the ſong of ſoft deſire;
Anacreon warms his frozen age with wine,
While roſy braids his ſilver locks entwine:
With loftier port and conſcious greatneſs move
Callimachus, that hymn'd immortal Jove,
Theocritus, who told in Doric ſtrains
The loves and labours of Sicilian ſwains,
The mighty Theban, whoſe aſpiring muſe
On eagle wing her dauntleſs flight purſues,
The awful bard, whoſe ſacred numbers flow
In wildeſt ecſtacy of tragic woe,
Of ſad Prometheus tell the endleſs pain,
Or ſing the horrors of the Theban plain:
And ſee! the rival of his later years,
In pride majeſtic Sophocles appears;
And he, whoſe mournful numbers taught the ſtage,
Medea's wrongs and Phædra's impious rage.

Led by the Muſe's hand, in ſightleſs trance
I ſee the chief of Epic ſong advance:
A golden fillet binds the locks of ſnow
That thinly crown his venerable brow;
Wildly his hand explores the ſacred ſhell,
And Nature, trembling, owns the pow'rful ſpell:
Around him throng, to catch the ſoothing ſtrain,
The brave who fought on Ilion's fatal plain.
Near theſe, in radiant arms, the heroes ſtand
Whoſe later valour freed their native land:
Triumphant chiefs and victims of renown
Whom cypreſs wreaths, or myrtle chaplets crown!
Each, on the circle of his batter'd ſhield,
Bears the device of ſome victorious field.
Behold the dauntleſs few whoſe trophies tell
How at Thermopylæ they nobly fell!
And thoſe at Marathon who fought and bled,
Before whoſe arms the vanquiſhed ſatrap fled!
Or where Platæa ſpreads her wat'ry plain!
Or Salamis repels th' Ægean main!
And him, the ſun of Thebes, whoſe warlike pride
Roſe with his arm, and periſh'd when he died!
And great Timoleon, freedom's deareſt ſon!
And the unconquer'd ſoul of Phocion!

Mark where approaching to the ſacred ſhrine,
Around whoſe baſe eternal laurels twine,
Th' hiſtoric miniſters of truth unfold
The mighty deeds in glory's page enroll'd.

The

The Carian ſage, with energy ſublime,
Unveils the ſculptur'd obeliſk of time:
'Twas his to pierce, with more than mortal ſight,
Through ancient darkneſs and oblivious night,
Of deeds long paſt to trace the ſecret ſprings,
The riſe of empires and the fate of kings.
Nor leſs illuſtrious, by the altar's ſide,
The boaſt of Athens, and of Greece the pride,
Thucydides appears; in either hand
He wields the blood-ſtain'd ſword and flaming brand.
In awful beauty, o'er his laurelled brows
The martial maid her ſable ægis throws!
To him alike reveal'd in all her charms,
The depths of council, and the pride of arms;
With glowing eloquence ſhe ſtamps the page
That conſecrates his name to every age.

Whence burſts this flood of light, before whoſe ray
Heav'ns azure concave ſeems to ſhrink away?
As if ſome daring hand aſide had thrown
The myſtic veil that ſhrouds the world unknown,
Bid mortal ſenſe the vaſt abyſs explore,
And tempt the trackleſs deep, unbounded by a ſhore.

Lo! where, enthron'd amidſt the rolling ſpheres,
His awful front majeſtic Plato rears.
Such as of old, on Sunium's rocky ſide,
Or where Iliſſus' ſacred waters glide,
From reaſon's light he taught the liſt'ning youth
Of moral beauty, or eternal truth;
Or in myſterious ſymbols half conceal'd
The ſecret lore which Memphis had reveal'd.
Now, clear'd from mortal miſts, his eagle ſight
Expatiates freely through the realms of light:
Inſpir'd by truth he ſings in bolder ſtrain
What pow'r combines creation's golden chain;
How worlds obey the geometric laws
Eſtabliſh'd by the great eternal Cauſe;
And whence in human breaſts immortal glows
Th' ethereal flame, which heav'n itſelf beſtows:
Till, riſing with its theme, the lofty ode
Aſcends from nature to the throne of God.

Unſeen celeſtial beings hover nigh,
And pour their ſweet accordant minſtrelſy;
Through boundleſs ſpace the ſacred hymn prolong,
And worlds unnumber'd join the choral ſong.

The Complaint of Valence. From the Four Slaves of Cythera, a Romance, by the Rev. Robert Bland.

THRICE o'er the myſtic ſcroll ſhe read, and wept,
Till from a night of terror and unreſt,
Calm ſlumber o'er her jaded ſpirits crept,
And razed out ſorrow's record from her breaſt.
Propt on an antique root in peace ſhe ſlept—
Birds, waters, lend their muſic to her reſt;
Till ere the ſun his mid-day courſe had ran,
She heard the plainings of a mournful man:

And on the moſs beheld a chieftain lie,
As if but late the battle he forſook;
One while he ſeemed to gaze on vacancy,
Now mute and mournful pored upon a book;
Now rapt in mazy reaſoning, bent his eye
On the calm mirror of that cryſtal brook:
His ſteed unbridled ranged the flowery field,
And on a beech were hung his helmet, glaive, and ſhield.

And thus with plaintive voice he filled the ſhade:
"How vain is wiſdom, and how weak the wiſe,
Who, when o'erwhelming ills our peace invade,
From open foes or ambuſhed enemies,
Our faint and ſhuddering nature would perſuade,
Alike to hold our joys and miſeries:
Nor comfort in a kindly tear to ſeek
From the full heart, when ſorrow bids it break!

"Nor wiſer they, who bid affections ſleep,
And from a loathed world retiring haſte;
For e'en in glooms unpierceable and deep,
Intrudes the keen remembrance of the paſt:
Nor they who would in toil their memory ſteep
In peaceful ſtole, or horrid armour braced;
For every interval that gives repoſe,
Feeds the foul weed, that poiſons as it grows.

"For I have fought, the terror of the plain,
From clime to clime, my hands with blood imbrued:
Riſe ſpirits of the brave in manhood ſlain,
And, captives, burſt your bands of ſervitude.
Bluſh for your conqueror now, and with diſdain
Behold him low on earth, by grief ſubdued;

Bluſh

Bluſh for the man who lately cauſed your fears,
With more than woman's weakneſs bathed in tears.

" But thou, falſe maid, with deeper bluſhes glow,
Source of my wanderings thou, and wayward deeds,
For whom in vain my idle ſorrows flow,
As day to day with ſilent tread ſucceeds;
For whom I rove and ſicken as I go,
And languiſh of a wound that inly bleeds:
And Heaven reſerves me yet from battle free,
To feel the ſtroke of death from only thee.

" Thy anſwering ſmile with rapture made me bleſt,
Pure as the joys of happy ſouls above;
Thy faithleſs treaſon ſtole me from my reſt,
From home and friends a baniſhed man to rove:
But yet thy form is imaged in my breaſt,
And warms again my frozen heart to love;
And as I give the lovely ſhape a name,
By tears unquenched I feed the living flame.

" A tender maid is like a floweret ſweet,
Within the covert of a garden born;
Nor flock, nor hind, diſturb the calm retreat,
But on the parent ſtalk it blooms untorn,
Refreſhed by vernal rains and gentle heat,
The balm of evening and the dews of morn:
Youths and enamoured maidens vie to wear
This flower, their boſom's grace, or curled around their hair.

" No ſooner gathered from the vernal bough,
Where freſh and blooming to the ſight it grew,
Than all who marked its opening beauty blow,
Forſake the tainted ſweet and faded hue.
And ſhe who yields, forgetful of her vow,
To one but newly loved, anothers due,
Shall live, (though high for heavenly beauty prized,)
By youths unhonoured and by maids deſpiſed.

" Oh, Iolante! what ſo fair a flower
Was ever fair, was ever pure like thee?
Oh, Iolante! what malignant power
Has made another rich and rifled me?
I ſaw thy beauties ripening every hour,
And when I hailed my happy deſtiny,
A ſtranger came, and gathered for his own,
The roſe I fondly marked for mine alone.

" Since

" Since when with helmet, brand, and battle-ſpear,
Far from the pleaſance of his native bounds,
Far from thoſe eyes that wont his heart to chear,
Mid ſights of havock and unſeemly wounds,
Valence has journey'd through the tedious year,
Till called to combat for his country's grounds;
And on that verdant marge reclines again,
Once known with joy, remembered now with pain.

" Fair winding vale, and thou delicious ſtream,
Enchanting birds, and beaſts that haunt the plain;
And thou green path, where fondly yet I dream
To mark ſome print of her, beloved in vain!
Unaltered yet, and freſh to me ye ſeem,
And ſmile, as in rebuke upon my pain;
No likeneſs to my happy ſelf I find
In theſe dim eyes, in this diſtempered mind.

" But if from reſt and happineſs to fly,
And all that once I languiſhed to behold,
If my heart's image painted in my eye,
Or grief, in ſtifled accents, hardly told,
If ever to complain, to weep, to ſigh,
Another dearer than myſelf to hold;
Feed on my withered frame, the guilt is thine,
Falſe fair, but ever be the ſuffering mine."

The Tale of Alfred. From the Same.

" BUT firſt, I charge thee, brim again the bowl,
To cheer thy ſpirits and enlarge thy ſoul;
For this grave truth my memory ever keeps,
Taught by my ſire, who with his fathers ſleeps:
Whene'er, he ſaid, (and yet I ſeem to hear
His warning voice in accents ſweet and clear,)
Fair ſon, whene'er thy wit is dull with uſe,
Be timely wiſe, nor ſpare the enlivening juice,
He ſaid; and hence, in honour to his name,
I ever hold in reverence that ſame."

He ſpoke, nor failed he of his own accord
With good example to enforce the word;
The harper ſmiled, and by his patron moved,
The ſage advice and ſolemn truth approved.
Then to another lay applied his mind,
And pondered long, nor yet a lay could find;

For

For this too dull for Hamet might appear,
And that, perhaps, unmeet for ladies ear.
Till now, by ſoft approving beauty bold,
Of fair Zoraida and himſelf he told,
And all unmarked, but as a tale gone by
Retraced in ſong their true love's hiſtory:
Her eye, her brow, as ivory ſmooth and fair;
Her angel lip and hyacinthine hair;
With each peculiar grace, ſo nicely true
To breathing nature and herſelf he drew,
That all the portait in the ſhade had known,
But for the name intended for her own.
The name, to Iſabelle exchanged, conveyed
The hidden meaning to the living maid;
And Alfred, turned to Theodore, concealed
The youth, to nought but prying love revealed.

Himſelf he ſang beneath the tyrant's power,
And eyes that ſparkled through the grated tower,
Cheering his eve; and ſigns and whiſpers ſoft,
That in mild evening ſoothed him from aloft.
Pleaſed with his theme, in light and trickſome mood
The guileful Alfred thus his tale purſued:—
"Hard fate was Theodore's,—to camps inured,
Hazard and war his boyiſh age endured,
Toſſed, in the many fortunes of the times,
From temperate heavens to hot and ſickly climes:
Now the ſweet link of friendſhip he enjoyed,
Now with rude hordes in iſlands waſte and void;
Ere to the ripeneſs of man's years he came,
To timeleſs age he wore his youthful frame;
Yet e'en in thraldom ſtranger to deſpair,
Tortured by men, befriended by the fair,
While love and pity cheered his lonely cell
From thy fair eyes, delightful Iſabelle.

"Now, ladies gay, full gladly you attend
Your lowly minſtrel to his ſtory's end,—
How love was crown'd, and Theodore ſet free
From ſervile toil and hard captivity;
For that you wiſh the loving pair ſucceſs,
From all your looks and whiſpers well I gueſs.

"This Theodore, though trained to rugged fight,
Yet was in ſooth a gentle, courteous knight,
Who, when at eve the buſy camp was ſtill,
In muſic exerciſed his happy ſkill,

Till the ſweet art, by ſtudious zeal obtained,
That ſoothed his thraldom, now his freedom gained:
And oft the lovely Iſabelle would deign
To liſten and applaud the minſtrel's ſtrain.
But as old Guzman, with ſuſpicious care,
For ever tended on his daughter fair,
The youth, who deemed that ever thus to ſigh,
Though very loving, was exceeding dry,
Contrived a virelay in careleſs guiſe
To woo the fair before the dotard's eyes."

Song to Iſabelle.

" My veſſel is gallant, and ſmooth is the wave,
My crew and my comrades are faithful and brave,
Be to-morrow the day, and bright noontide the hour,
Then prepared for eſcape let us enter the bower;
And leſt our departure thy father delay,
My art ſhall beguile him, and lead him away.
Then, lady, to fly if thy heart be reſigned,
Leave a ring for a token revealing thy mind.

" For ſcantly my finger ſhall ſtray o'er my lyre,
Ere a ſtranger ſhall enter, and baffle thy ſire,
And raiſing his forehead enſeamed with a ſcar,
Shall rumour of tumult, and havoc of war,
With a tale of falſe import ſhall break his repoſe,
And lead him from home to encounter his foes.
Then, lady, to fly if thy heart be reſigned,
Leave a ring for a token revealing thy mind.

" Then away with thy lover, and truſt to the gale,
That auſpicious to love ſhall emboſom the ſail;
No ſtorm ſhall imperil thy courſe o'er the flood,
But ſweet halcyons ſhall murmur thee bodements of good;
Unharm'd by rude breakers thy veſſel ſhall urge,
While the breezes but warble, and ripple the ſurge.
Then, lady, to fly if thy heart be reſigned,
Leave a ring for a token revealing thy mind.

" Nor deem that I woo thee away from thy home,
O'er waters unfathom'd fair lady to roam,
In ſome pitileſs region to make thy retreat,
By winter ingloom'd, or diſtemper'd by heat;
For gay are our vallies that laugh to the beams,
Where the fruitage is glowing, and healthful the ſtreams.
Then, lady, to fly if thy heart be reſigned,
Leave a ring for a token revealing thy mind.

" And brave are our knights, and our ladies are fair,
The courteous, the grave, and the noble are there ;
And the courteous, and noble, and grave ſhall agree,
When they gaze on thy charms, to do homage to thee :
While the love that began in the dawn of our prime
Shall be nurtured in ſilence, and foſtered by time.
Then, lady, to fly if thy heart be reſigned,
Leave a ring for a token revealing thy mind.

" Thus Theodore ;—the ſire applauded high
The minſtrel's art, and deemed his minſtrelſy
But as an antique legend handed down,
Nor dreaded danger from a ſeeming clown.
Not ſo the fair ; for oft a look ſhe ſtole
That to the ruſtic knight revealed her ſoul ;
She hailed a warrior in a ſlave's diſguiſe,
And ſmiled approval with her anſwering eyes.

" Dear is the ſtealth of love—the whiſper dear,
That breathes the thought of lovers when they fear,
When rapture ventures and ſuſpicion chains,
And dread with fond deſire the fight maintains.
All eloquence is theirs,—the varying cheek,
Eye, limb, and changeful feature, learn to ſpeak ;
Nor more their ways of utterance, than to know
The hidden heart from eye or ſpeaking brow ;
For well each new emotion they divine,
And read a wiſh in every myſtic ſign,
While from the vulgar crowd they hide their fires,
And in cold greetings maſk their warm deſires.
To end my tale ;—the maſter liked the ſtrain,
And on the morrow vowed to hear again ;
Then with his daughter from the arbour went,
Who left a ring, the token of conſent.
To-morrow came,—again the ſire approved
The ſong that robbed him of the maid beloved ;
And, ere in heaven declined the noontide ſun,
The ſtranger entered, and the maid was won."

Thus Alfred ſang ;—but oft his numbers failed,
And oft in turn, as hope and fear prevailed,
Their wonted power his quivering lips forſook,
And all his frame with ſudden tremor ſhook ;
More wan than lover's paleneſs was his cheek,
His fingers marr'd the tune, ſubdued and weak.
But Alfred's fear in ſilence now be paſt,
While to the tenor of my tale I haſte.

Old

Old Time's Holiday. Suggeſted on ſeeing a Picture of Time playing on a Harp. From Poems, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, Vol. IV.

Though ſwift the moments paſs along,
To ſome they ſcarcely ſeem to move;
Whilſt fancy ſings her elfin ſong,
Of hope, of joyance, and of love.

AS through a valley far remote I ſtrayed,
Methought, beſide a mould'ring temple's ſtone,
The tale of whoſe dark ſtructure was unknown,
I ſaw the FORM of TIME: his ſcythe's huge blade
Lay ſwathed in the graſs, whoſe gleam was ſeen
Fearful, as oft the wind the tuſſocks green
Moved ſtirring to and fro: the beam of morn
Caſt a dim luſtre on his look forlorn;
When touching a reſponſive inſtrument,
Stern o'er the chords his furrow'd brow he bent.
Meantime a naked boy, with aſpect ſweet,
Play'd ſmiling with the hour-glaſs at his feet!
Apart from theſe, and in a verdant glade,
A ſleeping infant on the moſs was laid,
O'er which a female form her vigils kept,
And watch'd it, ſoftly breathing, as it ſlept.
Then I drew nigh, and to my liſt'ning ear
Came, ſtealing ſoft and ſlow, this ditty clear:—

"Lullaby, ſing lullaby,
Sweeteſt babe, in ſafety lie,
I thy mother ſit and ſing,
Nor hear of Time the hurrying wing.

"Here, where innocence repoſes,
Fairy ſylphs your ſports delay;
Then the breath of morning roſes
From its bed of bliſs convey.

"Lullaby, ſing lullaby,
Sweeteſt babe, in in ſafety lie,
I thy mother ſit and ſing,
Nor hear of Time the hurrying wing."

Huſhed in ſweet ſlumber, its calm eye-lids cloſed,
One little hand upon its heaving breaſt,
Amidſt the flowers the beauteous child repoſed,
And ring-doves murmur'd it to ſtiller reſt.

Unheard, far off, the mutt'ring thunder roll'd,
Unſeen, far off, the meteor lightnings play'd,
When all was ſunſhine here, and clouds, like gold,
Hung, as delaying, o'er the ſhadowy glade.

I turned, and lo! a bevy bright and fair
Came dancing, youths and virgins in a throng.
Heard ye the animated air
Rich tones of pleaſure and of hope prolong?

"Golden lads and laſſes gay *,
Now is life's ſweet holiday:
TIME ſhall lay by his ſcythe for you,
And Joy the valley with freſh violets ſtrew."

Then ſweeter came, methought with accents clear,
The ſong, in ſoft accordance to mine ear.
It ſaid, "O youth, ſtill joyous on thy way
Mayſt thou be found, now that her purple wing
The morning waves, and the freſh woodlands ſing.
Nor let cold Wiſdom's voice thy heart diſmay,
Telling thee hope and pleaſure laſt not long;
That age will come, like pilgrim poor and old,
And wan diſeaſe, with cheerleſs aſpect cold;
But liſten to my mirth-inſpiring ſong:
The ſhadow'd landſcape and the golden ſun,
The ſkies ſo pure, the vernal paſtures green,
And hills and vales, at diſtance ſofter ſeen,
Invite thee life's glad race ſecure to run;
Thine every joy the ſmiling proſpect yields—
To-morrow to freſh ſtreams and fairer fields †."

As light of heart they paſſed along,
At once the dark muſician changed his ſong:—

"Who, in tender tranſport lying,
While the gentle wizard ſings,
Thinks not of the hour that's flying,
Or the noiſe of human things?"

I looked, and ſaw upon a lake, alone,
Stealing beneath the bank, a little boat
(Upon whoſe ſail the beams of morning ſhone)
Soft on its ſhade without a murmur float.

* "Golden lads and laſſes muſt
All follow thee, and turn to duſt." *Shakeſpeare.*
† "To-morrow to freſh woods and paſtures new." *Milton.*

Aërial

Aërial rocks gleamed o'er the woods remote:
On all things round there was a ſilence deep,
Save when at times was heard the turtle's note,
Or diſtant pipe, or bell of wand'ring ſheep.
Upon the bank myrtles and lilies grew,
And ſpreading woodbines marked a ſylvan cave;
And ſometimes, decked with flowers of various hue,
The green-ſward ſlope deſcended to the wave.
And in that boat, with look that witneſſed joy
And hope, a beautiful and winged boy *
Sat at the helm, and as the breezes fanned
His yellow-ſtirring hair, filling the ſail
Gently, he ſmiled, and lifted in his hand
A blooming may-thorn whilſt the wizard ſung,
OLD TIME, as he himſelf were beautiful and young,
And ſeemed with moody joy the fairy ſight to hail.

" Bleſs the hour endearment gives!
Who on earth's cold climate lives
But has felt his heart rejoice
When woman's ſmile and woman's voice
Hath ſent, with magical controul,
All ſweetneſs to the ſoftened ſoul.

" Oh! happineſs, where art thou found,
(If indeed on mortal ground,)
But with faithful hearts alone,
That love and friendſhip have made one—
In tenderneſs and faith ſincere,
In affection's ſweeteſt tear."

It was a live-long holiday;
And in that boat, far from the faithleſs crowd,
They who true love and mutual truſt avowed,
Purſued in peace their ſolitary way.
And it was bliſs to ſee the manly youth,
Whoſe look beſpoke ſincerity and truth
Gaze upon her he loved, as he could bleſs
The ALMIGHTY BEING, in the living light
Of whoſe warm ſun he felt ſuch happineſs,
Whilſt tears of tranſport almoſt dimmed his ſight.
To tenderneſs and confidence reſigned,
On his protecting boſom ſhe reclined
Her head: and ſo, beneath the gleamy ſail
They paſſed, amid the ſummer-ſhining vale.

* " Ipſe gubernator reſidens in puppe Cupido." *Ovid.*

Meantime the hoar muſician ſings,
Hiding the ſhadow of his ſable wings:—
" Come, and forget the coil of human things!
The ſound of many ſorrows, that diſmay
The ſhrinking heart of man, here dies away!
Come, pure endearment, be this moment thine;
Kiſs from the lid the tears that rapturous ſhine,
And let one ſpirit of affection ſay,
Bleſt hours, but ah! too tranſient; could ye ſtay
Your rapid flight, how ſweet were life's long way!"

Now where a gloom of thicker myrtles grew,
The fading viſion leſſened from my view.
As far away the ſtealing ſhadows float,
Still ev'ning ſlowly ſheds her umbrage hoar,
One ſtreak of light ſtrays from the parting boat,
And ſofteſt ſounds die on the diſtant ſhore.
I ſtood like one who with delighted eyes
Purſues the noontide rainbow as it flies;
When from a cloud that ſapphire-bright appeared,
Words, like the ſound of waves remote, I heard:—

" Mortal, would thy ſearch obtain
True wiſdom in a world of pain?
Oh, when all the vallies ring
To muſic of life's opening ſpring,
Let not FLATTERY's ſyren lay
Lure thy truſting heart aſtray.
Let gaiety's glad dance and ſong
Detain, but not detain thee long.
LOVE's enchanting viſions gleam,
But ah! they are not what they ſeem!
Nor yet let ſullen CARE deſtroy
Vernal hopes and ſummer joy!
Uſe the PRESENT, but not ſo
That it may lead to years of woe.
Take the joys the Heavens impart
With a meek, a thankful heart,
And think them, when they ſteal away,
But as companions of a day.
Love, and youth's delightful ſpring,
Time ſhall bear with rapid wing;
But, when paſſion's hour is paſt,
FIDELITY and TRUTH ſhall laſt,
Laſt till life's few ſands are run,
And nature views the ſinking ſun!
Nor think that then the parting knell
Sounds o'er the grave a laſt farewell;

For

For higher, purer joys remain,
Far beyond yon ſtarry plain;
Where ſorrow ſhall no loſs deplore,
Where TIME and change ſhall be no more."

I looked, and ſaw no more the boat, the ſtream
Paſſed like the ſilent pictures of a dream:
I turned me to the ſpot, where with white beard
That phantom-minſtrel o'er his harp inclined;
I ſaw alone his ſhadow vaſt, and heard
The ſound of mighty pennons clanging in the wind!

Lines from the firſt Idyll of Theocritus. By the Same.

MARK, where the beetling precipice appears,
The toil of the old fiſher, grey with years;
Mark, as to drag the laden net he ſtrains,
The labouring muſcle and the ſwelling veins!
There, in the ſun the cluſter'd vineyard bends,
And ſhines empurpled as the morn aſcends!
A little boy, with idly-happy mien,
To guard the grapes upon the ground is ſeen;
Two wily foxes creeping round appear,
(The ſcrip that holds his morning meal is near,)
One breaks the bending vine; with longing lip,
And eye aſkance, one eyes the tempting ſcrip.
He plats and plats his ruſhy net all day,
And hopes the vagrant graſshopper his prey;
He plats his nets, intent with idle care,
Nor heeds how vineyard, grape, or ſcrip may fare.

The Winds. By the Same.

WHEN dark November bade the leaves adieu,
And the gale ſung amid the ſea-boy's ſhrouds,
Methought I ſaw four winged forms, that flew,
With garments ſtreaming light, amid the clouds.
From adverſe regions of the ſky,
In dim ſucceſſion they went by:
The firſt, as o'er the billowy deep he paſt,
Blew from his brazen trump a far-reſounding blaſt.

Upon a beaked promontory high,
With ſtreaming beard and cloudy brow ſevere,
Mark'd ye the FATHER * of the frowning year?
Dark vapours roll'd o'er the tempeſtuous ſky,
When creeping WINTER from his cave came forth;
"Stern courier of the ſtorm," he cried, "what from the north?"

North Wind.

"From the vaſt and deſert deeps,
Where the lonely Kraken ſleeps,
Where fix'd, the icy mountains high
Glimmer to the twilight ſky;
Where, ſix lingering months to laſt,
The night has cloſed,—the day is paſt,—
Father, lo! I come, I come:
I have heard the wizard's drum,
And the wither'd Lapland hag,
Seal, with muttered ſpell, her bag:
O'er mountains white and foreſt ſere
I flew, and with a wink am here."

Winter.

"Spirit of unwearied wing,
From the Baltic's frozen main,
From the Ruſs's bleak domain,
Say, what tidings doſt thou bring?"

"Shouts, and the noiſe of battle!" and again
The winged wind blew loud a deadly blaſt;
"Shouts, and the noiſe of battle!" the long main
Seem'd with hoarſe voice to anſwer as he paſt.

The moody SOUTH went by, and ſilence kept;
The cloudy rack oft hid his mournful mien,
And frequent fell the ſhowers, as if he wept
The eternal havoc of this mortal ſcene.

He had heard the yell and cry,
And howling dance of anarchy,
Where the Rhone, with ruſhing flood,
Murmured to the main through blood:
He ſeemed to wiſh he could for ever throw
His miſty mantle o'er a world of woe.

* "Then comes the father of the tempeſt forth." *Thomſon.*

But

But rouſing him from his deſponding trance,
Cold EURUS blew his ſharp and ſhrilling horn;
In his right hand he bore an icy lance,
That far off glitter'd in the froſt of morn:
The old man knew the clarion from afar;
"What from the Eaſt," he cried;

Eaſt Wind.

"Shouts and the noiſe of war!
Far o'er the land has been my flight,
O'er many a foreſt dark as night,
O'er champains where the Tartar ſpeeds,
O'er Wolga's wild and giant reeds,
O'er the Carpathian ſummits hoar,
Beneath whoſe ſnows and ſhadows frore,
Poland's level length unfolds
Her trackleſs woods and wildering wolds,
Like a ſpirit ſeeking reſt,
I have paſſed from eaſt to weſt,
While ſounds of diſcord and lament
Roſe from the earth where'er I went!
I care not; hurrying, as in ſcorn,
I ſhook my lance and blew my horn;
The day ſhews clear, and merrily
Along the Atlantic now I fly."

Who comes in ſoft and ſpicy veſt,
From the mild regions of the weſt?
An azure veil bends waving o'er his head,
And ſhowers of violets from his hands are ſhed.
'Tis ZEPHYR, with a look as young and fair
As when his lucid wings convey'd
That beautiful and gentle maid
Pſyche, tranſported through the air,
The bliſsful couch of Love's own God to ſhare.

Winter avaunt! thy haggard eye
Will ſcare him as he paſſes by,
Him and the timid butterfly.
He brings again the morn of May.
The lark amid the clear blue ſky,
Carols, but is not ſeen ſo high,
And all the winter's winds fly far away!

I cry'd, "O Father of the world! whoſe might
The ſtorm, the darkneſs, and the winds obey,
Oh, when will thus the long tempeſtuous night
Of warfare and of woe be roll'd away!
Oh, when will ceaſe the uproar and the din,
And peace breathe ſoft, 'ſummer is coming in!'"

The Struggle of Spain. From Europe: Lines on the preſent War. By Reginald Heber, M.A.

"OH! live there yet whoſe hardy ſouls and high
Peace bought with ſhame, and tranquil bonds defy?
Who, driven from every ſhore, and lords in vain
Of the wide priſon of the lonely main,
Cling to their country's rights with free-born zeal,
More ſtrong from every ſtroke, and patient of the ſteel?
Guiltleſs of chains, to them has heaven conſign'd
Th' entruſted cauſe of Europe and mankind?
Or hope we yet in Sweden's martial ſnows
That Freedom's weary foot may find repoſe?
No;—from yon hermit ſhade, yon cypreſs dell,
Where faintly peals the diſtant matin bell;
Where bigot kings and tyrant prieſts had ſhed
Their ſleepy venom o'er his dreadful head;
He wakes, the avenger—hark! the hills around,
Untam'd Aſturia bids her clarion ſound;
And many an ancient rock, and fleecy plain,
And many a valiant heart returns the ſtrain;
Hard by that ſhore, where Calpe's armed ſteep
Flings its long ſhadow o'er the Herculean deep,
And Luſian glades, whoſe hoary poplars wave
In ſoft, ſad murmurs over Inez' grave *.
They bleſs the call who dared the firſt withſtand,
The Moſlem waſters of their bleeding land †;
When firm in faith, and red with ſlaughter'd foes,
Thy ſpear-encircled crown ‡, Aſturia, roſe.

* Inez de Caſtro, the beloved miſtreſs of the Infant Don Pedro, ſon of Alphonſo IV. king of Portugal, and ſtabbed by the orders, and, according to Camoëns, in the preſence of that monarch. A fountain near Coimbra, the ſcene of their loves and misfortunes, is ſtill pointed out by tradition, and called Amores. De la Clede Hiſt. de Portugalle, 4to. tom. 1. p. 282—7: and Camoëns' Luſiad, canto 3, ſtanza cxxxv.

† The Aſturians, who under Pelagius firſt oppoſed the career of Mahometan ſucceſs.

‡ "La couronne de fer de Dom Pélage,—cette couronne ſi ſimple mais ſi glorieuſe, dont chaque fleuron eſt formé du fer d'une lance arrachée aux Chevaliers Maures que ce heros avoit fait tomber ſous ſes coups." Roman de Dom Urſino le Navarini, Treſſan, tom ix. p. 52.

Nor

Nor theſe alone; as loud the war-notes ſwell,
La Mancha's ſhepherd quits his cork-built cell;
Alhama's ſtrength is there, and thoſe who till
(A hardy race) Morena's ſcorched hill;
And in rude arms through wide Galicia's reign,
The ſwarthy vintage pours her vigorous train.

"Saw ye thoſe tribes? not their's the plumed boaſt,
The ſightly trappings of a marſhall'd hoſt;
No weeping nations curſe their fatal ſkill,
Expert in danger, and enur'd to kill:—
But their's the kindling eye, the ſtrenuous arm;
Their's the dark cheek, with patriot ardour warm,
Unblanch'd by ſluggard eaſe, or ſlaviſh fear,
And proud and pure the blood that mantles there.
Their's from the birth is toil; o'er granite ſteep,
And healthy wild, to guard their wandering ſheep;
To urge the labouring mule, or bend the ſpear
'Gainſt the night-prowling wolf, or felon bear;
The bull's hoarſe rage in dreadful ſport to mock,
And meet with ſingle ſword his bellowing ſhock.
Each martial chaunt they know, each manly rhyme,
Rude, ancient lays of Spain's heroic time*.
Of him in Xeres' carnage fearleſs found †,
(His glittering brows with hoſtile ſpear-heads bound;)
Of that chaſte king whoſe hardy mountain train
O'erthrew the knightly race of Charlemagne ‡;
And chiefeſt him, who rear'd his banner tall §
(Illuſtrious exile!) o'er Valentia's wall;
Ungrac'd by kings, whoſe Mooriſh title roſe
The toil-earn'd homage of his wondering foes.

* See the two elegant ſpecimens given by Biſhop Percy, in his Reliques; and the more accurate tranſlations of Mr. Rodd, in his Civil Wars of Granada.

† The Gothic monarchy in Spain was overthrown by the Muſſulmans at the battle of Xeres, the Chriſtian army being defeated with dreadful ſlaughter, and the death of their king, the unhappy and licentious Rodrigo. Pelagius aſſembled the ſmall band of thoſe fugitives who deſpiſed ſubmiſſion, amid the mountains of the Aſturias, under the name of king of Oviedo.

‡ Alonzo, ſurnamed the Chaſte, with ample reaſon, if we believe his hiſtorians; who defeated, according to the Spaniſh romances, and the graver authority of Mariana, the whole force of Charlemagne and the twelve peers of France, at Roncevalles. Bertraud del Carpio, the ſon of Alonzo's ſiſter, Ximena, was his general; and, according to Don Quixote, (no incompetent authority on ſuch a ſubject) put the celebrated Orlando to the ſame death as Hercules inflicted on Antæus. His reaſon was, that the nephew of Charlemagne was enchanted, and like Achilles only vulnerable in the heel, to guard which he always wore iron ſhoes. See Mariana, l. vii. c. 11.; Don Quixote, book i. c. 1.; and the notes on Mr. Southey's Chronicle of the Cid; a work replete with powerful deſcription, and knowledge of ancient hiſtory and manners.

§ Rodrigo Diaz, of Bivàr, ſirnamed the Cid by the Moors. See Mr. Southey's Chronicle.

"Yes;

" Yes; every mouldering tower and haunted flood,
And the wild murmurs of the waving wood;
Each ſandy waſte, and orange-ſcented dell,
And red Buraba's field *, and Lugo tell
How their brave fathers fought, how thick the invaders fell.

" Oh virtue long forgot, or vainly tried,
To glut a bigot's zeal, or tyrant's pride;
Condemn'd in diſtant climes to bleed and die
'Mid the dank poiſons of Tlaſcala's † ſky;
Or when ſtern Auſtria ſtretch'd her lawleſs reign,
And ſpent in northern fights the flower of Spain;
Or war's hoarſe furies yell'd on Yſſel's ſhore,
And Alva's ruffian ſword was drunk with gore.
Yet dar'd not then Tlaſcala's chiefs withſtand
The lofty daring of Caſtilia's band;
And weeping France her captive king ‡ deplor'd,
And curſed the deathful point of Ebro's ſword.
Now, nerv'd with hope, their night of ſlavery paſt,
Each heart beats high in freedom's buxom blaſt;
Lo! conqueſt calls, and beckoning from afar,
Uplifts his laurel wreath, and waves them on to war.
—Woe to the uſurper, then! who dares defy
The ſturdy wrath of ruſtic loyalty!
Woe to the hireling bands! foredoom'd to feel
How ſtrong in labour's horny hand the ſteel!—
Behold, even now, beneath yon Bœtic ſkies §
Another Pavia bids her trophies riſe;
Even now in baſe diſguiſe, and friendly night,
Their robber-monarch ſpeeds his ſecret flight;
And with new zeal the fiery Luſians rear,
(Rouſed by their neighbours' worth) the long-neglected ſpear.

" So, when ſtern winter chills the April ſhowers,
And iron froſt forbids the timely flowers;
Oh, deem not thou the vigorous herb below
Is cruſh'd and dead beneath the incumbent ſnow:
Such tardy ſuns ſhall wealthier harveſts bring
Than all the early ſmiles of flattering ſpring."

Sweet as the martial trumpet's ſilver ſwell,
On my charm'd ſenſe the unearthly accents fell:

* Buraba and Lugo were renowned ſcenes of Spaniſh victories over the Moors, in the reigns of Bermudo; or, as his name is latinized, Veremundus, and Alonzo the Chaſte. Of Lugo the Britiſh have ſince obtained a melancholy knowledge.

† An extenſive diſtrict of Mexico: its inhabitants were the firſt Indians who ſubmitted to the Spaniards under Cortez.

‡ Francis I. taken priſoner at the battle of Pavia.

§ Andaluſia forms a part of the ancient Hiſpania Bœtica.

Me

Me wonder held, and joy chaſtiſed by fear,
As one who wiſh'd, yet hardly hop'd to hear.
" Spirit," I cried, " dread teacher, yet declare,
In that good fight ſhall Albion's arm be there?
Can Albion, brave, and wiſe, and proud, refrain
To hail a kindred ſoul, and link her fate with Spain?
Too long her ſons, eſtrang'd from war and toil,
Have loath'd the ſafety of their ſea-girt iſle;
And chid the waves which pent their fire within,
As the ſtall'd war-horſe woos the battle's din.
Oh, by this throbbing heart, this patriot glow,
Which, well I feel, each Engliſh breaſt ſhall know;
Say, ſhall my country, roûſed from deadly ſleep,
Crowd with her hardy ſons yon weſtern ſteep?
And ſhall once more the ſtar of France grow pale,
And dim its beams in Roncesvalles' * vale?
Or ſhall foul ſloth and timid doubt conſpire
To mar our zeal, and waſte our manly fire?"

Still as I gazed his lowering features ſpread,
High roſe his form, and darkneſs veil'd his head;
Faſt from his eyes the ruddy lightning broke,
To heaven he rear'd his arm, and thus he ſpoke:

" Woe, trebly woe, to their ſlow zeal who bore
Deluſive comfort to Iberia's ſhore!
Who in mid conqueſt, vaunting, yet diſmay'd,
Now gave, and now withdrew their laggard aid;
Who, when each boſom glow'd, each heart beat high,
Chill'd the pure ſtream of England's energy,
And loſt in courtly forms and blind delay
The loiter'd hours of glory's ſhort-liv'd day.

" O peerleſs iſland, generous, bold, and free,
Loſt, ruin'd Albion, Europe mourns for thee!
Hadſt thou but known the hour in mercy given
To ſtay thy doom, and ward the ire of heaven;
Bar'd in the cauſe of man thy warrior breaſt,
And cruſh'd on yonder hills the approaching peſt,
Then had not murder ſack'd thy ſmiling plain,
And wealth, and worth, and wiſdom, all been vain!

" Yet, yet awake! while fear and wonder wait
On the poiſed balance, trembling ſtill with fate †!

* See the former note on Alonſo the Chaſte.

† This line is imitated from one in Mr. Roſcoe's ſpirited verſes on the commencement of the French Revolution.

If

If aught their worth can plead, in battle tried,
Who tinged with ſlaughter Tajo's curdling tide;
(What time baſe truce the wheels of war could ſtay,
And the weak victor flung his wreath away;)—
Or their's, who, doled in ſcanty bands afar,
Waged without hope the diſproportion'd war,
And cheerly ſtill, and patient of diſtreſs,
Led their forwaſted files on numbers numberleſs * !

" Yes, through the march of many a weary day,
As yon dark column toils its ſeaward way;
As bare, and ſhrinking from the inclement ſky,
The languid ſoldier bends him down to die;
As o'er thoſe helpleſs limbs, by murder gor'd,
The baſe purſuer waves his weaker ſword,
And, trod to earth, by trampling thouſands preſſed,
The horſe-hoof glances from that mangled breaſt;—
Even in that hour his hope to England flies,
And fame and vengeance fire his cloſing eyes.

" Oh, if ſuch hope can plead, or his, whoſe bier
Drew from his conquering hoſt their lateſt tear;
Whoſe ſkill, whoſe matchleſs valour, gilded flight;
Entomb'd in foreign duſt, a haſty ſoldier's rite;—
Oh, rouſe thee yet to conquer and to ſave,
And wiſdom guide the ſword which juſtice gave!

" And yet the end is not! from yonder towers
While one Saguntum † mocks the victor's powers;
While one brave heart defies a ſervile chain,
And one true ſoldier wields a lance for Spain;
Truſt not, vain tyrant, though thy ſpoiler band
In tenfold myriads darken half the land;
(Vaſt as that power, againſt whoſe impious lord
Bethulia's matron ‡ ſhook the nightly ſword;)
Though ruth and fear thy woundleſs ſoul defy,
And fatal genius fire thy martial eye;
Yet truſt not here o'er yielding realms to roam,
Or cheaply bear a bloodleſs laurel home.

" No! by His viewleſs arm whoſe righteous care
Defends the orphan's tear, the poor man's prayer;

* " He look'd and ſaw what numbers numberleſs."
Milton's Paradise Regained.

† The ancient renown of Saguntum and its ſiege has been now rivalled by Zaragoza. The author is happy to refer his readers to the intereſting narrative of his friend Mr. Vaughan.

‡ Judith.

Who,

Who, Lord of nature, o'er this changeful ball
Decrees the riſe of empires, and the fall;
Wondrous in all his ways, unſeen, unknown,
Who treads the wine-preſs of the world alone *;
And robed in darkneſs, and ſurrounding fears,
Speeds on their deſtin'd road the march of years!
No! ſhall yon eagle, from the ſnare ſet free,
Stoop to thy wriſt, or cower his wing for thee?
And ſhall it tame deſpair, thy ſtrong controul,
Or quench a nation's ſtill reviving ſoul?—
Go, bid the force of countleſs bands conſpire
To curb the wandering wind, or graſp the fire!
Caſt thy vain fetters on the troublous ſea!—
But Spain, the brave, the virtuous, ſhall be free."

Deſcription of a Shepherd almoſt loſt in the Snow. From Britiſh Georgics. By James Grahame.

BUT not with night's approach the ſhepherd's toils
Are ended: through the deep and dreary glooms,
Without one guiding ſtar, he ſtruggling wades
The riſing wreath; till, quite o'erſpent, compell'd
To leave his flock to time and chance, he turns
Homeward his weary and uncertain ſteps,
Much doubting of his way, foreboding much.
In vain he tries to find his wonted marks,—
The hill-ſide fountain, with its little plot
Of verdant ſward around; the well-known cairn;
The blaſted branchleſs oak; the ancient ſtone
Where murdered martyrs fell, and where they lie:
In vain he liſts to hear the ruſhing ſtream,
Whoſe winding courſe would lead him to his home.
O'ercome at laſt, yielding to treacherous reſt,
He ſits him down, and folds within his plaid,
In fond embrace, the ſharer of his toils,
The partner of his children's infant ſports.
His children! thought of them wakes new reſolves
To make one laſt deſpairing effort more.
Meanwhile they, crouching round the blazing hearth,
Oft aſk their mother when he will return.
She on her rocking infant looks the while,
Or, ſtarting, thinks ſhe hears the lifted latch;
And oft the driſt comes ſweeping o'er the floor,

* "I have trodden the wine-preſs alone, and of the people there was none with me, for I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury." Iſaiah lxiii. 3.

While anxiouſly ſhe looks into the ſtorm,
Returning ſoon to ſtir the dying brands,
That with their blaze her ſinking hopes revive.
Alas! her hopes are tranſient as that blaze,
And direful images her fancy croud,—
The dog returning maſterleſs; the ſearch
By friends and kinſmen wandering far o'er moſs
And moor; the ſad ſucceſs—his body found
Half buried in a wreath; the opening door
To let the bearers in! The door *is* opened:
Shook from poor Yarrow's fur, a fleety miſt
Is ſcatter'd round, and *in* his maſter ſteps.
What joy! what ſilent tearful joy pervades
The late deſpairing groupe! Round him they cling;
One doffs his ſtiffened plaid, and one his ſhoes;
Kneeling, one chafes his hands and feet benumbed;
The ſleeping babe is rouſed to kiſs its ſire,
Reſtored paſt hope; and ſupper, long forgot,
Crowns the glad board: nor is their evening prayer
This night omitted; fervent, full of thanks,
From glowing hearts in artleſs phraſe it flows!
Then, ſimply chaunted by the parent pair,
And by the liſping choir the ſong of praiſe,
Beneath the heath-roof'd cottage in the wild,
Aſcends more grateful to the heavenly throne,
Than pealing diapaſon, and the loud
Swelling acclaim of notes by art attuned.

A Ruſtic Wedding. From the Same.

THE appointed day arrives, a blythſome day
Of feſtive jollity; yet not devoid
Of ſoft regret to her about to leave
A parent's roof; yes, at the word *join hands*,
A tear reluctant ſtarts, as ſhe beholds
Her mother's look, her father's ſilvery hairs.
But ſerious thoughts take flight, when from the barn,
Soon as the bands are knit, a jocund ſound
Strikes briſkly up, and nimble feet beat faſt
Upon the earthen floor. Through many a reel,
With various ſteps uncouth, ſome new, ſome old,
Some all the dancer's own, with Highland flings
Not void of grace, the lads and laſſes ſtrive
To dance each other down; and oft, when quite
Foreſpent, the fingers merrily cracked, the bound,
The rallying ſhout well-timed, and ſudden change

To

To ſprightlier tune, revive the flagging foot,
And make it feel as if it tripped on air.

When all are tired, and all his ſtock of reels
The minſtrel, o'er and o'er again, has run,
The cheering flaggon circles round; meanwhile
A ſoftened tune, and ſlower meaſure, flows
Sweet from the ſtrings, and ſtills the boiſterous joy.
May be, *The Bonny Broom of Cowden knows*,
(If ſimply play'd, though not with maſter-hand)
Or *Patie's Mill*, or *Buſh aboon Traquair*,
Inſpire a tranquil gladneſs through the breaſt;
Or that moſt mournful ſtrain, the ſad lament
For Flodden Field, drives mirth from every face,
And makes the firmeſt heart ſtrive hard to curb
The riſing tear,—till, with unpauſing bow,
The blythe ſtrathſpey ſprings up, reminding ſome
Of nights when Gow's old arm, (nor old the tale)
Unceaſing, ſave when reeking cans went round,
Made heart and heel leap high as bounding roe.
Alas! no more ſhall we behold that look
So venerable, yet ſo bleſt with mirth,
And feſtive joy ſedate; that ancient garb
Unvaried, tartan hoſe, and bonnet blue!
No more ſhall beauty's partial eye draw forth
The full intoxication of his ſtrain,
Mellifluous, ſtrong, exuberantly rich!
No more, amid the pauſes of the dance,
Shall he repeat thoſe meaſures, that in days
Of other years, could ſoothe a falling prince,
And light his viſage with a tranſient ſmile
Of melancholy joy,—like autumn ſun
Gilding a fere-tree with a paſſing beam!
Or play to ſportive children on the green
Dancing at gloamin hour; or willing cheer,
With ſtrains unbought, the ſhepherd's bridal day!

But light now failing, glittering candles ſhine
In ready chandeliers of moulded clay
Stuck round the walls, diſplaying to the view
The ceiling, rich with cobweb drapery hung.
Meanwhile, from mill and ſmiddy, field and barn,
Freſh groupes come haſtening in: but of them all
The miller bears the gree, as rafter high
He leaps, and, lighting, ſhakes a duſty cloud all round.

In harmleſs merriment, protracted long,
The hours glide by. At laſt, the ſtocking thrown,

And duly every goſſip rite performed,
Youths, maids, and matrons, take their ſeveral ways;
While drouthy carles, waiting for the moon,
Sit down again, and quaff till day-light dawn.

The Kirn, or Scottiſh Harveſt Home. From the Same.

BRIGHT now the ſhortening day, and blythe its cloſe,
When to the kirn, the neighbours old and young,
Come dropping in to ſhare the well-earned feaſt.
The ſmith aſide his ponderous ſledge has thrown,
Raked up the fire, and cooled the hiſſing brand:
His ſluice the miller ſhuts; and from the barn
The threſhers hie, to don their Sunday coats.
Simply adorned, with ribbons, blue and pink,
Bound round their braided hair, the laſſes trip
To grace the feaſt, which now is ſmoking ran
On tables of all ſhape, and ſize, and height,
Joined awkwardly, yet to the crowded gueſts
A ſeemly joyous ſhow, all loaded well:
But chief, at the board head, the haggis round
Attracts all eyes, and even the good man's grace
Prunes of its wonted length. With eager knife,
The quivering globe he then prepares to broach;
While for her gown ſome ancient matron quakes,
Her gown of ſilken woof all figur'd thick
With roſes white, far larger than the life,
On azure ground,—her grannam's wedding garb,
Old as that year when Sheriffmuir was bought.
Old tales are told, and well-known jeſts abound,
Which laughter meets half-way as ancient friends,
Nor, like the worldling, ſpurns becauſe threadbare.

When ended the repaſt, and board and bench
Vaniſh like thought, by many hands removed,
Up ſtrikes the fiddle; quick upon the floor
The youths lead out the half reluctant maids,
Baſhful at firſt, and darning through the reels
With timid ſteps, till, by the muſic chear'd,
With free and airy ſteps, they bound along,
Then deftly wheel, and to their partner's face,
Turning this ſide, now that, with varying ſtep.
Sometimes two ancient couple o'er the floor,
Skim through a reel, and think of youthful years.

Meanwhile the frothing bickers *, ſoon as fill'd,

* Beakers.

Are

Are drained, and to the gauntrees* oft return,
Where goſſips ſit, unmindful of the dance.
Salubrious beverage! Were thy ſterling worth
But duly prized, no more the alembic vaſt
Would, like ſome dire volcano, vomit forth
Its floods of liquid fire, and far and wide
Lay waſte the land; no more the fruitful boon
Of twice ten ſhrievedoms, into poiſon turned,
Would taint the very life-blood of the poor,
Shrivelling their heart-ſtrings like a burning ſcroll.

Grecian Sculpture. From Elements of Art, a Poem. By Martin Archer Shee, Eſq.

NO more the Deity degrades the ſhrine,
Of Genius born behold a race divine!
Her pregnant Arts ſuch forms of beauty bore,
As made it almoſt duty to adore:
Such marks of heaven in each bright feature ſhone,
As mortals could aſcribe to Gods alone;
And tho' falſe hope in idol power he plac'd,
The Pagan half was pardoned for his taſte.

Now, throned at Elis firſt, the Olympic ſire
Appear'd ſublime, amidſt the immortal quire:
Pride of the Pagan hoſt! the form divine
Betray'd omnipotence in every line:
With ſuch an awful brow he bore command,
And graſp'd the golden ſceptre in his hand,
That even celeſtials might his frown have fear'd,
Confeſs'd their ſovereign ruler, and rever'd.

Now Pallas, too, receiv'd her ſecond birth,
And Phidias' offspring rivall'd Jove's on earth;
Preſiding Wiſdom on her brow expreſs'd
The flame divine that glow'd within her breaſt;
While grace and majeſty in every part,
Proclaim'd the bright divinity of art.
But now thoſe ancient glories ſhine no more,
And fame records them only to deplore:
Yet rich in what remains, our humbler days,
Condemn'd to copy, and content to praiſe,
Behold the wealth by wondering ages ſhared,
And grateful triumph in what time has ſpared.

* Wooden frames on which beer-caſks are ſet. *Johnſon.*

Lo! firſt, where dazzling fair, as poets feign,
The ſea-born Goddeſs bluſhing from the main,
When raviſh'd Ocean ſaw the viſion riſe,
Stole his laſt kiſs, and gave her to the ſkies,
Love's queen appears; all hearts her ſway confeſs,
And powerful monarchs plunder to poſſeſs:
The vulgar trophies of the ſword deſpiſe,
And claim a triumph for their Parian prize:
Unrivall'd form! beyond Circaſſia's boaſt!
Or yet the brighter fair of Albion's coaſt!
To thee the bard, as erſt on Ida's hill
Like Paris, would preſent the apple ſtill;
His partial eye, though painting's glories warm,
And jealous nature take Olynthia's form.

With modeſt mien the ſovereign beauty ſtands,
And ſeeks to ſhun the homage ſhe commands,
Averts her face with ſuch a timid air,
The marble ſeems to burn in bluſhes there;
While grace and eaſe in every limb unfold
The Paphian fair that fired the world of old.

Each charm divine that Nature's ſtores ſupply,
To fire the poet's thought, or painter's eye;
Whate'er of Love's elyſium fancy views,
Or Heaven unfolds in viſion to the muſe,
The curious artiſt caught, with care combined,
Fix'd as he found, and as he wrought refined,
Till rapt, the wave's proud offspring he outvies,
And bids a rival from the rock ariſe.
When Nature, watchful of the proceſs, view'd
A form ſo lovely, from a maſs ſo rude;
When, in the wondrous work, ſhe ſaw her own
By art outdone, and e'en excelled in ſtone;
Amazed, ſhe pauſed,—confeſſed the conquering fair,
Set her bright ſeal, and ſtamp'd perfection there.
Yet, while we view thoſe beauties which might move
Immortal breaſts, and warm a world to love,
No coarſe emotions riſe, no vulgar fires
Profane the ſacred paſſion ſhe inſpires;
Each ſenſe refined to rapture as we gaze,
Like Heaven's pure angels, finds its bliſs in praiſe.

But ſee! where taſte extends her brighteſt crown,
Unclaim'd amid the conteſts of renown!
Loſt, in the darkeſt night of time, his name!
By envious fate defrauded of his fame

The

The hand divine! to whoſe high powers we owe
The nobleſt image of a God below!
Bright as on Pindus, crown'd by all the nine,
Behold Apollo! Pythian victor ſhine!
With holy zeal, in Delphic ſplendor plac'd,
And ſtill revered—an oracle of taſte!
He owns full tribute to his godhead given,
And finds on earth the homage feign'd in heaven.
Not with more awful grace, as ſung of yore,
The God himſelf his golden quiver bore;
When, o'er the Grecian hoſt, in ſhafts of fire,
He pour'd ſwift vengeance at his prieſt's deſire;
Erect his mien, with eaſe, the ſilver bow
Has juſt let fly its terrors on the foe;
While, with triumphant ſtep, and eager eye,
He forward moves to ſee the monſter die.
Majeſtic riſing from its ample baſe,
The poliſh'd neck, uniting ſtrength and grace,
Bears the bright head aloft, and ſeems to ſhine,
The column of a capital divine!
In each light limb elaſtic vigour proves
A power immortal, and in marble moves;
A form divine, to heaven's proportions juſt!
In grandeur graceful, as in grace auguſt!
By taſte reſtored, on ſome celeſtial plan,
Drawn from the great original of man:
A caſt recovered of that mould divine,
That ſtamp'd heaven's image ſtrong in every line,
When firſt as earth received him and revered,
The "paragon of animals" appeared!

Great ſhade of genius! ſtill decreed to raiſe
Our pride and wonder, yet elude our praiſe!
Say, from the ſkies, where'er, by Phidias plac'd,
Thou tak'ſt high ſtation 'mongſt the ſons of taſte;
While ſeraphs round, celeſtial wreaths beſtow,
And hymn above thy name, unknown below;
Say, doſt thou pleaſed, from heaven's minuteſt bowers,
Behold, on earth, the triumph of thy powers?
Thy toil enſhrin'd in glory's temple view,
Through every age the idol of Virtù?
How oft, as o'er the waſte of ages caſt,
The light of learning ſeem'd to ſhew the paſt,
Her pious zeal exploring ſought to raiſe
Thy reverend image to our mental gaze;
To reſcue from oblivion's tide thy name,
And ſtamp it radiant on the rolls of fame:

But vain the ſearch, thou like a God doſt ſhine,
On earth unknown, but in thy work divine.

Nor leſs in characters of mortal mould,
The powers of Greece tranſcendent we behold;
The ſage's, patriot's forms, atteſt her ſkill,
And all her god-like heroes triumph ſtill.
See! on his club reclin'd Alcides ſtand!
Holding the Heſperian plunder in his hand;
While ſlow relaxing, each charged muſcle ſhows
A ſtrength divine ſubſiding to repoſe.
Whate'er of wondrous might in mortal frame,
Remoteſt legends have transferr'd to fame,
The godlike ſhape ſurpaſſes, and appears,
With Atlas worthy to ſuſtain the ſpheres:
Or, cope with him, in Holy Writ renown'd,
Who ſhook the towers of Gaza to the ground.

Yet not the enormous maſs of moulded ſtone,
Deludes the eye, impreſſed by ſize alone;
Proportion'd vigour proves in every part,
The ſtatue's ſymmetry, the ſculptor's art:
Were ſuch indeed, the hero famed of old!
Did every limb ſuch wondrous power unfold!
The poets ill expreſs a force ſo great,
And for his labours—leiſure ſports relate.

Nor Apollonius! ſhall thy pride remain
Unhonour'd in the tributary ſtrain:
Tho' time, remorſeleſs, every member ſpoil,
And mutilation mar thy matchleſs toil,
The mighty fragment ſhall thy ſkill proclaim,
And grateful taſte ſtill guarantee thy fame.

Yet ſculpture juſtly might the ſtrain accuſe,
That could to Laocoon the wreath refuſe;
For 'mongſt her wonders were a choice confeſſed,
And one bright toil diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt,
Perhaps, though long deciding, we might claim,
For him, the proud pre-eminence of fame.
Expreſſion there diſplays her utmoſt art,
And pleaſes while ſhe penetrates the heart;
The father's woes ſuch ſtrong emotions raiſe,
That powerful ſympathy ſuppreſſes praiſe;
The ſubject ſtill obtains the ſculptor's boon,
And Agiaſander's loſt in Laocoon.
What mortal pangs the impaſſion'd ſtone reveals!
The tortur'd frame through every fibre feels!

While

While curling close around, in fatal folds,
His hapless prey the monster serpent holds,
Grace finds a wreath in agony severe,
And pain and terror picturesque appear.

Character of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rubens, and Titian. From the Same.

BEHOLD, sublimed to those high spheres of art,
Where fancy sways, and passion strikes the heart;
Where taste and truth according functions fill,
And moral dignifies mimetic skill,
Rome's graphic sons superior palms demand,
And climes consenting crown the immortal band.

Swift as the comet cleaves the ethereal way,
As bright his lustre, and as brief his day,
Urbino rising to the raptured eye,
Appear'd, and blazed, and vanish'd from the sky.
Monarch of art! in whose august domains,
Colleagued with genius, soundest judgment reigns;
Simplicity prevails without pretence,
And fancy sports within the bounds of sense.
By nature's hand with liberal bounty grac'd,
And proudly fashion'd for the throne of taste,
Before his age he sprang to painting's prime,
And forced his tardy fruits from ripening time.
'Twas his, to choose the nobler end of art,
And charm the eye, subservient to the heart;
To strike the chords of sentiment—to trace
The form of dignity—the flow of grace;
The passions' protean empire to control,
And wield expression's sceptre o'er the soul.
Whate'er of life he touch'd, of youth or age,
The pious saint, or philosophic sage;
Whether, impressive in the bold design,
The rapt Apostle pour the word divine;
Or bright, on Tabor's summit, to the skies,
The God, in full transfigured glory, rise;
Whate'er the cast of character, his hand
Has all the moulds of genius at command,
To Nature true, can each strong trait impart,
And stamp with taste the sterling ore of art.

Next Buonarotti, rich in rival fame,
To crown whose brows three arts contending claim;

Majeſtic genius! from whoſe daring hand
Springs all that's great in thought, or action grand,
Whate'er can awe the ſoul on ſacred plan,
Or ſtrike ſtupendous in the powers of man;
In forms emaciate cramp'd, before his day,
The meagre muſcle ſcarce appear'd to play,
The ſtory's ſtrength, the enervate action marr'd,
Man ſeem'd a ſapleſs ſtatue, ſtiff, and hard,
But torpid while the plaſtic lumber lay,
Prometheus like, he fired the lifeleſs clay,
Bade every limb enlarge—each breaſt expand,
And pour'd a race of giants from his hand.
Behold him ſtill, as genius prompts, impart
A bolder grace to each ſubſervient art,
While now the powers of Phidias he diſplays,
Nor leaves Palladio but the ſecond praiſe,
Whether he rears the prophet's form on high,
Or hangs the dome enormous in the ſky,
On painting's proudeſt pinion ſoars ſublime,
Scales heaven itſelf, and ſcorns the bounds of time;
Thro' all his toils, triumphant vigour ſwells,
And grandeur in impreſſive glory dwells.
His fiery ſoul beyond this ſphere of things,
To man's more awful ſenſe hereafter ſprings;
With fearleſs hand unfolds the final ſtate,
That cloſes the cataſtrophe of fate;
Diſplays the pangs of guilt to vengeance hurl'd,
While Heaven's juſt ſentence ſhakes the ſhuddering world.

But lo! from climes leſs genial, where the muſe
With pride her Belgic trophies ſtill reviews;
Rubens with ſpoils enriched—with honour grac'd,
Completes the great triumvirate of taſte;
High waves proud competition's flag unfurl'd,
And claims to ſhare the homage of the world.
The powers of painting in his praiſe combine,
And wreaths unfading round his temples twine;
For him, invention opens all her ſprings,
And fancy wafts him on her wildeſt wings;
Her magic hand light execution lends,
And colouring her rich tiſſued robe extends.
Whether to heaven devote, his ſkill divine,
Adorns, with ſacred themes, the hallow'd ſhrine;
Or learn'd in allegory's myſtic maze
The acts of kings and heroes he diſplays;
Whether with nymphs and ſatyrs lur'd to rove,
He frolics wild in Pan's laugh-echoing grove;

The

The landſcape ſpreads, with light, luxuriant grace,
Or hunts in ſylvan ſcenes the ſavage race;
Whatever ſhape the graphic Proteus wears,
The full magnificence of art appears;
All that the head can plan, or hand perform,
Delight in theory, or in practice charm.
Yet genius, oft unequal found, by turns,
Now blazes fierce, and now as feebly burns;
In Rubens' courſe we trace each wide extreme,
Its dazzling luſtre, and its doubtful gleam:
But tho', like Avon's bard, his orb diſplays
Some darker parts amid the general blaze,
Struck by his ſplendours, each rapt eye admires,
For while we ſee his ſpots, we feel his fires.

As petty chiefs fall proſtrate and obey,
While monarchs move their ſtrength in proud array;
But when the pomp is paſt, the peril o'er,
Rebel againſt the rod they kiſſed before;
So, cavilling tribes who roam the graphic waſte,
Scarce reſcued from the ſavage ſtate of taſte,
Aſſail the rights of Rubens, grudge his praiſe,
And tell high treaſon 'gainſt the ſtate he ſways;
But, when triumphant crown'd in every part,
He moves in ſome vaſt enterprize of art,
His lawful claims, licentious critics own,
And wondering painters bend before his throne.

But ſhould more humble views of art invite
The captive ſenſe, and colouring charms delight,
Behold Venetia's ſons! a gorgeous train!
Their ancient ſway unrivall'd ſtill maintain.
But chief, her pride, immortal Titian holds
The pallette's brilliant treaſures, and unfolds:
High o'er the ſkies, where beauteous Iris flings
Her bow divine, by genius led, he ſprings;
Day's dazzling ſource with fearleſs plume explores,
Till light's pure offspring yield him all their ſtores.
Whate'er his vigorous pencil pours to view,
The face of Nature glows in golden hue,
While ſhedding light on beauty—bloom on youth,
The touch of taſte, diſplays the tint of truth;
With ſoftneſs ſtrength combines,—with freedom, care,
Depth without darkneſs,—ſplendour without glare.
Warm from his hand, the queen of beauty claims
The critic's homage, and his heart inflames:
O'er all her form, a mellow'd luſtre ſhines,
In luſcious languor every limb reclines;

Light o'er each part, the love-taught pencil plays,
And bluſhing ſweets at every touch betrays;
Effects ſo rich, by means ſo ſimple wrought!
'Tis magic's ſport to mock the toil of thought;
'Tis Time's increaſing wonder, as he pores,
'Tis Painting's miracle, and Taſte adores!

Imitation of Horace. Ode IV. Book 1. *From Sonnets of the Eighteenth Century, and other ſmall Poems.*

YOUNG Zephyr, hailing Spring's approach,
Bids bully Winter trudge away:
Miſs takes a duſting in the coach,
Or drives her ſcrambling ponies gray.
Houſe-lambs no more carouſe on milk,
Beaux venture to appear in ſilk;
And kittens in the ſun-ſhine play.

Blithe Venus, in Buxoma's dreſs,
(Charms unadorn'd are charms that pleaſe)
With ſnow-white fingers ſtrives to preſs
The ſnow-white curd of milk to cheeſe.
The hoyden graces thump the plain,
With Colin romp, and from the ſwain
Run tittering to the ſallow trees.

Grim Brontes * puffs, and plies his work;
Graſps his tough arm enormous weight;
Untwiſts old horſe-ſhoes at a jerk;
Or moulds a Brody's † patent grate.
Adown his gullet, hiſſing hot,
Rolls the brown tide of many a pot,
Drank to fat Nell, or blowſy Kate.

Queens of the hamlet, deck your hair
With hawthorn, fragrant ſpoils of May;
Pull roſes wild, and daiſies fair,
That bloom, that wither in a day!
From life's fantaſtic ſcene at once
Death kicks the ſcholar, and the dunce,
The beggar's duſt, the monarch's clay.

Thee, giddy boy, from youth and love
(That ſmile and ſport in Sylvia's arms)

* Any ſtout blackſmith or apprentice of Vulcan.
† A famous ſtove-manufacturer of his day.

Death's

Death's "habeas corpus" ſhall remove:
In that pale court no beauty charms,
Nor Shalley's claret, which you think
Ambroſial, as the Thunderer's drink,
The viſionary ſpirit warms.

Nor there the heroines of vice
With honourable rooks engage;
Repair the ravages of dice
By ſtaining reputation's page:
Nor ball, nor drum, nor Sunday riot,
Nor thundering raps diſturb your quiet,
Thalia's mirth, or Zara's rage.

1786.

Sonnet. From the Same.

I ASK'D of time, what gallant feats muſt claim
(Maugre his biting ſcythe, and idle rage)
Proud ſtation, blaz'd on hiſtory's glowing page?
Sullen he ſcowls, and would efface the name—
But as the fiend, his hoary wings upbore,
I ſpied Trafalgar's peak, and rocky ſhore.

I aſk'd of Até, who her ravenous maw
Had gorged the moſt with carnage, wreck, and ſpoil?
Who beſt had lov'd his giant courſe of toil
To run? whoſe pendant gave old ocean law?
Came forth a voice—"What boots it this to know?
My ſhaft's unerring barb, in yonder fight,
Pierc'd thro' this living tower of patriot might:
Aſk you his name? Go, read a nation's woe."

1806.

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Account of Books for 1809.

The Life of Admiral Lord Nelſon, *K. B. from his Lordſhip's manuſcripts. By the Rev. J. S.* Clarke, *and J.* M'Arthur, *Eſq. large 4to. 2vols.*

IF ſplendid embelliſhments, if beautiful printing, if copious materials, if magnitude, which may almoſt be called gigantic, could ſuffice to render a work excellent, theſe volumes would be a literary monument not unworthy of the hero whoſe deeds they commemorate. Unfortunately, however, this is not the caſe. Compoſition, whether in proſe or verſe, to be attractive muſt be pervaded by an animating ſpirit. Every defect ſave that of tedioufneſs will be forgiven to an author. That alone muſt never hope for pardon. If this be ſo, and we fear that it is rigidly true, the writers of this life of Lord Nelſon are in a ſtate of utter reprobation. With a ſubject as noble as ever inſpired the pen, and with the moſt ample ſources of information, they have, with a ſingular infelicity, contrived to produce one of the moſt tedious works that ever iſſued from the preſs. Theſe volumes do indeed juſtify the Greek adage, that a great book is a great evil.

The conjunct authors tell us, in their preface, that "their chief object has been to aſcertain, and ſometimes more minutely than the generality of readers may approve, the private feelings and motives of this extraordinary man, as well as the great principles of his public and profeſſional character. Yet this has been a moſt arduous taſk; and its performance is more eaſy to cavil at than to accompliſh."

Their object is certainly praiſeworthy; but we muſt beg leave to doubt whether it might not have been at leaſt as perfectly accompliſhed in a happier manner. The narrative is provokingly tame, almoſt throughout; and has the additional defect of being perpetually broken and interrupted, by letters and documents, of many of which only the ſubſtance ought to be introduced into the text. This circumſtance gives a piebald, patch work appearance, which is in no common degree diſpleaſing. The ſtyle of the original parts never riſes to vigour or elegance; it is often incorrect, always feeble. So poor, in fact, is the ſtyle, that we are not quite certain that we ought to complain of the pages being ſo thickly ſown as they are with quotations from all

all quarters. As a ſtore houſe of facts relative to Lord Nelſon, the book is, however, invaluable; and we will, therefore, avail ourſelves of it, to lay before our readers a rapid ſketch of a part of the public life of that heroic ſeaman.

The village of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, of which pariſh his father was rector, has the honour of being the birth place of Horatio Nelſon. He was born in the Parſonage houſe there, on the 29th of September, 1758. The firſt rudiments of his education were received at the high ſchool, at Norwich, whence he was removed to North Walſham. Delicate in his frame, and feeble in his conſtitution, he was, nevertheleſs, even from his childhood, remarkable for his intrepid ſpirit; and not leſs ſo for his diſintereſtedneſs and high ſenſe of honour.

At the age of twelve, a wiſh to lighten the burthens of his father, who had a large family and a narrow income, induced Nelſon to requeſt that he might be ſent to ſea, under the auſpices of his maternal uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling; that gentleman having been recently appointed to the Raiſonable of 64 guns. His wiſh was complied with. As far as muſcular ſtrength is concerned, it is evident that his uncle did not think that the choice of the naval profeſſion was wiſely made. "What," ſaid he, "has poor Horace done, who is ſo weak, that he above all the reſt ſhould be ſent to rough it out at ſea? But let him come; and the firſt time we go into action, a cannon ball may knock off his head and provide for him at once." Happily for his country his anticipated fate was long delayed, and he lived to afford a ſplendid proof of the triumphant aſcendancy of mind over matter, whenever great cauſes ſtimulate it into action.

It was in the ſpring of 1771 that Nelſon joined the Raiſonable in the Medway. The circumſtances of his introduction were not much calculated to attach him to his new mode of life. He was left at Chatham to find his way as he could on board of the ſhip; his uncle was abſent; his health had been much impaired by an aguiſh complaint; and for ſome days he regularly paced the quarter-deck, and ſeemed to have no friend.

The Raiſonable being ſhortly after paid off, Captain Suckling was appointed to the command of the Triumph Guardſhip, of 74 guns, ſtationed in the Medway. As this was thought too inactive a ſituation for the early part of young Nelſon's naval life, he was ſent to the Weſt Indies in a merchant ſhip, with Mr. John Rathbone, who had ſerved under his uncle. He returned to the Triumph in July, 1772. "I came back," ſays he, "a practical ſeaman, with a horror of the royal navy, and with a ſaying, then conſtant with the ſeamen, 'Aft the moſt honour, forward the better man!' It was many weeks before I got in the leaſt reconciled to a man of war, ſo deep was the prejudice rooted; and what pains were taken to inſtil this erroneous principle in a young mind!"

This prejudice was, however, at length obliterated by the judicious conduct of Captain Suckling. It was the ambition of Nelſon to be a thorough ſeaman, and it was always held out to him as a reward,

ward, by his uncle, that, "if he attended well to his navigation, he ſhould go in the cutter and decked long boat, which was attached to the commanding officer's ſhip at Chatham." This indulgence had the ſtill more beneficial effect of rendering him "confident of himſelf among rocks and ſands;" he being under the neceſſity of ſtudying the ſhoaly and intricate paſſes at the mouth of the Thames, and the rocky coaſts of the county of Kent.

In this ſituation he continued till, in the ſpring of 1773, the fitting out of an expedition. under Captain Phipps, for the purpoſe of attempting to penetrate towards the north pole, ſo forcibly excited his ſpirit of enterprize that he left no ſtone unturned to be admitted on board of one of the veſſels. It had been reſolved that boys, as being of no uſe, ſhould not be received, but, though Nelſon was not yet fifteen, the rule was diſpenſed with in his favour, and he was put under the care of Captain Lutwidge, who commanded the Carcaſs. At the requeſt of the youthful ſailor, Captain Lutwidge made him his coxſwain; and when, at a ſubſequent period, the ſhips were hemmed in by the ice, ſo that there appeared to be a neceſſity for abandoning them, his commander determined to entruſt him with the management of a four-oared cutter, containing twelve men.

During their ſtay in the polar ſeas, Nelſon gave an amuſing proof of his contempt of danger, and his filial feeling. He and one of his companions contrived, during a fog, to ſteal to the ice for the purpoſe of procuring a bear ſkin. In the morning they were diſcovered attacking a large bear, and a ſignal was made for their immediate return. His comrade obeyed, and exhorted him to abandon the purſuit. "He was at this time divided by a chaſm in the ice from his ſhaggy antagoniſt, which probably ſaved his life: for the muſket had flaſhed in the pan, and their ammunition was expended. 'Never mind, exclaimed Horatio, do but let me get a blow at this devil with the butt-end of my muſket, and we ſhall have him.' His companion, finding that entreaty was in vain, regained the ſhip. The Captain, ſeeing the young man's danger, ordered a gun to be fired to terrify the enraged animal. This had the deſired effect; but Nelſon was obliged to return without his bear, ſomewhat agitated with the apprehenſion of the conſequence of this adventure. Captain Lutwidge, though he could not but admire ſo daring a diſpoſition, reprimanded him rather ſtrongly for ſuch raſhneſs, and for conduct ſo unworthy of the ſituation he occupied; and deſired to know what motive he could have for hunting a bear? Being thought by his captain to have acted in a manner unworthy of his ſituation, made a deep impreſſion on the high-minded coxſwain, who, pouting his lip, as he was wont to do when agitated, replied, 'Sir, I wiſhed to kill the bear, that I might carry its ſkin to my father.'"

Such was the activity of Nelſon's mind that he no ſooner returned from the icy ſea, than he ſolicited to be employed in a ſquadron which was on the point of ſailing to the Eaſt Indies. He was recommended,

recommended, by his uncle, to Captain Farmer of the Sea-horſe, and was ſtationed in the foretop of the ſhip at watch. His diligence and obedience gained him the particular notice of Captain Farmer, who then placed him on the quarter deck, and rated him as a midſhipman. In fine weather, he was now frequently indulged, by the officer of the watch, to take upon himſelf the tacking of the ſhip, and this he performed in a ſeaman-like manner, and with officer-like authority. "His ardent ambition," ſays an excellent officer, who was maſter of the Seahorſe, "was to make himſelf thoroughly acquainted with the moſt minute part of a ſeaman's duty." While ſerving in the Eaſt Indies, he formed many friendſhips, which were never interrupted during the continuance of his exiſtence; and he viſited almoſt every part of that extenſive coaſt, from Buſſorah to Bengal.

The frozen clime of the north had given ſuch vigour to his conſtitution that, on his entering the Seahorſe, his appearance was that of "a boy with a florid countenance, rather ſtout and athletic." But he ſank under the peſtilential heat of a protracted oriental cruiſe; and, when he had been eighteen months in India, was attacked by a malignant diſorder, which almoſt baffled the powers of medicine, reduced him to a mere ſkeleton, deprived him for a while of the uſe of his limbs, and would ultimately have deſtroyed him, had not Captain Pigot, of the Dolphin, kindly conveyed him to his native country.

In that depreſſion of ſpirits which ſo often accompanies and aggravates diſorders of the kind under which he laboured, Nelſon at times gave way to the gloomy perſuaſion that the path of naval glory was for ever cloſed to him. His feelings on this occaſion, and the ſudden illumination which diſpelled the darkneſs of them, were, many years afterwards, deſcribed by him, in familiar converſe with a friend. "I felt impreſſed," ſaid he, "with an idea that I ſhould never riſe in my profeſſion. My mind was ſtaggered with a view of the difficulties I had to ſurmount, and the little intereſt I poſſeſſed. I could diſcover no means of reaching the object of my ambition. After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almoſt wiſhed myſelf overboard, a ſudden glow of patriotiſm was kindled within me, and preſented my king and country as my patron. My mind exulted in the idea. Well then! I exclaimed, I will be a hero, and confiding in Providence I will brave every danger.'—'The ſpirit of Nelſon revived; and from that hour, in his mind's eye, as he often declared to Captain Hardy, a radiant orb was ſuſpended which urged him onward to renown."

The health of Nelſon was renovated by his return to a more genial climate, and his proſpects were brightened by the promotion of his uncle to the comptrollerſhip of the navy, in the place of Sir Hugh Palliſer. Previouſly, however, to this latter event, Nelſon ſailed to Gibraltar, with Captain Mark Robinſon, as acting fourth lieutenant of the Worceſter. He was then but eighteen, an age which might have been thought a ſufficient cauſe for not entruſting

ing him with the charge of a watch. He was, however, entruſted with it, and Captain Robinſon uſed to declare that "he felt as eaſy when Nelſon was on deck, as when any other of his officers was there."

It was on the eight of April, 1777, that he paſſed through the ordeal of that public examination, which was neceſſary to give him a ſolid eſtabliſhment in the naval ſervice. His uncle, as comptroller, was at the head of the examining captains; but, with a proper ſpirit towards himſelf and his nephew, he carefully concealed his relationſhip. Nelſon felt a momentary confuſion at his new ſituation, from which, however, he ſoon recovered; and he then gave ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers as convinced his hearers that he poſſeſſed eminent talents and ſkill. "The examination paſſed in a manner very honourable to him: upon which his uncle immediately threw off his reſerve, and riſing from his ſeat, introduced his nephew. The examining captains expreſſed their ſurpriſe at his not having informed them of this before." "No," replied the independent comptroller, "I did not wiſh the Younker to be favoured: I felt convinced that he would paſs a good examination, and you ſee, gentlemen, I have not been diſappointed!" On the following day he received a commiſſion, as ſecond lieutenant of the Loweſtoff frigate, which was commanded by Captain Locker, who ſoon became one of his moſt valuable as he was one of his earlieſt friends. The health of Nelſon was at this moment ſo weak that he was ſubject to fainting fits, from which it ſometimes ſeemed doubtful whether he would return to life; but he poſſeſſed "the unconquerable mind," and he who poſſeſſes that, will generally riſe ſuperior to corporeal weakneſs.

On the Jamaica ſtation, to which Nelſon almoſt immediately proceeded, he was remarkable for his intrepidity and activity. Wherever there was any hope of finding an enemy, there was Nelſon to be found. As even a frigate did not afford ſcope enough to his enterpriſing ſpirit, he repeatedly obtained the command of a ſchooner, which was one of the Loweſtoffe's tenders. In this little veſſel he acquired a complete pilot's knowledge of all the paſſages through the iſlands on the north coaſt of Hiſpaniola. During his ſervice on this ſtation he gave a new proof of his courage, by volunteering to board an American prize, while a tremendous ſea was running over her deck. So completely water-logged was ſhe, from having carried a heavy preſs of ſail, that his boat went in on deck and out again with the ſcud. With equal ſpirit, when cruiſing in another tender, he determined to examine a ſchooner which had taken ſhelter under the guns of a French frigate.

Sir Peter Parker having ſucceeded to Admiral Gayton, in the command of the Jamaica ſquadron, he, at the requeſt of Captain Locker, appointed Nelſon to the third lieutenancy of his flag-ſhip, the Briſtol, and ſoon after to the firſt lieutenantſhip. He became a zealous friend to Nelſon, who alſo found in Lady Parker a ſecond mother. The acquiſition of ſuch a patron

a patron counterbalanced the loſs which he ſuſtained of his uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling.

Nelſon continued in the Briſtol till December 1778, when he was made commander of the Badger brig, and ſent to protect the Moſquito ſhore and the bay of Honduras; a ſervice which he ſo efficiently performed that he received the unanimous thanks of the ſettlers, and the expreſſion of their regret on his leaving them. At Montego bay, at which he anchored on his return, he had an opportunity of diſplaying his preſence of mind. The Glaſgow, of 20 guns, having taken fire, "he immediately manned the Badger's boats, and forced the crew of the Glaſgow, who had thrown themſelves into the ſea, to return to their ſhip. He then directed them to throw their powder overboard, and to point their guns upwards. Owing to this reſolute conduct, no lives, except that of the maſter, were loſt: but the ſhip was burnt to the water's edge."

In June, 1779, when he had not yet attained the age of twenty-one, Nelſon was made poſt into the Hinchinbrooke, of 28 guns. Jamaica was at this moment threatened by the armament of D'Eſtaing, which had arrived at Hiſpaniola, from Martinico. It is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony which can be given to the merit of Nelſon, that both the Admiral and General concurred in entruſting him with the command of the batteries at Port Royal; the moſt important of the poſts, as it was the key of all the others. He ſeems to have had ſome doubts of the poſſibility of an effectual defence; for, in a letter to a friend on this occaſion, he ſays "I think you muſt not be ſurpriſed to hear of my learning to ſpeak French." Fortunately, nothing was attempted by the enemy.

The ſtorm having blown over, the Britiſh leaders were left at liberty to employ, on active ſervice, a part of their forces. In the beginning of 1780, an expedition was projected againſt a part of the Spaniſh American poſſeſſions. It was intended to proceed up the Rio San Juan, reduce the fort of that name, and then to ſeize on the cities of Granada, Leon, and Carthago, by which means all communication would be cut off between Mexico and the colonies to the ſouth. Such an enterpriſe might have been productive of the moſt important conſequences, had it been undertaken by an adequate army. But the numbers devoted to the purpoſe ſeem rather to have been calculated for predatory incurſion than for permanent conqueſt. They were not originally more than five hundred men and a few Indians; and, though reinforcements were afterwards ſent, they only filled up the vacancies which had been made by death. Nelſon, in the Hinchinbrooke, was ordered to convoy the troops to the Spaniſh main, and his ſervice was to ceaſe on their being ſafely landed.

When, however, they arrived on the coaſt, there was not a man who had ever been up the river, or had an idea of the diſtance of any fortification from its mouth. Nelſon, therefore, with the ſeamen, manned the Moſquito ſhore craft and two of his ſhip's boats, and undertook to convey the ſoldiers to the caſtle of San Juan: a toilſome

a toilſome taſk, as, under the intenſe heat of the ſun, the boats were frequently obliged to be dragged through ſhallow channels. When they had advanced ſome diſtance up the river, they were ſtopped by a battery of nine or ten ſwivels, on the ſmall iſland of San Bartholomew. This battery Nelſon, immediately, to uſe his own expreſſion, boarded. "With an intrepidity that was irreſiſtible, he headed a few of his ſeamen, and leaped upon the beach. The place, on which he had precipitated himſelf, was ſo muddy, that he found conſiderable difficulty in extricating himſelf; but he would admit of no delay, and, advancing without his ſhoes, ſtormed the battery. In this gallant exploit he was bravely ſupported by Captain Deſpard. The Spaniards were panic ſtruck at the daring promptneſs of the attack, and in vain endeavoured to eſcape, being ſtopped by the Indians, who had been poſted higher up for that purpoſe."

They had now to perform a perilous march through woods nearly impaſſable, and infeſted with multitudes of the worſt kind of ſnakes. From one of the moſt venomous of theſe ſnakes, which had entered his hammock while he ſlept, Nelſon was ſaved by the providential warning of that marvellous creature called the Monitory Lizard, which paſſed over his face, and awoke him in time to preſerve his life. "From this eſcape, the Indians, who attended, entertained an idea that he was a ſuperior being, under an eſpecial protection; and this idea, which his wonderful abilities and unwearied exertions tended to confirm, was of eſſential ſervice in gaining their confidence, and prolonging their co-operation." Nor was this his only danger from natural cauſes. By drinking of a ſpring, into which ſome branches of that deadly tree the manchineel had been thrown, he was near falling a ſacrifice, and his delicate conſtitution ſuſtained laſting injury. Equal injury was done to his health, by the climate, which, at that ſeaſon, is ſo peſtilential, that out of the crew of the Hinchinbrooke, conſiſting of two hundred men, not more than ten individuals ultimately ſurvived.

Having reached the caſtle of San Juan, he adviſed the carrying of it by aſſault; a truly prudent council, which was over-ruled by the cold cautiouſneſs of the military officers. Had it been followed, eleven days, and many hundred lives, a ſacrifice to diſeaſe, would have been ſaved. A ſiege having been reſolved upon, Nelſon lent an effectual aſſiſtance, by raiſing and fighting the batteries againſt the place. Fortunately, before his health was irrecoverably gone, he was recalled to Jamaica, by his being appointed to the Janus, of 44 guns. But, ſo debilitated was he by the dyſentery, and ſo worn out by fatigue, that, on his arrival at Port Royal, he was obliged to be carried on ſhore in his cot. By the kind care of Admiral and Lady Parker, who watched at his bedſide by turns, he was enabled to reſume the command of his ſhip. It was not long, however, before he relapſed; and he was now informed by the phyſicians that, while he remained in the Weſt Indies, it was impoſſible for

for him to recover. He, therefore, ſailed for England in the Lion, commanded by the Hon. W. Cornwallis, to whoſe kindneſs and attention he gratefully acknowledged himſelf to be indebted, for having reached England alive.

After having undergone eleven weeks of ſuffering at Bath, he was at length reſtored to the uſe of his limbs. As ſoon as his health was reinſtated, he was eager to return to his profeſſional duties. It was not, however, till Auguſt, 1781, that he could obtain a ſhip. He was then appointed to the Albemarle of 28 guns, which was intended to convoy the trade of the Baltic. To an invalid, exhauſted by a ſultry climate, the cold and humid atmoſphere of the north ſea, at ſuch a period of the year, could ſcarcely fail of being ſeriouſly prejudicial. That the Lords of the Admiralty ſhould act with ſo little humane feeling to ſo valuable an officer, would, perhaps, excite ſurpriſe, did we not recollect the "fantaſtic tricks" which "brief authority" has always played. On the mind of Nelſon this circumſtance made a laſting impreſſion.

At this epoch, the armed neutrality was on foot, and the Northern courts looked upon England with a jealous or malignant eye. When Nelſon anchored off Elſineur, "the Daniſh admiral merely ſent a midſhipman on board the Albemarle, deſiring to be informed what ſhips had arrived, and to have their force written down. 'The Albemarle,' exclaimed Nelſon,' is one of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips; you are at liberty, Sir, to count her guns as you go down the ſide; and you may aſſure the Daniſh admiral that, if neceſſary, they ſhall all be well ſerved.' The midſhipman returned with his meſſage, and Captain Nelſon ſoon afterwards ſent his boat aſhore to the governor, to inform him, that the Engliſh ſquadron would ſalute the caſtle of Cronenburgh with nineteen guns, provided an equal number were returned. On this communication being made, reciprocal civilities took place, and the neglect of the Daniſh commander, in not ſending an officer of higher rank on board the Albemarle, was forgiven." In this voyage, Nelſon acquired a knowledge of the Daniſh coaſt, and of its ſoundings, of which, twenty years afterwards, he availed himſelf fatally to the Danes. On his return home, in January 1782, he was expoſed to greater danger than any which he had encountered in the northern ſeas. While he was on ſhore, ſo violent a gale came on, that almoſt all the veſſels in the Downs drove, and were in the utmoſt peril. Apprehenſive that the Albemarle might drive on the Goodwin, Nelſon hurried down to the beach, and endeavoured to procure the means of getting on board; but the gale was ſo heavy, and the ſurf ſo tremendous, that even the boatmen of Deal were unwilling to run the hazard of putting to ſea. At length the promiſe of a large reward prevailed over the fears of ſome of them; and "Nelſon, to the aſtoniſhment of all beholders, was long ſeen ſtruggling with a raging and mountainous ſurf, in which the boat was continually immerged. After much difficulty, he got on board his ſhip, which loſt her bowſprit and fore maſt."

His next deſtination was to

Quebec. "I want much," ſaid he, "to get off from this confounded voyage, and believe if I had time to look a little about me, I could get another ſhip. Mr. Adair, who attends on Mr. Keppel, might tell him, that in ſuch a country I ſhall be laid up; for he has informed me, that if I were ſent to a cold damp climate, it would make we worſe than ever. Many of my naval friends have adviſed me to repreſent my ſituation to Admiral Keppel, and they have no doubt but he would give other orders, or remove me: but as I received my orders from Lord Sandwich, I cannot help thinking it wrong to aſk Mr. Keppel to alter them." On this ſervice, therefore, he proceeded; and, happily, with leſs injury to his health than he expected.

Having ſeen his convoy ſafe into the St. Laurence, he ſailed on a cruiſe, during which a little incident occurred, that ſhows the kindneſs of his heart. Off cape Cod he captured a fiſhing ſchooner, belonging to that place, the property of one Carver, and nearly all that he poſſeſſed. This man had a large family, and the capture was nothing leſs than ruin to him and them. Nelſon ordered him on board of the Albemarle, to act as pilot among the ſhoals of Boſton bay and its neighbourhood. This office the unfortunate Carver performed with fidelity; and his fidelity did not remain without its reward. When his aſſiſtance was no longer wanted, Nelſon addreſſed him in the following words, "you have rendered us, Sir, a very eſſential ſervice, and it is not the cuſtom of Engliſh ſeamen to be ungrateful. In the name, therefore, and with the approbation of the officers of this ſhip, I return your ſchooner, and with it this certificate of your good conduct. Farewell! and may God bleſs you!" On opening the certificate, the delighted American found that it was ſo worded as to be, in fact, a protection againſt future capture. His gratitude proved that he deſerved this favour. At the riſk of his life, he afterwards came off to the Albemarle, with four ſheep, ſome poultry, and a quantity of vegetables, as a preſent to her captain. The ſcurvy was then raging in the ſhip, and, conſequently, the preſent was doubly valuable. "For a long time Carver peremptorily refuſed to be paid, but was at length reluctantly compelled to receive it, leſt he ſhould offend Captain Nelſon; and here again that illuſtrious ſeaman diſplayed another inſtance of his humanity, for the whole of the American's preſent was ſhared equally amongſt the ſick."

While cruiſing in Boſton Bay, he was placed in a ſituation which gave him an opportunity of ſhowing his preſence of mind, and the deciſion of his character. He was ſuddenly chaſed by four French ſail of the line and the Iris frigate, from Boſton harbour, forming a part of M. Vaudreuil's ſquadron. As, after a chaſe of ſeveral hours, Nelſon found that they gained upon him conſiderably, he boldly determined, truſting to his ſkill in pilotage, to run among the ſhoals of St. George's bank, a long labyrinth of ſands, which lies to the eaſt of the harbour of Boſton. His plan ſucceeded. The men of war drew off, but the frigate

frigate ſtill continued to follow; upon which Nelſon, as ſoon as ſhe was ſufficiently ſeparated from her companions, ſhortened ſail, hove to, and prepared for action. The Iris, however, was not diſpoſed to come to cloſe quarters. She diſcontinued the chace, and availed herſelf of the night to effect her eſcape.

Another proof of his coolneſs was afforded in his paſſage to Quebec. Having taken a pilot on board, to carry the ſhip from the iſle of Bec to the Canadian capital, "they weighed, and made ſail with light airs of wind through the north traverſe; but it fell calm, and the ſhip drifted among the ſhoals. The pilot, who was frightened out of his ſenſes, earneſtly entreated the Captain to go back to the anchorage they had left in the morning, 'No,' replied Nelſon, 'I have a great number of men ſick on board, I am bound to Quebec, and there I will go.' Upon which, adds Lieutenant Bromwich, we turned to, and warped the ſhip through the north traverſe, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the pilot."

At Quebec, Nelſon, whoſe mind diſplayed equal ardour in whatever purſuit it was engaged, became violently attached to an American lady. He was on the eve of plunging into matrimony, when he was ſtopped by the remonſtrances and arguments of a friend, who ſucceeded in convincing him that ſuch a ſtep would be utter ruin to all his naval hopes. Glory for once prevailed over love, and Nelſon returned, unmarried, to his ſtation off the American coaſt.

But, though this ſtation was the beſt for making prize money, Nelſon was anxious to quit it, for that of the Weſt Indies, which he conſidered as being "the ſtation for honour." He, therefore, intreated Lord Hood to aſk for the removal of the Albemarle, and his requeſt was granted. It was not, however, without much difficulty that Admiral Digby could be perſuaded to deprive himſelf of the ſervice of an officer whom he ſo highly valued. Lord Hood was equally ſenſible of Nelſon's merit; he looked upon him as one of the beſt officers in his fleet, and treated him as if he were his ſon. With Lord Hood he continued, in the Weſt Indies, till the cloſe of the war, and though no opportunity occurred of ſignalizing himſelf by any ſplendid action, his activity and ſkill were univerſally admired. He returned to England, and was paid off at Portſmouth on the third of July, 1783, and ſo beloved was he by his men that the whole of them offered to enter immediately, if he could procure a ſhip.

It was at the period of his firſt becoming acquainted with Lord Hood, that he alſo became acquainted with Prince William Henry, now the Duke of Clarence, who had till then ſerved as a midſhipman under Admiral Digby, but had been transferred, by his majeſty's deſire, to the Barfleur, that he might ſerve under Lord Hood. This acquaintance ripened into a friendſhip, which continued through life. "I was then," ſays his Royal Highneſs, "a midſhipman on board the Barfleur, lying in the narrows off Staten iſland, and had the watch on deck, when Captain

Nelſon, of the Albemarle, came in his barge alongſide, who appeared to be the mereſt boy of a captain I ever beheld; and his dreſs was worthy of attention. He had on a full-laced uniform: his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a ſtiff Heſſian tail of an extraordinary length; the old-faſhioned flaps of his waiſtcoat, added to the general quaintneſs of his figure, produced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice; for I had never ſeen any thing like it before, nor could I imagine who he was, nor what he came about. My doubts were, however, removed, when Lord Hood introduced me to him. There was ſomething irreſiſtibly pleaſing in his addreſs and converſation; and an enthuſiaſm, when ſpeaking on profeſſional ſubjects, that ſhewed he was no common being. Nelſon after this went with us to the Weſt Indies, and ſerved under Lord Hood's flag during his indefatigable cruiſe off Cape François. Throughout the whole of the American war, the height of Nelſon's ambition was to command a line of battle ſhip; as for prize money, it never entered his thoughts: he had always in view the character of his maternal uncle. I found him warmly attached to my father, and ſingularly humane: he had the honour of the King's ſervice, and the independence of the Britiſh navy, particularly at heart; and his mind glowed with this idea as much when he was ſimply captain of the Albemarle, and had obtained none of the honours of his country, as when he was afterwards decorated with ſo much well-earned diſtinction."

Towards the end of the year 1783, Nelſon, in company with his friend, Captain Macnamara, viſited France, with the intention of reſiding there ſome time, and making himſelf acquainted with the French language. St. Omer was the place where he took up his abode. There he did not remain more than two months, but he remained long enough to loſe his heart to the daughter of an Engliſh clergyman. The narrow circumſtances of both parties, however, proved a bar to a marriage; for the lady was dowerleſs, and Nelſon, to uſe his own words, had "cloſed the war without a fortune," though, as he truly added, "without a ſpeck upon his character."

In January, 1784, he came back to England. It was originally his determination not to ſerve during peace; but his mind was too active to ſubmit to the monotony of retirement; and he ſpeedily ſought to be again employed. He was commiſſioned to the Boreas, of 28 guns, in March, and in May ſhe ſailed for her ſtation at Barbadoes and the Leeward iſlands. It was the opinion of Nelſon, and he fully illuſtrated the truth of his opinion, that "a captain of a man of war, if he did his duty, would find ſufficient to occupy his mind, and to render ſervice to his country, on any ſtation, either in peace or war."

On board of the Boreas were a number of young midſhipmen. The manner in which Nelſon behaved to theſe youths deſerves to be recorded, not only in juſtice to his heart and his judgment, but alſo as a leſſon to others who are entruſted with authority. It is not by brute violence, or ſupercilious pride, as ſome fooliſhly imagine, t ha

that duty is taught, or reſpect inſured. The account is given by Lady Hughes, who ſailed with him to the Weſt Indies. "It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed," ſays ſhe, "that among the number of thirty, there muſt have been timid ſpirits, as well as bold: the timid he never rebuked; but always wiſhed to ſhew them, he deſired nothing that he would not inſtantly do himſelf: and I have known him ſay, 'Well, Sir, I am going a race to the maſt head, and beg I may meet you there.' No denial could be given to ſuch a requeſt; and the poor little fellow inſtantly began to climb the ſhrouds. Captain Nelſon never took the leaſt notice in what manner it was done: but, when they met in the top, ſpoke in the moſt cheerful terms to the midſhipman; and obſerved, how much any perſon was to be pitied, who could fancy there was any danger, or even any thing diſagreeable in the attempt. After this excellent example, I have ſeen the ſame youth, who before was ſo timid, lead another in the like manner, and repeat his commander's words. How wiſe and attentive was ſuch conduct in Captain Nelſon! On the ſame principle, he every day went into the ſchool room, and ſaw the mode in which they purſued their nautical acquirements; and at twelve o'clock he was always the firſt on deck, with his quadrant: no one could then neglect his duty. There is alſo another anecdote, which deſerves to be mentioned: the day we landed at Barbadoes, and were to dine at the governor's, our dear commander ſaid, 'You muſt permit me, Lady Hughes, to carry one of my *aid de camps* with me:' and he preſented him to the governor, adding, 'Your Excellency muſt excuſe me for bringing one of my midſhipmen: I make it a rule to introduce them to all the good company I can, as they have few to look up to, beſides myſelf, during the time they are at ſea.' This kindneſs and attention made the young men adore him, and they vied with each other in an endeavour to anticipate his wiſhes." Nor was he leſs attentive to his men; but took every ſtep which could contribute to their comfort, and adopted every precaution which could preſerve their health.

In aſſerting his own d nity and that of his country, Nelſon was, however, no leſs ready, than he was to perform acts of kindneſs in the common intercourſe of life. In his way to Antigua he put into Fort Royal bay, in Martinico, and the French officer at the citadel having neglected to hoiſt the colours, a mark of reſpect always paid to foreign ſhips of war, the Britiſh captain immediately demanded, by letter, an explanation from the governor. He received an apology, and the officer was ordered to be put under arreſt. His object being attained, Nelſon requeſted and procured the releaſe of the priſoner. At Antigua, Sir R. Hughes had erroneouſly authorized the Reſident Commiſſioner to hoiſt a broad pendant, and to give orders to any naval officers who might put into Engliſh Harbour. The ſpirit of Nelſon could not ſubmit to this innovation, in favour, too, of a perſon holding a merely civil ſituation. "I know of no ſuperior officers," exclaimed he, "except the Lords Commiſ-

ſioners of the Admiralty, and my ſeniors on the Poſt Liſt." The moment, therefore, that he anchored, he ordered the broad pendant to be hauled down, and ſent back to the dock yard. At the ſame time, to ſhew that he had no other motive than the good of the ſervice, he went to dine with the commiſſioner on the ſame day, and carried to him the firſt information of the pendant being ſtruck. The queſtion was referred to the Lords of the Admiralty, and they decided in his favour.

He had not been long on this ſtation before he gave an inſtance of that care in obtaining information reſpecting the movements of his antagoniſts, and that promptitude in baffling their ſchemes, for which he became ſubſequently ſo remarkable. He gained intelligence that a French frigate was fitting out at Martinico, the oſtenſible object of which was a cruize, while the real object was to take a ſurvey of our Weſt India iſlands, for which purpoſe ſhe had on board two general officers and ſome engineers. The frigate paſſed to leeward cloſe along the ſhore of Nevis, where the Boreas, Nelſon's ſhip, was then lying. He inſtantly followed her to the road of St. Euſtatia, and anchored at two cables length on her quarter. Being invited by the Dutch governor to meet the French officer at dinner, he took the opportunity, which this meeting afforded, to inform the Captain of the frigate, with a courteſy worthy of an experienced ſtateſman, "that, underſtanding it was the wiſh of the French to honour the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands with a viſit, he had taken the earlieſt opportunity in his power to accompany them in his Majeſty's ſhip the Boreas, that ſuch attention might be paid to the officers of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as every Engliſhman in the iſlands would be proud of an opportunity of ſhewing." This civility, as might be expected, was not very cordially received by the French; who in their turn proteſted againſt giving ſo much trouble; and more particularly, as they had merely intended to take a cruiſe round the iſlands, without landing on any. Captain Nelſon was determined to watch them, and ſtrictly adhered to his purpoſe. The French officers, having made repeated attempts to elude his vigilance, but without effect, abandoned their project, and beat up to Martinico. The Boreas immediately beat up for Barbadoes, and never loſt ſight of the frigate until ſhe was ſafe in Martinico.

He had not been long in the Weſt Indies before he was involved in a ſort of warfare not leſs active, but far more diſagreeable, than that which he had recently waged with the enemies of his country. The Americans had caſt off their allegiance to England, and its conſequent burthens, but they were not diſpoſed to relinquiſh the advantages of their long connection with the ſugar iſlands. "When coloniſts," ſays Nelſon, in the memoir of his ſervices," they poſſeſſed almoſt all the trade from America to our Weſt India iſlands: and on the return of peace, they forgot, on this occaſion, that they became foreigners, and of courſe had no right to trade in the Britiſh colonies. Our governors and cuſtom houſe officers pretended, that by the Navigation Act they had a right

right to trade; and all the Weſt Indians wiſhed what was ſo much for their intereſt."

Convinced that the continuance of this intercourſe was productive of infinite injury to the Britiſh commerce, and to the intereſts of the remaining Britiſh colonies on the American continent, Nelſon determined to put a ſtop to it. Having previouſly given fair notice of his intention, he ſeized ſeveral of the American veſſels. Such a ſtorm was immediately raiſed as would have daunted almoſt any other man. His admiral was at the outſet neutral, if not hoſtile, on this queſtion; a general cry of hatred roſe from all the iſlands; ſuits were commenced againſt him to a ruinous amount; attempts were made to arreſt him; and, to uſe his own words, he was perſecuted from one iſland to another, ſo that he could not leave his ſhip. He was, in fact, a cloſe priſoner on board for eight weeks. He perſevered, however, and in the end was victorious. "Conſcious rectitude," ſays he, "bore me through it; and I was ſupported, when the buſineſs came to be underſtood, from home: and I proved, and an act of parliament has ſince eſtabliſhed it, that a captain of a man of war is in duty bound to ſupport all the maritime laws, by his admiralty commiſſion alone, without becoming a cuſtom houſe officer." The act to which he alludes is that known by the name of the Regiſter Act, and it was principally grounded upon his ſuggeſtions.

His high ſpirit never for a moment deſerted him. At the period when he was confined to his ſhip by the ſuits which had been inſtituted, one of his officers happened to apply the word "pity" to his ſituation—"Pity!" exclaimed Nelſon, "Pity! did you ſay? I ſhall live, Sir, to be envied; and to that point I ſhall always direct my courſe."

With equal animation he repreſſed the petulance of a man, who ſeems to have been one of that claſs by which it is ſapiently imagined that wiſdom is of neceſſity the reſult of age. He had opened a correſpondence with General Sir Thomas Shirley, governor of the Leeward Iſlands, in which he pointed out the ſteps that it was proper to take reſpecting the American traders. The general, with more irritability than ſenſe or decorum, replied, "that old generals were not in the habit of taking advice from young gentlemen."—"The indignation of Nelſon," ſays Mr. Clarke, was "rouſed, and his anſwer was remarkable, 'I have the honour, Sir, of being as old as the Prime Miniſter of England, and think myſelf as capable of commanding one of his Majeſty's ſhips as that miniſter is of governing the ſtate.'"

Having been ſucceſsful in his attack upon the American interlopers, he next turned his powers to the correcting of the numberleſs abuſes in the dock yard, at Antigua, as well as among the contractors, prize agents, and other locuſts of a ſimilar nature. This was a fertile field, into which he entered with his uſual ardour, and which long occupied his attention. Fraud of every kind, and frauds of all kinds were abundant, he purſued with the utmoſt vigour. Nor, on his return home, did he abandon the purſuit, but kept up a correſpondence, and had interviews with

the miniſters, upon this important ſubject. Though many of his ſuggeſtions were adopted, there ſeems to have been but little of miniſterial gratitude diſplayed in return for his meritorious exertions, and thoſe exertions naturally excited againſt him a hoſt of enemies, who, morally deſpicable as they were, had, nevertheleſs, the means of avenging themſelves by the infliction of ſerious yet ſecret wounds.

While in the Weſt Indies, Nelſon at length entered into the married ſtate. The object of his choice was Mrs. Niſbet, the widow of Dr. Niſbet, of Nevis. Their acquaintance commenced in 1784, Mrs. Niſbet being then only eighteen, and the ceremony which united them was performed on the eleventh of March, 1787; the bride being given away by Prince William Henry, who was now become the cloſe and firm friend of Nelſon.

Sir Richard Hughes having been recalled, the command in chief was left with Nelſon from July 1786 to June 1787. During the early part of this period, his health was in ſuch a ſhattered ſtate that his diſſolution was expected. His ſpirit, however, remained unbroken, and his frame gradually acquired ſtrength. It is remarkable that, during the three year's ſtay of the Boreas in the ſickly climate of the weſt, not a ſingle man or officer died out of her whole complement. To the judicious meaſures of her captain muſt this continuance of health be mainly aſcribed. "The mode he adopted was as follows. He never ſuffered the ſhip to remain longer than three or four days in any iſland at a time; the Boreas was always on the wing, and when it happened that any other ſhips were in company, Nelſon was continually forming the line, exerciſing the men, and chaſing. In the hurricane months, when he was obliged to remain at anchor in Engliſh harbour, he encouraged muſic, dancing and cudgelling on board; and the officers, particularly the young ones, acted plays; which kept up the ſpirits of the ſhip's company, and cauſed their minds to be conſtantly employed."

At length Nelſon was delivered from a ſtation which he deteſted. So much did he hate it, that he could not forbear from expreſſing his wonder, that any independent man could be found to accept of the command. He quitted the Weſt Indies in the month of June, 1787, and reached his native country at the beginning of July. Inſtead, however, of his ſhip being paid off in Auguſt, an event, to which he had looked forward, ſhe was ſhamefully kept at the Nore, as a ſlop and receiving ſhip, till the thirteenth of November. This neglect and ill-treatment ſtung him to the heart, and he determined to withdraw from a ſervice in which it ſeemed that his zeal produced no other effect than to expoſe him to inſult. "On the morning when the orders were received to prepare the Boreas for being paid off, he communicated, with much emotion, to the ſenior officer commanding the ſhips and veſſels in the river Medway, the following extraordinary reſolution. "I now rejoice at the Boreas being ordered to be paid off, which will releaſe me for ever from an ungrateful ſervice, as it is my firm and unalterable determination, never again to

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ſet my foot on board a king's ſhip. Immediately after my arrival in town, I ſhall wait on the firſt lord of the admiralty, and reſign my commiſſion."

Nelſon might have been loſt to his country, had not the ſenior officer, after vainly attempting to change his purpoſe, ſecretly written to the firſt lord of the admiralty. The conſequence of this communication was, that the offended hero received a friendly letter from Lord Howe, requeſting to ſee him on his arrival in London. The interview took place, Nelſon was kindly treated by his lordſhip, was preſented to his Majeſty on the firſt levee day, had reaſon to be pleaſed with his reception, and concluded by devoting himſelf as ardently as ever to the naval ſervice.

Having ſpent ſome time at Bath, Exmouth, and other places, Nelſon took up his abode with his father at Burnham Thorpe. The American captains ſtill haraſſed him with law ſuits, and for a moment he angrily reſolved to take ſhelter in France from ſuch continued perſecution; but, the Treaſury having declared that it would ſupport him againſt his enemies, he was not under the painful neceſſity of abandoning his native ſoil.

In his retirement, "his mind, though ſo entirely taken from its proper element, and ſphere of action, could not remain unoccupied. He was ſoon, therefore engaged, and with conſiderable zeal, in cultivating his father's garden, and in learning to farm the adjoining glebe; but the former was his principal ſtation: he would there often ſpend the greater part of the day, and dig, as it were, for the ſake of being wearied. At others, he would renew the early paſtime of his childhood, and with a ſimplicity that was peculiar to him, when his mind was not employed on the great objects of profeſſional duty, would ſpend the greater part of the day amidſt the woods, in taking the eggs of different birds, which, as he obtained, he gave to Mrs. Nelſon, who, at his expreſs deſire, always attended him. He ſometimes alſo employed his time, when his eyes would admit of it, in reading; and particularly ſuch periodical works of the day as he could procure; but oftener in ſtudying a variety of charts, and in writing, or drawing plans. His great object was to be employed; and though the expences of a ſhip, in time of peace, ſometimes induced him to repreſs his enterpriſing and ſanguine mind, he could not abate its energy."

His efforts to procure employment were indeed unintermitted. They were, however, wholly unſucceſsful. In 1788 a new board of admiralty was appointed, to which, for a conſiderable time, only two naval officers were attached, and at the head of which was a military officer, the Earl of Chatham; a man who will be commemorated by hiſtory, though with a different kind of fame from that which belongs to his father. This board appears to have been actuated by hoſtile feelings towards Nelſon. So active, in truth, were the peculators and their partiſans, that even Lord Hood was at length eſtranged from him for ſome years. Previous to the formation of this board, he had offered his ſervices in an expedition which was rumoured to be on foot, for the purpoſe

poſe of deſtroying the ports of the Emperor of Morocco. This expedition did not, however, take place. Towards the cloſe of the year, he was diſappointed in his wiſh to ſail to the Eaſt Indies, with his friend, the Hon. Captain Cornwallis, who was ſent to hoiſt his pendant on that ſtation. He repeated, in 1790, 1791, and early in 1792 his application for employment, but in vain. Towards the cloſe of the latter year he once more preſſed for a ſhip, and added, 'Or if their lordſhips ſhould be pleaſed to appoint me to a cockle boat, I ſhall feel grateful.' A dry acknowledgment of the receipt of his letter was all that he obtained.

"Such was the ſtate of mind, and ſuch the expectations of Nelſon, before the commencement of hoſtilities with France: until that period his glory ſuffered a partial eclipſe; but its ſubſequent brightneſs became more uniform and ſplendid. During this interval of diſappointment and mortification, his latent ambition would at times burſt forth, and deſpiſe all reſtraint. At others a ſullen melancholy ſeemed to overſhadow his noble faculties, and to affect his temper; at thoſe moments nothing but the remonſtrances of his wife and venerable father, could calm the tempeſt of his paſſions. He would then patiently reſume his wonted occupations as a farmer; and thus, like other heroes, endeavoured by agricultural purſuits to find an object of employment for that energy which he could not ſubdue."

At length the hour arrived when Nelſon could enjoy the deareſt wiſh of his heart. A war with republican France was on the eve of breaking out, and the miniſters ſeem for a moment to have felt that ſuch a war rendered it prudent for them to call into action men of high talents and vigorous minds. Nelſon, then, could not be forgotten; but the Duke of Clarence and Lord Hood have the merit of having been the firſt to bring him to the recollection of the admiralty board. "*Poſt nubila Phæbus!* after clouds comes ſunſhine" writes the exulting Nelſon to his wife on the 7th of January 1793—"The admiralty ſo ſmile on me that really I am as much ſurpriſed as when they frowned. Lord Chatham yeſterday made many apologies for not having given me a ſhip before this time; and ſaid, that, if I choſe to take a ſixty-four to begin with, I ſhould be appointed to one as ſoon as ſhe was ready; and whenever it was in his power, I ſhould be removed into a ſeventy-four." He was, in conſequence, appointed to the command of the Agamemnon on the 30th January, and commiſſioned his ſhip on the 11th of February. By dint of inceſſant exertion, he procured ſuch a crew as was highly ſatisfactory to him, and he ſeems to have been equally pleaſed with the whole of his officers.

Lord Hood was the commander under whom Nelſon was to act. After a ſhort cruize in the Channel, and a ſtay of nine days in Cadiz, the ſquadron proceeded to the Mediterranean. Soon after Nelſon's arrival there, he was ſent in the Agamemnon, with diſpatches to Naples. During this viſit, "he was firſt introduced to their Sicilian Majeſties, and being lodged in the houſe of the Engliſh ambaſſador, he commenced that friendſhip with Sir William and Lady Hamilton,

milton, which had afterwards ſo powerful an influence both on his profeſſional and private life." In a letter to Mrs. Nelſon, giving an account of his reception, he mentions Lady Hamilton as "a young woman of amiable manners, and who does honour to the ſtation to which ſhe is raiſed."

His firſt engagement, in the Agamemnon, took place on the 22d of October, 1793, off the iſland of Sardinia, with three forty-four gun frigates, a twenty-four gun frigate, and a fourteen gun brig, which were returning from Tunis. One of the frigates was nearly diſabled, and would have been taken, had not the Agamemnon been ſo cut to pieces as to be unable to haul the wind, in order to renew the action.

Corſica was the next theatre on which his courage and activity were diſplayed. He was indefatigable in cutting off ſupplies, and deſtroying the enemies veſſels and batteries; and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly at the ſieges of Baſtia and Calvi, the reduction of which places may, in a great meaſure, be attributed to the zeal and exertions of himſelf and the ſailors under his command. Nothing leſs than the ſtubborn perſeverance and hardy vigour of Britiſh ſeamen could have accompliſhed the toilſome taſk of dragging the cannon and ſtores over the ſteep mountains to the ſites choſen for the erection of the batteries. Nelſon was ever foremoſt where danger was to be encountered, or ſervice to be performed. At the ſiege of Calvi he took a prominent part on ſhore, and eventually loſt the ſight of his right eye, by a ſhot ſtriking the battery where he commanded, and driving the ſand and ſtones into his face. This, however, in his letter to Lord Hood, he mentioned lightly, as "a little hurt."

At the cloſe of 1794 Lord Hood was replaced by Admiral Hotham; but as far as regarded Nelſon this was productive of no change, as he poſſeſſed the confidence of the one as fully as he had enjoyed that of the other.

The wiſh which Nelſon had often ardently expreſſed, that the French fleet would quit the ſhelter of their ports, and that he might have a ſhare in their defeat, was at length gratified. They were firſt deſcried by the Britiſh ſquadron on the ninth of March, 1795, and the purſuit was immediately commenced. Though his crew was not half as ſtrong as when the ſhip ſailed from Spithead, and though many of his guns were deſtroyed at the ſiege of Calvi, he had repeatedly declared his belief that no two-decker in the world could take the Agamemnon, and he now prepared to juſtify his belief. His feelings, while in chaſe of the enemy, are nobly expreſſed in a letter which he wrote to his wife. "Whatever may be my fate, I have no doubt in my own mind but that my conduct will be ſuch, as will not bring a bluſh on the face of my friends: the lives of all are in the hands of Him who knows beſt whether to preſerve mine or not; to His will do I reſign myſelf. My character and good name are in my own keeping. Life with diſgrace is dreadful. A glorious death is to be envied; and if any thing happens to me, recollect that death is a debt we all muſt pay, and whether now, or a few years hence, can be but of little conſequence."

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It was three days before the baffling winds and the caution of the enemy would allow the Britiſh to approach their antagoniſts. Nor would they, perhaps, have been able to bring them to action at all, had not the Ça Ira, of 84 guns, dropped aſtern in conſequence of loſing her main and fore top maſts. She was immediately attacked by the Agamemnon, which was the moſt advanced of the Britiſh ſhips, and in ſuch a maſterly manner did Nelſon manœuvre for three hours, that, with the loſs of only ſeven men wounded, he reduced her to nearly a wreck, and killed and wounded 110 of her crew. The French fleet, coming up, covered her retreat, and, after a few diſtant ſhot, the combat ended for that day. It was renewed on the following morning, and for three hours the Agamemnon and three other veſſels were compelled to fight on both ſides. The reſult was, the capture of the Ça Ira and the Cenſeur; an event which certainly would not have happened had not Nelſon ſo far crippled the Ça Ira, on the preceding day, as to render it neceſſary for the French ſquadron either to abandon her or to riſk an action.

Nelſon had not a mind that could be ſatisfied with imperfect ſucceſs. "I wiſh," ſays he in a letter to his wife, "to be an admiral, and in the command of the Engliſh fleet; I ſhould very ſoon either do much or be ruined. My diſpoſition cannot bear tame and ſlow meaſures. Sure I am, had I commanded our fleet on the 14th, that either the whole French fleet would have graced my triumph, or I ſhould have been in a confounded ſcrape. I went on board Admiral Hotham as ſoon as our firing grew ſlack in the van, and the Ça Ira and Cenſeur had ſtruck, to propoſe to him leaving our two crippled ſhips, the two prizes, and four frigates, to themſelves, and to purſue the enemy; but he, much cooler than myſelf, ſaid, 'We muſt be contented, we have done very well.' Now, had we taken ten ſail, and had allowed the eleventh to eſcape, when it had been poſſible to have got at her, I never could have called it well done." At the ſame time, he candidly allowed that the admiral had found reaſons for having acted with caution upon this occaſion, he having "much to contend with: a fleet half manned, and in every reſpect inferior to the enemy; Italy calling him to her defence; our newly acquired kingdom (Corſica) crying out might and main; our reinforcements and convoy hourly expected; and all to be done with a force by no means adequate to theſe ſervices."

Corſica was ſaved by this battle; but, as the French were ſuppoſed not to have relinquiſhed the invaſion of it, Nelſon earneſtly requeſted that he might have the command of any ſeamen, that it might be thought proper to land for its defence. In a letter of the 4th of May, he makes the following enumeration of his ſervices ſince the time of his arrival in the Mediterranean "three actions againſt ſhips; two againſt Baſtia in my ſhip; four boat actions, and two villages taken, and twelve ſail of veſſels burnt." In June, theſe ſervices were rewarded by his promotion to one of the vacant colo-

nelcies.

helcies of marines; a promotion which he had often wiſhed for, but deſpaired of obtaining.

Having been diſpatched to the coaſt of Genoa, with the Agamemnon and a ſmall ſquadron of frigates, in order to co-operate with the Auſtrians, he fell in with the French fleet, which chaſed him for twenty-four hours, and preſſed him hard. This brought on the action of the 14th of July; the Britiſh ſquadron ſailing in purſuit of the enemy, as ſoon as he returned. Nelſon was preſent in this engagement, and the Agamemnon and Cumberland were juſt cloſing with an eighty-gun ſhip, and two ſeventy-fours, when the ſignal was made for diſcontinuing the conteſt; as the wind ſet directly into the gulf of Frejus, towards which the retreating ſhips were ſteering.

Returning to the Genoeſe coaſt, he diſplayed his uſual indefatigable enterpriſe and activity. He ſcoured the ſeas, intercepted the French ſupplies, fell upon their convoys wherever he could find them, and kept up a conſtant correſpondence with the Britiſh miniſters at the Italian courts, and with the Auſtrian general, the latter of whom he often and vainly endeavoured to ſtimulate to make a diverſion, by embarking a part of his army in the ſquadron, and attacking the enemy's flanks and rear. Among his exploits, while on this ſtation, was the capture or deſtruction of a convoy of twelve ſail in the bay of Alaſſio.

Towards the end of 1795, the command of the fleet was aſſumed by Sir John Jervis. The new admiral was capable of appreciating the worth of Nelſon; he was anxious to retain him in the Mediterranean; and they ſoon became cloſe and ardent friends. Some jealouſy was indeed excited by the deference which was ſhown to Nelſon. "You did juſt as you pleaſed in Lord Hood's time," ſaid a captain to him, "the ſame in Admiral Hotham's, and now again with Sir John Jervis; it makes no difference to you who is commander in chief." As a token of his approbation, Admiral Jervis, in April 1796, directed him to wear a diſtinguiſhing pendant; an honour by which he was much gratified.

His ſervices between April and December 1796, may be told in his own words. "In June, I was removed from the Agamemnon to the Captain; and on the eleventh of Auguſt had a captain appointed under me. Between April and October, I was employed in the blockade of Leghorn, taking Porto Ferrajo, the iſland of Caprea, and finally in the evacuation of Baſtia: when having ſeen the troops in ſafety to Porto Ferrajo, I joined the admiral in St. Fiorenzo bay, and proceeded with him to Gibraltar; whence, in December, I was ſent in la Minerve frigate, Captain George Cockburn, to Porto Ferrajo, to bring down our naval ſtores. On the paſſage we captured a Spaniſh frigate, La Sabina, of 40 guns, 28 eighteen pounders on her main deck."

In this brief ſketch he has omitted, along with many other things, the capture of a convoy, in May, with cannon and ordnance ſtores, for the ſiege of Mantua. From a paſſage in a letter to his wife, ſome idea may be formed of his exertions at this period. "Had all my actions, my deareſt Fanny," ſaid he, "been gazetted, not one fortnight

fortnight would have paſſed during the whole war without a letter from me: one day or other I will have a long gazette to myſelf; I feel that ſuch an opportunity will be given me." It was highly grateful to his feelings that his name was known and reſpected throughout Italy, and that even his enemies beſtowed on him a reluctant praiſe. One trifling incident will ſhow how much he was eſteemed. A perſon having ſent a letter to him, merely addreſſed to 'Horatio Nelſon, Genoa,' was aſked how he could direct it in ſuch an imperfect manner. "Sir," replied he, "there is but one Horatio Nelſon in the world."

Spain had now joined the ranks of the enemies of Britain, and her fleet was preparing to conteſt the dominion of the ſea. Nelſon had feared that he ſhould be detained ſo long at Porto Ferrajo as to be prevented from taking a ſhare in the expected battle, and this fear had both irritated and depreſſed him. It was, however, a groundleſs one. He ſucceeded in joining his admiral on the thirteenth, and was directed to ſhift his broad pendant from the Minerve on board of the Captain.

The enemy's fleet was now in ſight. It conſiſted of ſeven-and-twenty ſail of the line, ſome of them the largeſt ſhips in the world, while the Britiſh was compoſed of only fifteen, of inferior ſtrength; but on the numerically weaker ſide were ſkill, confidence, diſcipline, all of which were wanting on the ſide of their opponents. The Britiſh admiral reſolved to be the aſſailant, and the combat was fought on the 14th of March, off Cape St. Vincent *. About noon, by a well executed manœuvre, he paſſed through the enemy's line, and ſeparated eight ſail from their main body. Cordova, the Spaniſh admiral, endeavoured to join the ſeveral veſſels, by wearing round the Britiſh rear; but his ſcheme was "fruſtrated by the extraordinary preſence of mind of Nelſon, whoſe ſtation in the rear of the Britiſh line afforded him an opportunity of obſerving this manœuvre of the Spaniards; and who, well knowing that his commander-in-chief allowed a conſiderable degree of diſcretion to the gallantry and judgment of his approved officers," took upon himſelf the reſponſibility of wearing his ſhip, and bringing Cordova to action. This bold and deciſive meaſure was crowned with ſucceſs. After a ſevere conteſt, Nelſon carried the San Joſef and the San Nicolas, of 84 and 112 guns, by boarding; and, aided by the neareſt Britiſh ſhips, put the remainder of the enemy to flight. In the other part of the line, the Salvador del Mundo of 112 guns, and the San Iſidro, of 84, alſo ſtruck to the Britiſh. In this engagement Nelſon was ſlightly wounded. "Sir John Jervis," ſays he, "received me on the quarter deck, and having embraced me, ſaid he could not ſufficiently thank me, and uſed every kind expreſſion to make me completely happy." Nor was this the only honour that was paid him. He received the thanks of parliament, and of various corporations,

* In a ſketch ſo brief as this muſt neceſſarily be, minuteneſs of deſcription, in the various battles, cannot be expected. Fuller narratives of them will be found in the hiſtorical department of their work, contained in the volumes from 1795 to 1806.

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the freedom of the city of London, and the order of the Bath. He had already, on the twentieth of February, been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral.

In April, having hoiſted his flag, as rear-admiral of the blue, he was ſent to Porto Ferrajo, to bring off the garriſon. On his return he ſhifted his flag to the Theſeus, and was employed in the command of the inner ſquadron at the blockade of Cadiz, during which ſervice he annoyed and haraſſed the enemy by inceſſant attacks. "It was during this period," ſays he, "that perhaps my perſonal courage was more conſpicuous than at any other part of my life. In an attack of the Spaniſh gun boats I was boarded in my barge with its common crew of ten men, coxſwain, Captain Freemantle, and myſelf, by the commander of the gun-boats; the Spaniſh barge rowed twenty-ſix oars, beſides officers, thirty men in the whole. This was a ſervice hand to hand with ſwords, in which my coxſwain, John Sykes, now no more, twice ſaved my life. Eighteen of the Spaniards being killed, and ſeveral wounded, we ſucceeded in taking their commander." This action was fought on the night of the third of July, and on the following day he was inveſted with the order of the Bath, the inſignia of which had arrived from England.

Such was the influence of Nelſon over his men that, though the ſpirit of mutiny was buſy in almoſt every part of the navy, and though the ſquadron off Cadiz was much tainted with it, the moſt perfect obedience was manifeſted on board of his ſhip. The Theſeus, in which he had hoiſted his flag, had been diſgraced, previous to her leaving England, by acts of inſubordination, but the crew ſoon became attached to Nelſon, and declared that they would ſhed, in his ſupport, every drop of blood in their veins.

It being ſuppoſed that the viceroy of Mexico, with the treaſure ſhips, had taken ſhelter in Teneriffe, Nelſon propoſed to his commander an attack upon Santa Cruz, the plan of which he formed with infinite ability. The report was found to be erroneous, but it being certain that the Manilla ſhip had put in there, it was reſolved to intruſt him with a ſquadron of four ſail of the line, three frigates, and a cutter, and a ſmall body of marines to make an attempt. The military force was by no means adequate to the purpoſe, but he was not a man to be deterred by any common impediments. Unfortunately, the Spaniards were not only eight times as ſtrong as the aſſailants, but, from the ſtate of the wind rendering an immediate landing impracticable, they had ſufficient time to turn all their reſources to the beſt advantage; and they did ſo. In the night of the 24th of July the troops were put on board the boats, and proceeded ſilently towards the ſhore. The enemy were prepared, and a tremendous fire of cannon and muſketry was opened, from all quarters, upon the Engliſh, who, nevertheleſs, puſhed on, and at firſt gained ground. While Nelſon was in the act of drawing his ſword, and ſtepping on ſhore, he received a ſevere wound through the elbow, by a grape ſhot, and inſtantly fell. Lieutenant Niſbet, his

his ſon-in-law, raiſed him up, and ſaved his life, by ſtopping the effuſion of blood from the lacerated arm. He then ordered the boat to return to the ſquadron. While they were on their way, the Fox cutter was ſunk, and Nelſon, forgetting his own ſituation, exerted himſelf to ſave the ſufferers, and, with his remaining hand, reſcued ſeveral from a watery grave. "The firſt ſhip which the boat could reach happened to be the Seahorſe; but nothing could induce the wounded admiral to go on board, though he was aſſured that it might be at the riſk of his life, if they attempted to row to another ſhip: 'Then I will die,' he exclaimed, 'for I had rather ſuffer death than alarm Mrs. Freemantle by ſeeing her in this ſtate, and when I can give her no tidings whatever of her huſband.' They accordingly proceeded without further delay for the Theſeus: when, notwithſtanding the increaſed pain and weakneſs which he experienced, he peremptorily refuſed all aſſiſtance in getting on board: 'Let me alone, I have yet my legs left, and one arm. Tell the ſurgeon to make haſte and get his inſtruments. I know I muſt loſe my right arm, ſo the ſooner it is off the better.'" The painful operation of amputating the limb he bore with his wonted firmneſs.

The attack, as is well known, utterly failed; but the bravery of the aſſailants had its proper effect upon a noble foe. They were allowed to retire, and they were conſoled by the kindneſs and applauſe of thoſe whom they had endeavoured to ſubdue. A friendly correſpondence was opened between the two parties, and Nelſon himſelf carried to Spain the diſpatches which announced his own defeat.

Nelſon returned to England dejected by the idea that he would henceforth be conſidered as unfit for ſervice, and for a long while he ſuffered greatly from his wound, as the operation had been haſtily performed, and the ligature adhered firmly to the nerve. He was cheered, however, by the public applauſe, the kindneſs of his ſovereign, and the grant of an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds.

"As ſoon as his health was in ſome degree eſtabliſhed, Nelſon, with that devout ſenſe which was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on his mind, went to the clerk of St. George's church, and left with him the following paper: 'An officer deſires to return thanks to Almighty God for his perfect recovery from a ſevere wound, and alſo for the many mercies beſtowed on him. Dec. 8th, 1797, for the next Sunday.'"

Having hoiſted his flag in the Vanguard, of 74 guns, Nelſon ſailed from St. Helen's on the 9th of April, and on the 29th he rejoined Lord St. Vincent's, who declared that his arrival gave him new life. He was immediately diſpatched into the Mediterranean with a ſmall ſquadron, to watch the motions of the French, who were then preparing at Toulon for the expedition to Egypt. At the moment when Lord St. Vincent was ſending off this detachment, inſtructions were on their way from England, in which the propriety of ſo doing was ſuggeſted, and Sir Horatio was pointed out as the fitteſt perſon to be entruſted with the command.

On the night of the 20th of May, he encountered one of thoſe ſudden

ſudden tempeſts which are not unuſual in the Mediterranean, and his ſquadron was in imminent danger. This tempeſt, however, proved to be a fortunate event, as it ſaved him from the powerful fleet, with the expedition on board, which ſailed on the ſame day; and it enabled him to complete his ſupply of water, and ſecure his junction with a reinforcement led by Captain Trowbridge.

This reinforcement conſiſted of ten ſail of the line, to which was afterwards added the Leander, of 50 guns With it, Nelſon received inſtructions to purſue the French armament, and to uſe his utmoſt efforts to accompliſh its deſtruction. Not a moment was loſt by Nelſon in commencing the purſuit. He run down the Italian coaſt, and paſſed the Straits of Meſſina, with the intention of attacking the French at Gozo, he having been informed that they had ſteered for Malta. Having learned, however, that they had departed from Malta, he concluded that Egypt was their object, and he accordingly bent his courſe to Alexandria. They had not yet reached that place, nor was any thing known there with reſpect to their movements. Diſappointed there, he turned northward to the coaſt of Caramania, paſſed the ſouthern ſide of Candia, and at length, on the 18th of July, put into Syracuſe for ſupplies, after a fruitleſs chace of five weeks.

The cauſe of his failure aroſe from his proceeding in a direct line from Sicily to Alexandria, while the French had moved in an angular direction by Candia. The hazineſs of the weather, too, had made it impoſſible to perceive a diſtant enemy. But, though the failure was unavoidable, it afforded abundant food to envy and illiberality, and both the commander-in-chief and the gallant ſecond whom he had choſen were baſely and rancorouſly cenſured, and even threatened with diſgrace and impeachment.

The moment, however, was at hand, that was to ſhame and ſilence this deſpicable tribe. Having victualled and re-fitted in a week, of which every hour ſeemed to him to be an age, Nelſon quitted Syracuſe, called for information in the Morea, and then once more ſteered for the ſhore of Egypt, and at length, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, deſcried the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir-bay, drawn up in an advantageous poſition, which was flanked by batteries on the land, by mortar veſſels, gun-boats, and frigates.

" Nothing could equal the joy that prevailed throughout the Britiſh ſquadron at the ſight of the French flag, unleſs it were the calm determination and awful ſilence by which that joy was ſucceeded. Sir Horatio, for many preceding days, had hardly eaten or ſlept; but now, with a coolneſs peculiar to our naval character, he ordered his dinner to be ſerved, during which the dreadful preparation for battle was made throughout the Vanguard. On his officers' riſing from table and repairing to their ſeparate ſtations, he exclaimed, 'Before this time tomorrow, I ſhall have gained a peerage, or Weſtminſter Abbey.' "

That part of the enemy's line which was moored to windward, was choſen as the firſt object of attack; the part to leeward, immoveable in its ſtation, was re-

ſerved for the cloſe of the conteſt. It was originally the intention of Nelſon to keep on the outer ſide of the line, "and to ſtation his ſhips, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow and another on the outer quarter of each of the enemy," thus producing a deſtructive croſs fire; but, on the ſuggeſtion of Captain Foley, it was reſolved to turn the line with half the Britiſh ſquadron, and place the enemy between two fires; a manœuvre which is ſaid to have been in the contemplation of Lord Hood, when he meditated an attempt upon the Toulon fleet in the bay of Gourjean. In performing this movement, the Culloden unfortunately grounded, and was prevented from having any ſhare in the engagement.

The conteſt began at half paſt ſix, and the battle raged with the utmoſt fury till between nine and ten, when the l'Orient, the French admiral's ſhip, took fire, and blew up about eleven. The cannonade was then reciprocally diſcontinued for about ten minutes, after which period it recommenced, nor did it ceaſe till the whole of the hoſtile ſquadron was taken or deſtroyed, with the exception of two ſail of the line and two frigates, which ſucceeded in effecting their eſcape. During the heat of the battle, Nelſon received a ſevere wound in the head, from a piece of langridge ſhot, which he for a while believed to be a mortal one.

The public mind, meanwhile, was in a ſtate of extraordinary agitation, which was prolonged by the unfortunate capture of Nelſon's firſt diſpatches. The moſt gloomy apprehenſions were felt, in which the miniſters themſelves could not avoid participating. At length, on the 2d of October, the glorious intelligence reached the Britiſh metropolis, and inſpired a delirium of joy, which ſufficiently proved what had been the extent of the previous doubts and fears. The victorious admiral was made a peer, by the title of Baron Nelſon of the Nile, a penſion of two thouſand a year was granted to him, and an addition was made to his armorial bearings. Honours and rewards were, in truth, profuſely ſhowered upon him from all quarters, both at home and abroad: among them was a diamond aigrette, and a ſable fur with broad ſleeves, from the Grand Signior, who alſo, at a ſubſequent period, inſtituted the order of the creſcent, of which Nelſon was named the firſt knight-companion.

At Naples, to which Nelſon directed his courſe, his victory was hailed with an exultation that it would be difficult to deſcribe. He was ſtyled the deliverer, the ſaviour of Italy, the firſt of heroes, and every kind of pageant and entertainment was exhauſted, by the queen and her court, to expreſs their gratitude and ſecure his friendſhip. He reſided with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and hence aroſe the vexations of his future life. In his paſſage to Naples he had been viſited by melancholy forebodings, and for a while, after his arrival, he felt a diſlike of thoſe by whom he was ſurrounded. "I truſt, my Lord," ſays he, in a letter to Lord St. Vincent, on the 30th of September, "that in a week we ſhall all be at ſea. I am very unwell, and the miſerable conduct of this court, is not likely to cool my irritable temper. It is a

country

country of fiddlers and poets, whores and ſcoundrels." But he was inſenſibly gained over by the blandiſhments and flatteries that were laviſhed on him, and he adopted the ſentiments and prejudices of the Queen, a woman of ſo baſe and vindictive a mind that language fails in the expreſſion of her demerit.

Having entruſted the blockade of Malta to Captain Ball, Nelſon directed the greateſt ſhare of his attention to protecting the coaſts of Naples and Sicily; an object which was particularly pointed out in his inſtructions, and which he was now thoroughly diſpoſed to attain by every means in his power. He could not, however, avert the ruin that was impending from the cowardice of his friends. The Neapolitan army was routed, the French advanced on Naples, and, on the 21ſt of December, their Sicilian majeſties were compelled to take ſhelter in the Vanguard, the flag ſhip of Lord Nelſon, leaving General Prince Pignatelli to act as Vice-regent. From the bay of Naples the royal family were conveyed to Palermo.

It was now neceſſary to make every exertion to provide for the defence of Sicily. Here Nelſon was once more in his element. He ſtrained every nerve to ſtimulate the Sicilians to provide for the ſecurity of their country; and, with his accuſtomed gallantry, he offered to defend Meſſina with the ſhip's company of an Engliſh man of war, ſhould no other ſuccour arrive. He was rewarded, at the beginning of March, by the freedom of the city of Palermo, which was preſented to him in a gold box, brought on a ſilver ſalver, and which conſtituted him an honorary grandee of Spain.

In the ſame month he arranged a plan for reducing the iſlands in the bay of Naples, and for ſupporting the royaliſts, who were then beginning to make head in the kingdom. This plan was crowned with complete ſucceſs. In May, the eſcape of the French fleet from Breſt, and its entrance into the Mediterranean, gave riſe to much alarm for the ſafety of Nelſon, whoſe ſquadron was divided, on various ſervices. "With the Vanguard, the only ſhip then lying in the bay of Palermo, he propoſed to give them a warm reception, and to defend his poſt to the laſt." Having, in the courſe of a few days, collected ſix ſail, he wrote to Lord St. Vincent, "your Lordſhip may depend that the ſquadron under my command ſhall never fall into the hands of the enemy; and before we are deſtroyed, I have little doubt but they will have their wings ſo completely clipped, as that they may be eaſily overtaken." The French, however, did not, on this occaſion, give him an opportunity of adding to his laurels.

It was while Lord Nelſon was expecting the arrival of the enemy that he received, from his old friend Captain Hallowell, the ſingular preſent of a coffin, made of a part of the wood and iron belonging to the main maſt of l'Orient. "The aſtoniſhment that prevailed amongſt the ſhip's company, when they were actually convinced that it was a coffin which had thus been conveyed on board, will be long remembered by their officers: 'we ſhall have hot work of it indeed,' ſaid one of the old Agamemnons,

'you ſee the admiral intends to fight till he is killed, and there he is to be buried.' Lord Nelſon afterwards placed it upright with the lid on againſt the after diviſion, or bulk head of his cabin, behind his chair where he ſat at dinner, and viewed it with the undaunted mind of a great warrior. There had been, however, an extraordinary gloom and depreſſion of mind for ſome time viſible in his Lordſhip, which too much correſponded with the preſent he had received. Notwithſtanding all his honours and all his glory, Nelſon was becoming diſſatisfied with himſelf, and the irritability and miſery which this gradually occaſioned, will appear in many of his ſubſequent letters. In one, that had been written during February to an intimate friend, is the following paſſage: 'Thank you moſt heartily, my dear Daviſon, for your letter. Believe me, my only wiſh is to ſink with honour into the grave, and when that ſhall pleaſe God, I ſhall meet death with a ſmile. Not that I am inſenſible to the honours and riches my king and country have heaped upon me, ſo much more than any officer can deſerve: yet am I ready to quit this world of trouble, and envy none but thoſe of the eſtate ſix feet by two.'"

The tide at length turned againſt the French in Italy, and the kingdom of Naples was recovered. The joint authors of Lord Nelſon's life labour hard to juſtify him for the breach of the capitulation ſigned by Captain Foote, and alſo with reſpect to the other tranſactions which took place in the Bay of Naples; but their efforts are in vain, and we muſt lament that his blind attachment to a worthleſs court ſhould have led him to the commiſſion of acts which form a ſpot upon the luſtre of his name.

At this period all his thoughts ſeem to have been turned to the preſervation of his Sicilian majeſty's dominions. Lord Keith having ordered him to repair to Minorca with the whole or the greateſt part of his force, that iſland being ſuppoſed to be in danger from the combined ſquadrons, Lord Nelſon declined to obey, on the ground that it was imperiouſly neceſſary for him to continue on the Neapolitan ſtation. This diſobedience of orders was cenſured by the board of admiralty; a circumſtance which excited much diſſatisfaction in the mind of Nelſon, who perſiſted in aſſerting that his conduct was judicious.

The ſervices which his lordſhip had rendered to him were rewarded by the king of Naples in a magnificent manner. He conferred on him the dukedom and lands of Bronté, and preſented him with a ſword valued at four thouſand guineas. In the account which, in a letter to a friend, Nelſon gave of this gift, there is a paſſage that does honour to his heart. "The eſtate," writes he, "is ſaid to be about 3000*l.* a year: I am determined on one thing, that the inhabitants ſhall be the happieſt in all his Sicilian Majeſty's dominions." He had already refuſed many rich preſents from the monarch, and even this he is ſaid to have accepted with reluctance. Money had no charms for him. Not long after this, he gave another proof of his liberality of ſpirit. A celebrated civilian having given, in a caſe of prize, an opinion which excluded from

from a ſhare the junior flag-officers of the fleet, Nelſon thus wrote to his agent: "Notwithſtanding Dr. Laurence's opinion, I do not believe I have any right to exclude the junior flag-officers; and, if I have, I deſire that no ſuch claim may be made: no, not if it were ſixty times the ſum, and, poor as I am, I were never to ſee prize-money."

His beſt friends now began to wiſh that he would no longer continue in the morally peſtiferous atmoſphere of the Sicilian court. "They ſay here, my good Lord," writes Admiral Goodall, in a letter from England, "that you are Rinaldo in the arms of Armida, and that it requires the firmneſs of an Ubaldo and his brother knight to draw you from the enchantreſs." Trowbridge remonſtrated with all the warmth of a diſintereſted, ardent friendſhip; and even Lord Spencer, though he deprecated Nelſon quitting the Mediterranean, delicately hinted that he "would be more likely to recover his health and ſtrength in England, than in an inactive ſituation at a foreign court, however pleaſing the reſpect and gratitude ſhewn to him by the court might be." Nelſon was at this moment labouring under an internal complaint, the origin of which he traced to the agitation of his mind during his purſuit of the French in 1798. "Pray do not fret at any thing," writes he to Trowbridge, "I wiſh I never had; but my return to Syracuſe in 1798 broke my heart, which on any extraordinary anxiety now ſhows itſelf, be that feeling pain or pleaſure."

At length, on the 8th of June, 1800, he quitted Sicily, to return to his native country. Previous to his leaving the iſland, the king inveſted him with the order of St. Ferdinand; the knights of which order have the privilege of being covered in the king's preſence. He was the firſt knight after the royal family. Though this honour was doubleſs gratifying to his feelings, it is probable that the following ſimple teſtimony of attachment, from his boat's crew, was not leſs ſo. When they heard that he was on the eve of his departure, they wrote to him this letter. "My Lord, it is with extreme concern that we find you are about to leave us. We have been with you, although not in the ſame ſhip, in every engagement your Lordſhip has been in both by ſea and land; and moſt humbly beg of your Lordſhip to permit us to go to England, as your boat's crew, in any ſhip or veſſel, or in any way that may ſeem moſt pleaſing to your Lordſhip. My Lord, pardon the rude ſtyle of ſeamen, who are but little acquainted with writing, and believe us to be, my Lord, your ever humble and obedient ſervants, *Barge's Crew of the Foudroyant.*"

It was in company with the queen and royal family of Naples, and Sir William and Lady Hamilton, that Nelſon took his paſſage to Leghorn, at which place they remained about a month. After narrowly eſcaping from the hands of the French, he proceeded by Florence and Ancona to the Auſtrian capital. At Vienna he was introduced, by the queen, to the emperor and empreſs; and, by the expreſs deſire of the gallant archduke Charles, he viſited him at Prague. He was every where received with thoſe honours which he had ſo well earned. It was on

the 6th of November, 1800, that he landed at Yarmouth, and on the 9th he arrived in the Britiſh metropolis. All ranks joined in hailing him with unbounded enthuſiaſm; he was followed wherever he went by ſhouting multitudes, and his praiſe was the theme of every tongue.

His ſubſequent glorious career has been ſo amply recorded in our volumes, that it is unneceſſary to touch upon it in this place. We ſhall therefore cloſe our account of Meſſrs. Clarke and M'Arthur's book, with an anecdote or two, characteriſtic of our great naval hero.

Previous to the battle of Copenhagen, during a council of war, "certain difficulties had been ſtarted by ſome of the members, relative to each of the three powers we ſhould have to engage in ſucceſſion, or united, on thoſe ſeas. The number of the Ruſſians was in particular repreſented as formidable. Lord Nelſon kept pacing the cabin, mortified at every thing which ſavoured of alarm or irreſolution. When the above remark was applied to the Swedes, he ſharply obſerved, *The more numerous the better*; and when to the Ruſſians, he repeatedly ſaid, *ſo much the better, I wiſh there were twice as many, the eaſier the victory, depend on it.* He alluded, as he afterwards explained in private, to the total want of tactique among the northern fleets; and to his intention, whenever he ſhould bring either the Swedes or Ruſſians to action, of attacking the head of their line, and confuſing their movements as much as poſſible. He uſed to ſay, *cloſe with a Frenchman, but out-manœuvre a Ruſſian.*"

When Sir Hyde Parker, doubtful of the reſult of the conteſt at Copenhagen, threw out the ſignal for the action to ceaſe, "Lord Nelſon," ſays Mr. Ferguſon in his memoranda, "was, as he had been during the whole action, walking the ſtarboard ſide of the quarter deck; ſometimes much animated, ſometimes heroically fine in his obſervations. A ſhot through the mainmaſt knocked a few ſplinters about us; he obſerved to me with a ſmile, *It is warm work, and this day may be the laſt to any of us at a moment;* and then ſtopping ſhort at the gangway, he uſed an expreſſion never to be eraſed from my memory, and ſaid with emotion, *But mark you, I would not be elſewhere for thouſands.* When the ſignal, *No.* 39, was made, the ſignal lieutenant reported it to him. He continued his walk, and did not appear to take notice of it. The lieutenant, meeting his Lordſhip at the next turn, aſked, *whether he ſhould repeat it?* Lord Nelſon anſwered, *No, acknowledge it.* On the officer returning to the poop, his Lordſhip called after him, *Is No.* 16, (ſignal for cloſe action which had been flying from the beginning) *ſtill hoiſted?* The lieutenant anſwering in the affirmative, Lord Nelſon ſaid, *Mind you keep it ſo.* He now walked the deck conſiderably agitated, which was always known by his moving the ſtump of his right arm. After a turn or two, he ſaid to me, in a quick manner, *Do you know what's ſhown on board of the Commander-in-chief? No.* 39! On aſking him what that meant, he anſwered, *why to leave off action. Leave off action!* he repeated, and then added, with a ſhrug, *Now damn me if I do.* He alſo obſerved, I believe to

Captain

Captain Foley, *You know, Foley, I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind ſometimes*; and then with an archneſs peculiar to his character, putting his glaſs to this blind eye, he exclaimed, *I really do not ſee the ſignal.* This remarkable ſignal was, therefore, only acknowledged on board of the Elephant, not repeated."

One more anecdote from Mr. Ferguſon's Memoranda, and we muſt have done. "It was about the time that it might be poſſible to get into Revel; thither the fleet ſteered; when they were met by a cutter, announcing the death of the Emperor Paul, and having conciliatory propoſitions from his ſucceſſor Alexander. Sir Hyde Parker immediately returned to the anchorage near Copenhagen: ſuch a ſtep was by no means agreeable to Lord Nelſon, who knew that to negotiate with effect, force ſhould be at hand and in a ſituation to act. The poſition of the Britiſh fleet ought to have been between the two Ruſſian diviſions, ſo as to prevent their junction in caſe their pacific overtures had proved inſincere. Weeks were loſt in this inactivity. Sir Hyde Parker was then recalled, and the command veſted in Lord Nelſon. Not a moment was now loſt; nine ſail of the line immediately weighed anchor with the admiral, and proceeded to Revel. Of the friendſhip of the Ruſſians there had been no confirmation; the meſſage might have been a *ruſe de guerre* to ſave their fleet, and it was time to prove their diſpoſition by entering one of their ports. On the paſſage every poſſible opportunity was embraced of calling our different commanders together, arranging plans of conduct in the event of finding the Ruſſians friendly or hoſtile, and the port of Revel was at all events to be entered; but on our reaching it, we learned to our ſurpriſe and mortification, that the ſtate of the ice had permitted their eſcape to Cronſtadt three days before. Nelſon was not diſconcerted, the hoſtile viſit was made to paſs for one of honour and courteſy, the governor and forts were ſaluted, meſſages of cordiality were ſent, and an invitation from the ſhore was accepted; and after three days ſpent amicably, he parted with the Ruſſians on the beſt terms. Such was the man equally fitted to ſerve his country by his courage, his talents, and his addreſs. True original genius he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. He was a decided enemy to any ſevere ſyſtem of diſcipline, and never would conſent to inflict corporal puniſhment on a man if it were poſſible to avoid it: when he was actually driven to it, he was more miſerable and unhappy during the execution of a ſentence than the culprit himſelf. He underſtood mankind, and could lead them where he pleaſed. No man was ever more faithfully obeyed, yet knew he not the uſe of terror. His hold was on the affections and reaſon of man, aided by example; and ſuch a hold, that he could by it inſpire cowardice itſelf with courage and enthuſiaſm. In all his life he never was known to do an unfriendly act to any officer about him: if they behaved ill, and he was aſked to proſecute them, he uſed to anſwer, "that there was no occaſion for him to ruin a poor devil, who was ſufficiently his own enemy to ruin himſelf." Expulſion from the ſhip was the ſevereſt

punishment he inflicted. He was literally what I have heard his sailors, in their plain expressive language, say of him, "*Our* NEL *is as brave as a lion, and as gentle as lamb.*"

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. To which are prefixed Memoirs of Hyder Aly Khan, and his Son Tippoo Sultan. By Charles Stewart, *Esq. M.A.S.*

This volume is, on more than one account, a literary curiosity. It contains the catalogue of the library of a despot, an oriental despot; and we are naturally desirous to know in what degree of respect literature was held by such a being, and what species of literature he appeared to prefer. It is still more interesting from its containing memoirs of two extraordinary characters; one of whom, by dint of talent, established a powerful empire in India, which the other, by his obstinacy and want of policy, first diminished, and at length destroyed. From the materials which Mr. Stewart has provided, we will give a rapid sketch of the lives of Hyder Ali and of Tippoo Sultan; and then a brief abstract of the contents of the library of the fallen despot.

The family of Hyder was originally Arabian, but when his ancestors emigrated to India is not known. By descent he himself claimed the honour of being a Coreishy, and consequently of the same tribe as the founder of the Mahometan religion. It is certain that his progenitors were persons of respectability in the district of Kohir, between Hyderabad and Kulbergah, several of them having, at different times, held the honourable office of cazy or judge. His grandfather had under him a corps of a hundred and fifty men, in the service of the governor of Sera; his father, Futteh Aly, was in the same service, and rose by degrees to the command of a thousand or fifteen hundred men, and obtained the title of Naik, which, in the Sanscrit language, means a colonel or commander. As a descendant of Mahomet, Futteh Aly assumed the prenomen of Mir.

Hyder was the son of Futteh by Majedda Begum, the daughter of a respectable family. "When the lady became pregnant, they visited the hermitage of a celebrated devotee, named Hyder Shah, who predicted that the child would be a son, and directed his parents to call him Hyder Aly. This son was born in the year of the Hegira 1131. A. D. 1718, at Diwanhully, in the neighbourhood of Kolar."

The affairs of the governor of Sera having fallen into confusion, Futteh, whose troops remained unpaid, was compelled to seek for another employer. With two hundred infantry and twenty-five horse, he was first employed by Abbas Culy Khan, and afterwards by one of the Malabar Rajas. "Neither of these situations suiting his ambition, he repaired to Seringapatam, and had the good fortune to be admitted with his batallion (which he had augmented to a thousand men) into the service of the Raja of Mysore. This event, so important in its consequences, took place A. H. 1140, or A. D. 1727."

In

In Myſore, when the Raja died, without iſſue, it was cuſtomary for his relations to ſelect, from the collateral branches of the family, a boy, from three to five years of age, as their chief, by which means, during a long minority, they divided among themſelves the patronage and emoluments of the ſtate; one of them being appointed to act as Delaway, or prime miniſter. Such an event occurred ſome years after the arrival of Futteh Naik. The Delaway, Gorachuri Nundoraji, was a man of ability, and in a ſhort time he uſurped all the powers of the ſovereign. Futteh Naik obtained his confidence, and in all affairs of importance, he and his corps were preferred to the reſt of the army.

The father of Hyder died in the year 1738; leaving Hyder and another ſon, to whom conjointly the command of his corps devolved, as a right of inheritance. Diſſatisfied at ſome part of their conduct, the Delaway diſmiſſed them, and they entered into the ſervice of the nabob of Arcot. While in this ſervice, Hyder married the daughter of the governor of Kuddepah, who, about the year 1749, became the mother of Tippoo Saib.

The brothers being thrown out of employment, by the murder of the nabob, who was put to death by one of his relations, they ſued to the Delaway to be admitted again into his ſervice, and their ſuit was ſucceſsful. On his return to the Myſore, Hyder married the daughter of the Cazy of Seringapatam; and his brother dying in the courſe of the following year, he inherited all the property of his father, and the ſole command of the corps. He was now looked up to as an important perſon, was diſtinguiſhed by the title of Hyder Aly *Naik*, and roſe ſo high in the confidence of the miniſter, that he was conſulted on all occaſions where courage and activity were required. At the ſame time he rendered himſelf popular among the military, particularly thoſe of his own religion, by his urbanity and liberality.

Hyder now began to carry into execution his ambitious deſigns. In the vicinity of the Myſore country, were ſeveral independent rajas, poſſeſſing territories of various extent. Among theſe was the raja of Bangalore, who, beſides his capital, which was ſtrongly fortified, held alſo the ſuppoſed impregnable hill fortreſs of Savendrug. From motives of parſimony, and believing himſelf to be ſecure in the friendſhip of all his neighbours, he had diminiſhed his military force to barely the number which was neceſſary for collecting the revenues. Hyder prevailed on the Delaway to diſpatch him, with a force of 8000 men, to attack the unſuſpecting raja. The reſult of this irruption was, that the raja was compelled to pay four hundred thouſand rupees, and promiſe an annual tribute of twice that ſum. Stung with reſentment, he ſoon, however, broke the peace and appealed to arms. Hyder was ſent againſt him with 20,000 men; an obſtinate engagement enſued, and the raja was made priſoner. The conquered diſtrict was aſſigned to Hyder by the Delaway, as a jaidad, or fund for the payment of his troops. Theſe, under pretence of ſecuring his conqueſt, Hyder doubled in numbers, and by degrees

extended

extended his authority over ſeveral of the neighbouring zemindars.

From the further proſecution of his ſchemes, Hyder was for a while called off, by the neceſſity of marching with the Myſore army, which was led by the Delaway, to the aſſiſtance of Mohammed Aly, the nabob of the Carnatic. This took place in 1751. The army continued in the Carnatic till 1755, during which period Hyder diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly by his bravery, activity, and ſkill. On different occaſions he ſlew ſeveral of the enemy in ſingle combat, and bore their heads in triumph to the camp. He thus attracted the attention of the nabob, who is ſaid to have ſtrongly recommended to the Delaway to promote ſo valuable an officer. At the battle of Trichinopoly, in Auguſt 1754, he fell upon the baggage of the Engliſh, created great confuſion, and ſeized thirty-five carts laden with arms, ammunition, and other ſtores.

An impending invaſion by the Mahrattas, and a demand of the arrears of tribute due to the Mogul government, compelled the Myſorean army to return home, for the purpoſe of defending its own country. When the miniſter reached Seringapatam he found the raja, who had aſſumed the reins of government, in the utmoſt conſternation at the approach of the Mahrattas. It was reſolved to oppoſe the invaders; but the troops were mutinous for want of pay, and, when money was at laſt raiſed to ſatisfy them, all the chief officers declined the reſponſibility of commanding a force which they conſidered as inadequate to its purpoſe. Hyder was then on the ſouthern frontier. He was recalled, to command in chief, and, without heſitation, he accepted the poſt which was offered to him. The Mahrattas, however, had advanced ſo rapidly, that the Myſore government deemed it prudent to purchaſe a temporary peace, at the price of two millions of rupees. The readineſs of Hyder on this occaſion, and his ſtrenuous exertions to reſtore diſcipline among the troops, raiſed him high in the eſtimation of the miniſter and the raja. Two years afterwards, in 1758, the Mahrattas again invaded; he was again ſummoned from the frontier to ſave Seringapatam; but the Myſore government again reſorted to the plan of propitiating the invaders by the payment of a conſiderable ſum.

"The general being now unemployed, obtained permiſſion for himſelf and followers to viſit his jaidad of Bangalore, the affairs of which he repreſented to have ſuffered much derangement during his abſence. In the courſe of a few months after his arrival at Bangalore, Hyder pointed out to the Delaway a conqueſt, by which the Myſore territory might be greatly encreaſed, and the funds of the treaſury, which had been much drained by the expences of the war in the Carnatic and the demands of the Mahrattas, repleniſhed. The miniſter, blinded by avarice, and ſtill duped by the diſſimulation and affected humility of Hyder, gave his conſent to the expedition.

At the diſtance of ſeventy miles to the north-eaſt of Bangalore is ſituated the diſtrict of Chuc (little) Balapore, a rich and fertile country, the zemindar or raja of which,

Narayana

Narayana Swami, was reported to poſſeſs much wealth, without the courage to defend it. Theſe were temptations not to be withſtood by Hyder, who having, in conſequence of the permiſſion obtained from the Delaway, aſſembled an army, marched from Bangalore ſome time in the year 1758, and, before the raja was apprized of his intentions, entered the diſtrict of Balapore. The raja took refuge in the fort of Nandidurg; but, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of only two days, took to flight, leaving a rich booty to the invaders. A few rarities and a congratulatory letter were diſpatched to Seringapatam; but the treaſure was either diſtributed among the troops, or retained by the general, who appointed his own officers to the conquered diſtrict, and annexed it to Bangalore.

Hyder Aly now perceived with triumph his ambitious views ripening to maturity; and, under pretence of ſecuring his conqueſts, he augmented his old corps, and took into his ſervice an additional body of troops, on whoſe attachment he could depend.

Theſe circumſtances being reported to the Delaway, he began to repent of the blind partiality which had induced him to raiſe Hyder Aly to ſo dangerous a height of power and authority, and propoſed to the Raja to inveigle him to Seringapatam, and to ſecure his perſon. In proſecution of this deſign, a letter, replete with thanks and flattery, was written by the Delaway to Hyder, inviting him to return to court, to receive ſome diſtinguiſhed mark of honour, in reward for his brilliant ſervices.

Hyder, who was well verſed in all the intrigues and politics of an Oriental court, conſtantly retained a private agent at Seringapatam, to whom he paid a liberal allowance for furniſhing him with intelligence. From this perſon he learnt the inſidious purport of the letter, before it arrived. After conſidering the ſteps it became neceſſary to take, he marched from Balapore to Bangalore, and having collected all his forces, proceeded at their head to Seringapatam, where he encamped in the neighbourhood of the city. In the evening he went to pay his reſpects to the miniſter, attended by a few truſty followers; but, although every thing had been previouſly arranged for ſeizing him, or putting him to death, the opportunity was ſuffered to eſcape, and no attempt was made. The next viſit was fixed for the perpetration of the act; but the attachment which ſome perſons, acquainted with the intentions of the Delaway, bore to Hyder, induced them to apprize him of the plans in agitation againſt him. Although previouſly aware of the hoſtile deſigns of the miniſter, he affected much ſurpriſe and alarm at this intelligence; and, having conſulted with his friends, reſolved to depoſe the Delaway. To accompliſh this object, he proceeded, a few days afterwards, under pretence of paying the promiſed viſit, to the reſidence of the miniſter, and, ſtationing a party of ſoldiers at the door, entered the houſe with a ſelect guard, and, without oppoſition, took him priſoner. A detachment was then ſent to reduce the palace; but the Raja ſubmitted voluntarily, and,

and, ſending for Hyder Aly, received him moſt graciouſly, and declared, before the whole court, that the conduct of Gorachuri Nundoraj having for ſome time paſt given him great offence, it had been his ſerious intention to depoſe him from the office of Delaway, and to confer that honour on his general, Hyder Aly; but that meaſure being now happily effected without his interference, he had much pleaſure in placing the reins of government in ſuch able hands. Hyder, ſeeing the Raja ſufficiently intimidated, was profuſe in his profeſſions of fidelity and attachment, and alleged the miniſter's deſign upon his life as the ſole cauſe of the commotion which had taken place. Next day, however, he repaired to court, and demanded a patent or commiſſion conferring on him and his poſterity the perpetual office of Delaway. The Raja, dreading the conſequences of a refuſal, acquieſced in this demand, and contented himſelf with requiring a written engagement, ſtipulating that he and his poſterity ſhould prove themſelves loyal and obedient ſubjects. Thus Hyder Aly acquired the *real* ſovereignty of Myſore, but for ſome time continued his reſpectful behaviour to the Raja. All the public acts of government were made in the name of the Prince, and, on occaſion of any new conqueſts, congratulatory letters and preſents were ſent to him. This event happened in the year 1759.

The firſt act of Hyder's authority was to get poſſeſſion of the fort of Myſore. To this place he ſent his priſoner, the late Delaway, with his two ſons, Viraj and Tadaraj, but allowed them a comfortable penſion. The father ſurvived his diſgrace thirteen years; and one of the ſons lived long enough to witneſs the reſtoration of the royal family to the throne, and the deſtruction of the ſon of the uſurper. When we conſider the ſtate of morals in the eaſt, and how readily the life of an enemy or of a rival is there ſacrificed, it muſt be owned that ſome praiſe is due to Hyder, for having ſtopped ſhort of blood in the gratification of his revenge.

The phantom of a prince, under whoſe name he ruled, was now ſeldom conſulted by Hyder, whoſe authority, however, was yet precarious. At court there was a party hoſtile to him, and ſome of the diſtant zemindars refuſed obedience. In this ſtate of affairs, he imprudently diſpatched nearly the whole of his regular troops to the aſſiſtance of M. Lally, who was beſieged in Pondicherry. This auſpicious moment was ſeized by his enemies. A Mahratta army, ſent for the purpoſe of collecting the chout, or tribute, was on the Myſore frontier. From the general of this army the Raja implored ſuccour, to "extricate him from the trammels of a deteſted Mahommedan." It was not till the Mahrattas were in the neighbourhood of the capital, that Hyder diſcovered their intention of ſeizing his perſon; and he had barely time to mount his horſe, and eſcape to his ſtrong hold of Bangalore.

The inſtant that he was in ſafety he ſent off expreſſes to recall his troops from the Carnatic, and to order the governors of forts to ſend whatever troops they could ſpare,

ſpare, and to adopt meaſures of defence. Aware of the importance of attacking him before he could concentrate his forces, the Raja hurried forward an army to inveſt Bangalore. Hyder marched out with the few adherents that he could muſter, totally defeated it, and made its general priſoner.—Being ſoon after joined by his army from the Carnatic, he marched to Seringapatam, confined the Raja as a priſoner of ſtate, baniſhed his adviſers, and uſurped the whole authority of the government. To legitimate in the eyes of the people his aſſumption of power, he, by means of coſtly preſents, and a large ſum of money, obtained from the repreſentative of the Great Mogul a grant of the zemindary of Myſore, with a patent, conſtituting him a Heft Hazary, or commander of ſeven thouſand horſe, and the title of Nabob Hyder Aly Khan Behadur.

Hyder was now at liberty to accompliſh his plans of aggrandizement. In furtherance of thoſe plans, it opportunely happened that, at this period, he received a reinforcement of the utmoſt importance. This was a body of 300 French, under the command of a M. Allen; who enliſted in his ſervice, in conſequence of the capture of Pondicherry by the Britiſh arms. Theſe men were of the greateſt utility to him, in diſciplining his infantry, and in the management of his artillery and arſenals.

His firſt eſſays in ſpoliation, were the obtaining, by force, in 1761, one half of the diſtrict of Erſawaraſimy, and the fort of Ouſſore. He next availed himſelf of family quarrels in Bednore, of which province, after two years' ſtruggle, he remained the maſter. The Mahrattas endeavoured to expel him, but, finding themſelves too weak for the purpoſe, they agreed to retire, on receiving ſixty lacks of rupees. Againſt the territories of Curg and Malabar, he carried on a war for three years, but, not being able to reduce them to a ſtate of permanent ſubjection, he, at length, conſented to be ſatisfied with receiving a tribute. In 1765, he conquered the diſtrict and fort of Chitteldurg.

The depoſed Raja of Myſore died in 1766; but, contented with the exerciſe of ſovereignty, Hyder prudently abſtained from aſſuming the title. He placed the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed prince on the throne, and when, after a nominal reign of five years, the mock ſovereign followed his father, Hyder inſtalled the younger brother.—This brother, too, died in 1777, without iſſue, and the ſtratagem which Hyder employed, to determine his choice of a ſucceſſor among the collateral deſcendants, is not unworthy of being recorded. Among eight or ten boys, whom he had collected, "he ordered ſome fruit to be diſtributed, and watching attentively their conduct, he obſerved that one of them gave his ſhare to his father, while all the reſt began to eat their portions. Hyder conſidered him who gave the fruit to his father as the moſt promiſing, and immediately placed him, then four years of age, on the throne."

The power of Hyder was not beheld without alarm, nor ſuffered to grow without oppoſition. In 1767, the Mahrattas and the Nizam confederated, and, after having reduced ſeveral places, advanced

vanced to the walls of Seringapatam. There, in an entrenched camp, Hyder ſet all their efforts at defiance; and negociated with ſo much art, that he bought off the Mahrattas, and induced the Nizam to unite with him in an attempt to expel the Britiſh from the provinces on the Coromandel coaſt.

The Carnatic was invaded in the ſame year by the new allies. At Errour they were defeated by Colonel Smith, and the loſs of the battle ſo terrified the Nizam, that he haſtened to make his peace with the Britiſh government. The Myſorean chief ſuffered but little in the engagement. As, however, he was not alone ſtrong enough to keep his ground, he withdrew into the Myſore, and was followed by Colonel Smith, who captured ſeveral of his fortreſſes, and advanced upon his capital. In this emergency, Hyder adopted the bold and wiſe reſolution of turning the rear of the Engliſh army, and burſting into the Carnatic, where he ſpread terror and devaſtation as far as the gates of Madras. This manœuvre raiſed the ſpirit of his forces, compelled the Engliſh army to abandon its conqueſts, and frightened the Madras government into a treaty of peace, which was ſigned in April 1759. "The terms of this treaty were ſimple and equitable. The forts and places taken on either ſide, during the war, were reſtored, and the priſoners releaſed. A perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, was alſo agreed on; and freedom of trade was ſtipulated throughout each other's dominions."

Hyder did not remain long at peace. This time, however, he was not the aggreſſor. Early in 1771, a powerful army of Mahrattas invaded his dominions. He immediately claimed the Britiſh ſuccours, to which he was entitled by treaty, but they were not granted. The loſs of a deciſive battle, nevertheleſs, compelled the Mahrattas to withdraw; but, in the following year, they took an ample revenge. The Peſhwa, in perſon, led an overwhelming force into Myſore, completely defeated Hyder, overrun and ravaged the whole country, except Seringapatam, and a few forts, and would, perhaps, have completed the conqueſt, had he not been ſeized by a mortal complaint, which obliged him to return to Poonah. Diſſentions broke out among the chiefs, the ſeaſon became unfavourable, diſeaſe appeared among the troops, and Hyder ſucceeded in obtaining a peace, at the comparatively trifling price of thirty lacks of rupees, and the ceſſion of ſome inconſiderable diſtricts. In this ſtruggle, too, he was unaided by the Madras government.

About this period he is ſaid to have renewed his connections with the French. "They met his overtures with ardour, and permitted, if not encouraged, their officers to enter into his ſervice, to train his armies, and to form a powerful artillery upon the European model. They alſo ſupplied him liberally with arms, ammunition, and all the military neceſſaries, which enabled him, in a ſhort time, to renew the war with ſo much ſucceſs againſt the Mahrattas, and afterwards to wreak his vengeance on the unfortunate inhabitants of the Carnatic, for the neglect of their rulers."

Some quarrels among the Nair and

and Curg chiefs, on the Malabar coaſt, in which his aſſiſtance was courted by one party, gave him, in 1773, an opportunity of putting his armies in motion. For the ſervice which he rendered to one of the competitors of the ſovereignty of Curg, he received the remaining moiety of the diſtrict of Erſawaraſimy, and an annual tribute of 24,000 rupees. He then turned his arms againſt the Nair chiefs, and, before the end of 1775, he completely ſubdued the Zamorin, or Raja, of Calicut, and the chiefs of Cotiote, Cartinad, and Cannanore, and compelled the Raja of Cochin to become his tributary.

This was only the prelude to more important ſucceſſes. Quarrels having broken out among the Mahratta chiefs, he availed himſelf of this favourable occaſion, to recover what he had loſt, and to retrieve the character of his arms. He expelled his enemies from the ceded diſtricts, plundered Sera, and extended his conqueſts in various parts to the north; ſo that, before the end of the year 1778, he had made himſelf maſter, with the exception of the fort of Darwar, of all the Mahratta diſtricts ſouth of the Kiſtna, and had even croſſed that river, and taken the town of Meritah, the capital of Purſeram Bhow. Late in that year, or early in the next, he a ſecond time invaded the ſtates of the Nabob of Kuddepah, made the Nabob priſoner, with his whole family, and by this means came in complete poſſeſſion of what is denominated the Carnatic Balaghat Hyderabady, the groſs revenues of which were eſtimated at forty-ſeven lacks. It was in vain that the Nizam combined with the Mahrattas to ſtop his progreſs; for though the allies brought into the field an army of ninety thouſand men, they were unable to obtain any advantage over him.

His army, meanwhile, was daily becoming more formidable. It was joined, in 1779, by M. Lally, with ſeveral French officers, and a battalion of Europeans, by many deſerters or priſoners who had eſcaped from Pondicherry, and by numbers of ſepoys, who had been diſmiſſed from other ſervices; and it was alſo accuſtomed to manœuvre, and fluſhed with victory.

Though the Mahrattas had been active enemies of Hyder, they were not the objects of his deadlieſt hate. That was reſerved for the Engliſh. The refuſal to furniſh the ſtipulated ſuccours had ſunk deep into his heart, and excited an unextinguiſhable thirſt of revenge. Ever ſince that event, "nothing but meſſages of cold and diſtant civility had paſſed between the two ſtates." His anger was ſtill further excited by the attack upon the French fort of Mahie, which ſtood in his own territories, and by a recent attempt of a Britiſh detachment to penetrate through the Kuddepah diſtrict, for the purpoſe of relieving Bazalet Jung, on whoſe province of Adoni he had fallen, in conſequence of that prince having ceded to the Engliſh the Guntoor Circar.

Reſolving, thenceforth, to have no other object than the expulſion of the Britiſh from India, he determined, though victorious, to make ſome ſacrifices to the Mahrattas, that he might form an extenſive confederacy againſt the Britiſh power. His negotiations were ſo ſkilfully conducted, that he

he not only formed an alliance with the Mahrattas, but alſo drew over the Berar Raja, and other chiefs. "The plan of warfare propoſed by Hyder was, that while he invaded the Carnatic, the Nizam ſhould overrun the northern Circars, and after forming a junction, and defeating the Engliſh army, lay ſiege to Madras. That in the mean time the Mahrattas ſhould attack Bombay; and the Berar Raja, Bengal. Nejef Khan, and the other chiefs in the neighbourhood of Dhely, were to croſs the Ganges, and take poſſeſſion of Oude, unleſs the Nabob Aſaf al Dowleh, of his own accord, would arm, and expel the Engliſh from his dominions."

This ſcheme was well formed, but it had the fate common to all ſchemes that require the concurring efforts of naturally rival ſtates.—The Raja of Berar, and the weſtern chiefs, made no exertions; the Mahrattas were kept occupied at home by the vigorous aſſaults of the Engliſh; the Nizam was ſoothed into inaction by the Bengal government; and to Hyder alone was left the taſk of offenſive war. He did not ſhrink from the taſk. After having ſent back a meſſage of ſevere reproof by the envoys who were diſpatched from Fort St. George to pacify him, he ruſhed through the Ghauts into the Carnatic, in July 1780, with an army of 30,000 horſe, 40,000 infantry, a corps of Europeans, and a numerous train of artillery. In this campaign, Chitore, Arcot, and many other forts, were reduced; Colonel Baillie's detachment was cut off, and the Carnatic was laid waſte with fire and ſword. "The banks of the ponds or reſervoirs were alſo broken down, or cut through, and the wells filled with the putrid bodies of murdered fugitives. Hyder on this occaſion boaſted, 'that he was the engine of God's wrath, for the puniſhment of the people of the Carnatic;' and thoſe whom his ſword ſpared, were carried off priſoners to Myſore. The boys were made Muſſulmans, formed into battalions, and diſciplined by the Engliſh priſoners, who were not only compelled to do this hateful ſervice, but many of them were alſo circumciſed, and every means uſed to make them embrace the Mohammedan religion. The girls were either married to the young ſoldiers, or diſtributed as ſlaves."

Elated by ſucceſs, at the cloſe of 1781, he at once beſieged Vellore, Wandewaſh, Permacoil, and Chingleput; but he was now to encounter a more active and ſkilful enemy than had yet been oppoſed to him. Sir Eyre Coote aſſumed the command of the Britiſh army. Hyder ſeems to have been palſied by dread of his new antagoniſt's talents; for he raiſed all the ſieges, retired to a conſiderable diſtance, and unaccountably remained almoſt without making a movement for ſeveral months. At length, to give Tippoo Saib an opportunity of reinveſting Vellore, he marched to the ſouthward. He was followed by Sir Eyre Coote, and completely defeated in the battle of Porto Novo, which was fought on the 1ſt of July. The ſiege of Vellore was conſequently once more abandoned. Two ſubſequent attempts were made to reduce the place by famine; but they failed, almoſt at the moment when it ſeemed certain that they would attain their purpoſe.

poſe. In a ſecond and third battle, at Perimbacum and Sholingur, on the 27th of Auguſt, and the 27th of September, he ſuſtained two ſevere defeats; but, unfortunately, the defective equipment of the victorious army did not permit it to purſue with vigour the vanquiſhed enemy. Tripaſore and Chitore were, however, recovered, and the Polygar chiefs were induced to abandon the cauſe of Hyder.

The year 1782 opened inauſpiciouſly for Hyder. He himſelf was routed by Sir Eyre Coote, on the 10th of January, 1782; and, on the Malabar coaſt, Major Abingdon deſtroyed the Myſorean diviſion which was beſieging Tellichery. For theſe untoward events he was, however, conſoled, by the annihilation of Colonel Braithwait's detachment, near the Coleroon, which was accompliſhed by a force of ten times its ſtrength, under the command of Tippoo. The conteſt was continued for three days, and though Tippoo was victorious, the honours due to bravery and talent were all on the ſide of his conquered antagoniſt. This victory, however, and the junction of a conſiderable body of French troops from Europe, re-animated the drooping courage of Hyder. He reduced Cuddalore and Permacoil, and inveſted Wandewaſh. At the approach of Sir Eyre Coote, he retired from before the latter place, and took up a ſtrong poſition on the Red Hills. To draw him thence, the Britiſh general marched againſt the Myſorean magazine at Arnee. To ſave a place which contained all his reſources, Hyder reluctantly, on the 2d of June, gave battle to the Britiſh. The reſult was his total defeat; but want of cavalry unluckily prevented the victors from rendering their ſucceſs deciſive.

The ſtar of the Myſorean uſurper now began to decline. Peace was concluded between the Engliſh and the Mahrattas; and his Malabar provinces, which reluctantly bore his yoke, were invaded by a Britiſh detachment. To cover his own dominions, he found it requiſite to detach Tippoo with a conſiderable army. He had long laboured under the painful complaint of ſtrangury, and his bodily pain was aggravated by the anguiſh of his mind, ariſing from the failure of his plans. On the 6th of December 1782, he expired at Arcot, aged ſixty years, whence his body was removed to Seringapatam, and magnificently buried in the garden called Lol Baug.

"Hyder Aly Khan was doubtleſs one of the greateſt characters Aſia has produced; and if his ſucceſs cannot be compared with that of Tamerlane or Nadir Shah, it muſt be attributed more to the competitors with whom he had to contend, than to any want of ability on his part. Without the advantages of education, he acquired an extenſive knowledge of the ſciences of war and of politics, and, by his ſuperior talents, raiſed himſelf from a private ſtation to the ſovereignty of a powerful kingdom. He adminiſtered juſtice with impartiality, and gave great encouragement to agriculture and to commerce. He was indulgent to his ſubjects, but ſtrict in the diſcipline of his army; ſevere in puniſhing offenders, and cruel to his enemies. His mind was latterly tinctured with ſuperſtition; and he is accuſed by the Mohammedans, not

not only of putting great faith in aſtrologers, but alſo of reverencing the Hindoo deities.

"At the period of Hyder's deceaſe, his dominions, excluſive of his conqueſts in the Carnatic, comprehended nearly 80,000 ſquare miles. His territorial revenues amounted to two krore of rupees, or about two millions ſterling; and, notwithſtanding his army conſiſted of at leaſt 150,000 men, his treaſury contained ſeveral millions in bullion and ſpecie."

Tippoo Sultan, as we have before ſtated, was born in 1749. The name of Tipu was given to him by the directions of a pir, or ſaint, whom his mother conſulted, and who predicted that he would become a powerful monarch.—Tippoo was carefully educated, was early taught the ſcience of tactics, and initiated in the martial exerciſes of riding, ſhooting, and fencing. "But nature had not been bountiful to him in underſtanding; and, although he acquired a taſte for reading, and a ſmattering in ſome of the ſciences, he was not well verſed in any of them."

From the age of nineteen he was entruſted with the command of a diviſion of troops; and he was conſtantly employed during the ſtruggles of his father againſt the Mahrattas. In the defeat of Colonel Baillie he took a prominent part, and received much applauſe from Hyder, who, from that period, is ſaid to have looked upon his ſon as one of his moſt able generals. The diſcomfiture of Colonel Braithwaite encreaſed his reputation. On that occaſion, he is aſſerted "to have manifeſted his naturally cruel diſpoſition; and that, had it not been for the interference of M. Lally, and other French gentlemen, he would not have left a ſingle man of the Britiſh detachment alive." His conduct to his priſoners was marked by the moſt ſhameful want of all humane feelings.

On the Malabar coaſt, whither, as we have ſeen, he was diſpatched by his father, he did nothing that could add to his fame. His ſuperiority of force ſtopped, indeed, the advance of the invaders; but he was unable to cut off the retreat of Colonel Humberſtone, and in an attack upon the camp of Colonel Macleod, he was driven back with diſgrace, and ſome loſs of men. Having received intelligence of the death of Hyder, he broke up his camp, and haſtened to Seringapatam, where, at the cloſe of 1782, he mounted the throne.

After having buried his father, and ſet the government in order, Tippoo returned to Arcot, to head his army. But he was ſoon called, by a preſſing danger, to another quarter. The progreſs of General Matthews, in the Bednore country, rendered it neceſſary for the Myſorean to concentrate his forces; and, by the end of March, 1783, the Carnatic was freed from thoſe who had ſo long been its ſcourge. This beneficial effect reſulted, at leaſt, from the enterprize of Matthews, which terminated ſo fatally for himſelf and his army. With 600 Europeans and 1600 Sepoys, he madly gave battle, in the open field, to the army of Tippoo, which conſiſted of nearly 100,000 men; he was defeated, and compelled to take ſhelter in the citadel of Bednore; his retreat was rendered impracticable by the ſeizure of the paſſes in the Ghauts, and,

and, after a defence of ſeventeen days, he was compelled to ſurrender. The articles of capitulation were violated; he and ſeveral of his officers were murdered, and the priſoners loaded with irons and inhumanly treated.

The road to the coaſt being now open, Tippoo beſieged Mangalore, which, as it was his principal ſea-port, he was anxious to recover. The chief labour fell upon the French auxiliaries, who had ſo far ruined the works, that the aſſault was on the point of being made, when the arrival of the news of peace between England and France induced their leader, M. de Buſſy, to decline the proſecution of hoſtilities. It was in vain that Tippoo endeavoured to ſhake his reſolution, and they ſeparated with mutual diſguſt; he at their deſertion of him, and they at his want of courteſy and want of liberality. The ſiege was converted into a blockade, which continued till the ſignature of a treaty between Tippoo and the Britiſh, in March 1784. This war, ſo menacing in its outſet to the Britiſh power, and ſo deſtructive in its progreſs to the wretched natives of ſouthern Hindoſtan, ended, as many others have done, by a reciprocal reſtitution of conqueſts, and liberation of priſoners. The latter clauſe of the treaty was, however, unfaithfully performed by the tyrant of Myſore.

He next turned his arms againſt the Mahrattas, and, before the cloſe of 1784, extorted from them various valuable conceſſions. The next year he ſeized upon the diſtrict of Adoni, and the remaining territories of the nabobs of Carnoul and Kuddepah.

On the concluſion of peace with the Mahrattas, he mounted the throne, aſſumed the title of Sultan, and thus threw off all dependence on, or allegiance to, the captive raja, or the Great Mogul.

"The year 1786 appears to have been occupied by the ſultan in internal regulations; inſpection of his forts, and examination of his treaſures and ſtores. Soon after his return to Seringapatam, he ordered an inventory to be made of his property of every kind. The treaſure, jewels, and other valuable articles, were eſtimated at eighty millions ſterling. He had alſo 700 elephants, 6000 camels, 11,000 horſes, 400,000 bullocks and cows, 100,000 buffaloes, 600,000 ſheep, 300,000 firelocks, 300,000 matchlocks, 200,000 ſwords, and 2000 pieces of cannon of various calibre, and an immenſe quantity of gunpowder and other military ſtores. His regular army conſiſted of 19,000 cavalry, 10,000 artillery, and 70,000 infantry. He had beſides 5,000 rocket men, and 40,000 irregular infantry." He ſoon after diminiſhed the number of his cavalry, and increaſed that of his infantry; adopted Perſian and Tartar words of command; introduced new regulations; gave new names to the diviſions; and ordered proviſions for 100,000 men, for a year, to be depoſited in the granaries of Seringapatam, and large quantities in all his other forts.

The years 1787 and 1788 were devoted to a war againſt the Curg Raja, and the Nairs of Malabar. The Malabars were treated in the moſt cruel manner. Seventy thouſand Chriſtians are ſaid to have

been carried away, and 100,000 Hindoos forcibly converted, by circumciſing them, and compelling them to eat beef. His zeal for converting was not confined to the coaſt alone, but was widely diſplayed in other quarters. In his Mahometan rage, he iſſued an order for the demolition of all the Hindoo temples, except two; and that, if poſſible, no monument of the former government might remain; he razed the ancient fort and city of Myſore. "But, in the furiouſneſs of his wrath, he ſpared not the works of the greateſt public utility, and his deſtruction of the celebrated reſervoir of Yadavi Nuddi, becauſe it recorded the wiſdom, riches, and power of the ancient Hindu ſovereigns, was one of the moſt malevolent ideas that ever entered the human imagination." This alone would indeed be ſufficient to ſtamp his character as a narrow minded-barbarian.

Still eagerly deſirous to ſubvert the Britiſh power in India, Tippoo, in 1784, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to France, to enter into a treaty of alliance with the French cabinet, and to prompt it to recommence hoſtilities. Some obſtacles, the chief of which was the ſcanty allowance made by their ſovereign, prevented the embaſſadors from proceeding further than Conſtantinople; and, accordingly, in 1786, they returned home. In 1787, however, he ſent another and more ſplendid embaſſy, with valuable preſents, direct to Paris, to ſolicit the co-operation of the French againſt the Engliſh, and promiſe an equal diviſion of the ſpoils. But the throne of France was now tottering, and, after having been magnificently entertained, the envoys were ſent back with nothing more than aſſurances of friendſhip, and vague hopes of aſſiſtance at ſome more propitious period. Irritated by this diſappointment, Tippoo would ſcarcely deign to liſten to the report which was made by his agents; he ſhortly after forbad them to ſpeak of France; and at laſt ordered them to be put to death, under the pretence of their having betrayed him.

Yet, though he was thus left to carry on war with his own reſources alone, he ſeems to have determined on war with the Engliſh at all riſks; as, in violation of the treaty of Mangalore, he attacked, in 1790, the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, who was one of the allies of the Britiſh. The purchaſe of the forts of Cranganore and Jyacotta from the Dutch, by the rajah, was the pretext for his attack; he falſely affirming that the forts belonged of right to the kingdom of Myſore. He forced the lines of Travancore, captured the two forts and ſeveral others, and laid waſte the country with fire and ſword.

This ſtep was ultimately the cauſe of his fall, and of the ſubverſion of his empire. It was conſidered as a declaration of war by the Engliſh, who immediately forwarded ſuccours to the rajah; ordered the Madras and Bombay armies to take the field, and negotiated an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Mahrattas and the Nizam; "both of whom, convinced of the reſtleſs ambition of Tippoo, eagerly embraced the alliance, and promiſed a zealous co-operation of all their forces."

Alarmed at the proſpect of ſo extenſive a confederacy againſt him,

him, he withdrew his army from Travancore, and requeſted permiſſion to ſend an ambaſſador to Madras to explain his late conduct. General Meadows, to whom he applied, laconically rejected his overtures, and upbraided him for having attacked an ally of the Engliſh, and for his perfidy in not having releaſed all the Engliſh priſoners. The die was now caſt, and Tippoo was compelled to ſtand the hazard of the game.

In June, 1790, Meadows moved from Tritchinopoly, and captured Carur, Daraporam, and Coimbatoor, without reſiſtance, while a detachment, under Colonel Stewart, reduced Dindigul and Paligautchery. In two attempts upon portions of the invading army Tippoo was unſucceſsful. He firſt vainly endeavoured to cut off the detachment of Colonel Floyd, and next failed in preventing the junction of the two armies of General Meadows and Colonel Maxwell. The latter held him at bay for three days, and the approach of Meadows compelled the ſultan to retreat. To ſave his own territories, Tippoo now reſolved to make a bold irruption into the Carnatic, and this object he accompliſhed with conſiderable ſkill. He began by marching againſt Tritchinopoly, but the Coleroon being too much ſwelled to admit of his paſſing it, he rapidly wheeled to the left, broke into the centre of the Carnatic, deſtroyed all the towns and villages in his way, plundered the inhabitants, impriſoned the Brahmins, and defiled the temples. Having fruitleſsly beſieged Thiagar for fourteen days, and moved towards Pondicherry, in the hope of obtaining aſſiſtance, he cloſed his campaign by the capture of the fort of Permacoil, in the vicinity of that place. This campaign was certainly in his favour. He ſuſtained little loſs, he ſaved his own ſtates, and he made the territories of his enemy ſuffer from the calamities of war.

The ſcene, however, quickly changed. In 1791, the Nizam and the Mahrattas took the field; and Lord Cornwallis, bringing with him large ſupplies of men and money from Bengal, arrived and aſſumed the command of the army. Deceiving Tippoo as to his line of operations, his lordſhip ſeized the Mugley paſs, reduced Colar and Ouſcotta, and ſat down before Bangalore. The ſultan haſtened to cover Bangalore with his army, and attempted to bring the Britiſh to action; but he was foiled in all his efforts. The town was taken by aſſault on the 7th of March, and the fort on the 21ſt, and thus a firm footing was obtained above the Ghauts. The ſultan next tried to open a negotiation; he was unfavourably anſwered; and, fearing for his capital, he departed to provide for its defence, leaving his troops under the command of one of his generals. In the middle of April, Lord Cornwallis was joined by 15,000 of the Nizam's cavalry, and on the 15th of May he attacked the army of Tippoo, in a ſtrong poſition on the north of the Cavery, and compelled it to retreat under the guns of Seringapatam, which his lordſhip propoſed to inveſt.

From this imminent danger Tippoo was, however, fortunate enough to eſcape. The rains ſet

in, and the rivers were ſo ſwollen, that it was impoſſible to form a junction with the Bombay army, which had advanced to Periapatam. On the other hand, no intelligence could be obtained of the approach of the Mahrattas; the Myſoreans had ſo completely ſwept the country, that ſcarcely a blade of graſs could be found; his light troops were ſo vigilant, that not a bullock load of grain could reach the camp; the Britiſh cavalry were half diſmounted; and their cattle were daily dying by hundreds. Lord Cornwallis had, therefore, no alternative but to deſtroy his battering train, throw his ſhot and ſhells into the river, and fall back on Bangalore. Orders were at the ſame time ſent to General Abercromby, who commanded the Madras army, to return to Malabar. As he, too, had but few cattle, he was obliged to abandon his battering train, and moſt of his ammunition. He was alſo much haraſſed in his retreat. "The gunpowder having been all lodged in a celebrated Hindu temple in Periapatam, was, by order of the ſultan, ſet fire to, which not only deſtroyed the temple, but great part of the town. Whether this extraordinary mode of diſpoſing of the powder was to evince his having abundance of military ſtores, or to gratify his malice againſt idolaters, it was, doubtleſs, an act of egregious folly."

The unexpected arrival of the Mahratta army reſtored plenty to the Engliſh camp. Aware of their approach, Tippoo had already attempted to negotiate with Lord Cornwallis; but his overtures had been coldly received. As it was impoſſible to replace the battering train and ſtores in time to beſiege the capital, Lord Cornwallis turned his arms to another quarter. At Bangalore the allies ſeparated, to carry on their operations in different diſtricts. Before the cloſe of the year Lord Cornwallis made himſelf maſter of all the forts and country between Bangalore and the Cavery, and thus firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf on that ſide. Some of the forts were ſuppoſed to be impregnable; yet Saverndroog, called, from its unhealthy neighbourhood, the Rock of Death, and fortified by nature and art, was ſtormed without the loſs of a man, after a ſiege of eleven days; and Outradurg, the next in point of ſtrength, was taken by aſſault with ſtill leſs difficulty. The only revenge which he obtained was in the capture of Coimbatoor, where Lieutenant Chalmers was taken priſoner, with a battalion of Sepoys and a thouſand irregulars. On the other ſide, the Mahrattas captured ſome ſmall forts, and, aided by an Engliſh detachment, completely defeated a Myſorean army on the frontier of Bednore, and compelled Simoga to open its gates. The Nizam was the leaſt active of all the allies. In Auguſt and December Tippoo repeated his propoſal to treat, but with no better fortune than on the former occaſion. Nor was he more happy in an attempt to draw off a portion of the invading forces, by an incurſion into the province of the Carnatic.

The campaign of 1792 was deciſive. Having collected immenſe ſupplies, Lord Cornwallis marched towards Seringapatam, and encamped in ſight of that place on the

the 5th of February. With 45,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry and 100 pieces of cannon, Tippoo occupied a formidable poſition in front of the place. On the night of the 9th of February, 8,700 Britiſh infantry, in three columns, attacked his poſition, carried all his redoubts, drove him over the river, with the loſs of all his cannon, ſecured the ford, and even occupied the eaſtern end of the iſland on which the city ſtands. Well knowing the danger of ſuffering the Engliſh to retain theſe poſts, he made ſeveral ineffectual efforts for the purpoſe of recovering them. His troops were now diſpirited, and began to deſert in great numbers, and even the French in his ſervice quitted him, and gave themſelves up to Lord Cornwallis. The Engliſh batteries were now erected in the Lol Baug, of which the cypreſs, and other beautiful trees, were cut down for the purpoſe of making faſcines, while the palaces and cloiſters were converted into hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded. This havoc drove Tippoo almoſt to madneſs, and he vented his ſpleen by a furious, but ineffectual, cannonade.

When, however, the ſultan came to reflect on his ſituation, he ſaw no hope but in the concluſion of a peace. Lieutenants Chalmers and Naſh, who had been taken at Coimbatoor, were, therefore, called before him, and charged with a propoſal to Lord Cornwallis. In this interview, he was plainly dreſſed, and appeared to be much dejected. But, while the negotiation was in ſuſpenſe, he did not ſlacken his military operations. A party of his cavalry endeavoured to penetrate to the tent of Lord Cornwallis, in order to kill or ſeize him; and he himſelf ſtruggled hard, in two attacks, to impede the progreſs of the beſiegers. At length, the batteries being nearly ready, and the Mahratta army at hand, "the haughty mind of the imperious ſultan was humbled, and he agreed to cede to the allies one half of his dominions, the annual revenues of which were worth ninety lacks of rupees (900,000*l.*); to pay them, in the courſe of twelve months, the ſum of three krore and thirty lacs of rupees (3,080,000*l.*); to reſtore all priſoners, taken either by himſelf or his father; and to deliver up two of his ſons, as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty."

Though he had agreed to the terms, given up the two princes, and paid a krore of rupees, he ſtill procraſtinated, by every art, the ſignature of the definitive treaty, and even continued to repair his ramparts, and erect new works in the interior of the fort. The latter proceeding being remonſtrated againſt, he haughtily replied, that "his lordſhip was miſinformed; but, if it would afford him any ſatisfaction, he would direct one of the baſtions to be thrown down, that the Engliſh engineers might ſurvey Seringapatam to advantage." He was alſo irritated almoſt to madneſs by the Britiſh inſiſting upon the ceſſion of the Curg diſtrict, the raja of which he had reſolved to puniſh, for the aſſiſtance which he had lent them. He vowed that he would rather ſet fire to his capital, and periſh with his family in the flames, than comply with this demand; and he actually

made known this reſolution to the Britiſh commander. Hoſtilities were, in conſequence, on the point of recommencing; but the prayers of the hoſtages averted this danger; and Tippoo at laſt reluctantly ſigned the definitive treaty. Even at this moment, his indignant ſpirit broke out againſt the Mahrattas, who had perſevered all this time in ravaging the country, and he requeſted that Lord Cornwallis "would either order them to recroſs the river, or permit *him* to march out of the fort, and *puniſh* them with his own troops."

When the buſtle of war was over, he ſunk for a while into a ſtate of dejection, in which he refuſed to admit any one to his preſence. Recovering from this torpor, his firſt care was to fill up the gap which had been made in his financial and military reſources. Orders were iſſued for raiſing three krore of rupees, in addition to the ordinary taxes, upon the remainder of his ſubjects; and this was done in ſuch an oppreſſive manner, that more than three times the ſum was extorted from the unfortunate ſufferers. The army was recruited to its former amount, though half his kingdom was gone; and the only reduction which he made was in the diſmantling of ſome forts, whoſe eaſy ſurrender had excited his wrath. The fortifications of Bangalore were levelled with the ground, becauſe that place had been the grand magazine of the Britiſh invaders.

Revenge being the predominant feeling in his breaſt, he next looked round the wide extent of Hindoſtan and the neighbouring countries, in ſearch of allies. From the mountains of Nepal to the provinces of Perſia on the one ſide, to the coaſt of Coromondel and the banks of the Godavery on the other, there was no chief whom he did not endeavour to rouſe to arms, for the ſubverſion of the Indo-Britiſh empire. Some of them ſeem to have liſtened with no unfavourable ear. Among theſe was Zemaun Shah, the king of the Afghans, or Abdallies, who, in 1797, attempted to force his way to Delhi, in purſuance, it is ſuppoſed, of a plan ſuggeſted by Tippoo, but who was compelled to retreat by the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Seik Chiefs. Such was the diſtruſt of Tippoo's intentions, which at this period was felt by our government in India, that the Madras army was called into the field, and an expedition againſt the Spaniſh iſlands was laid aſide.

But it was on European aſſiſtance that he placed his main reliance, and his efforts to obtain it were the cauſe of his ruin. In the month of June, 1798, Lord Mornington was informed of the ſultan having diſpatched envoys to the Mauritius, "to renew his connection with France, and to ſolicit the aid of 10,000 European and 30,000 negro troops." It was impoſſible, conſiſtent with honour or ſafety, to paſs over this conduct in ſilence. Having previouſly ſucceeded in rooting out the Myſorean and French party at the court of Hyderabad, and concluded a treaty with that court, the governor-general, who wiſhed, if poſſible, to arrange amicably the ſubjects of diſpute, addreſſed ſeveral letters to the ſultan, moderate in their language, but giving him clearly to underſtand that all his recent intrigues were perfectly known;

known; at the ſame time propoſing that an envoy ſhould be ſent to Seringapatam to effect a friendly ſettlement. The anſwers of Tippoo were full of prevarication; the propoſal was evaded; and Lord Mornington received information of the landing of the French in Egypt, and that the Myſore ſovereign had ſent another ambaſſador to the French government. The Britiſh forces were, therefore, put in motion.

The ſultan, meanwhile, found himſelf thrown, by his imprudence, into an embarraſſing ſituation. His armies were diminiſhed in numbers, and had fallen off in their diſcipline; his finances were diſordered; his councils were divided; he had failed in his intrigues at Hyderabad; and Zemaun Shah had been again compelled to retire to his own dominions. Tippoo, however, ſedulouſly ſtrove to obtain ſuccour, by ſending emiſſaries to Kabul, to Poonah, to Perſia, and to other quarters. But fear, or weakneſs, or hatred, kept all the powers inactive, and he was left to his fate.

While on the eaſt the grand army, under General Harris, and the nizam's troops, the whole conſiſting of 37,000 men, advanced from Ryacotta towards Bangalore, on the weſt the Bombay army, of 7000 men, led by General Stuart, took poſt in the Coorg country, at the head of the Sedapore and Sedaſeer paſſes, and thus threatened Seringapatam at a ſmall diſtance. Hoping to fall upon this army unexpectedly, the ſultan broke up from Madoor, with 12,000 men, and ſuddenly attacked, and even ſurrounded, the Britiſh advanced guard, at the head of which was Lieutenant-colonel Montreſor. He would undoubtedly have deſtroyed this diviſion, had not General Stuart hurried forward a detachment of Europeans to diſengage it. The ſultan retired to Seringapatam, reſted his troops four days, and then marched to meet the army under General Harris.

As the great army moved forward, the cavalry of Tippoo burnt the forage and deſtroyed the villages, together with the Pettah of Bangalore. By turning to the ſouth-weſt, however, and taking the rout of Cancanelly and Sultan Pettah, General Harris fruſtrated the deſigns of the Myſoreans, and paſſed through a country, which, as the enemy had not imagined that it would be the ſeat of war, had not been laid waſte. Unwiſely quitting his excellent poſition on the banks of the Madoor, Tippoo encamped at Malavelly, which poſt he abandoned with the loſs of a thouſand men, on his being attacked by the Britiſh. Inſtead, as had been expected, of moving by Arakery, and occupying the former poſition of Lord Cornwallis, on the northern bank of the river, General Harris marched to Soſelly, and croſſed to the ſouthern ſide of the Cavery, in which quarter the forage and grain had not been deſtroyed. On the fifth of April, his army took up its ground oppoſite the weſt face of Seringapatam, at a diſtance of not more than 3500 yards, and on the next day the enemy were diſlodged from an aqueduct and ſome other poſts. On the other ſides the fortreſs had been materially ſtrengthened

ened ſince the ſiege in 1792; this ſide alone remained in its original ſtate.

As ſoon as Tippoo perceived the intention of the Britiſh, he ordered two intrenchments to be thrown up on the weſtern front of the fortreſs, in one of which he encamped a diviſion of his infantry. General Floyd having been ſent with a detachment to join the Bombay army, Tippoo diſpatched the whole of his cavalry to prevent the junction; but it failed in its attempt. The Bombay army arrived in ſafety, and was ordered to poſt itſelf on the northern bank of the river. A corps of 6000 Myſoreans aſſaulted its poſition, on the night of the 21ſt, but was driven back with heavy loſs. On the preceding day one of the entrenchments newly raiſed on the ſouth weſt of the river, had been carried by ſtorm.

Conſcious of his perilous ſituation, the ſultan made two attempts to negotiate. On the 22d of April, therefore, a draft of the terms, conſiſting of eleven articles, on which the allies would conſent to treat, was forwarded to him. The principal points were, "that the ſultan ſhould immediately diſmiſs all Europeans from his ſervice; that he ſhould for ever renounce his connection with the French nation; that he ſhould cede one half of his dominions to the allies, and pay them the ſum of two krore of rupees (two millions ſterling), one half immediately, and the remainder in ſix months; that he ſhould immediately releaſe all priſoners, and that he ſhould deliver up four of his ſons, and four principal officers, as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty. Twenty-four hours only were allowed to the ſultan, to ſignify his aſſent to, or rejection of, theſe terms." He offered to ſend two ambaſſadors to treat, but he was ſternly anſwered, that they would not be admitted, unleſs they were accompanied by the hoſtages and the ſpecie.

It was, probably, while he was labouring under the irritation excited by this humiliating propoſal, that he barbarouſly ordered the murder of thirteen European priſoners. "They were taken, by three or four at a time, to a ſquare building uſed for keeping carriages, where the public gladiators, or gymnicks, were compelled to exhibit their dexterity in breaking the necks of the priſoners: the bodies were then rolled up in mats, and carried out of the fort to be buried."

By the 24th, the guns of the weſt front were ſilenced, many of the works were falling to ruins, and the fire of the fort was reduced to a few guns on the ſouth face, and ſome diſtant cavaliers. On the night of the 26th, the enemy were driven out of a redoubt and part of an entrenchment, which they ſtill held on the weſtern bank of the river. The breaching batteries were all completed by the 1ſt of May, and ſo heavy was their fire, that by the evening of the 3d the breaches were practicable; all the ſcaling ladders, faſcines, and other materials were provided, and "before day-break on the following morning, all the troops deſtined for the aſſault were placed under cover, ready to ruſh on as ſoon as the ſignal ſhould be given."

The cloſing ſcene we ſhall give in

in Mr. Stewart's own words. "During the laſt fortnight of the ſiege, the ſultan inhabited an apartment in one of the gateways, called Cullaly Didy, on the northern rampart, in order to be near the place of attack: he having frequently ſaid, "that he would defend the fort to the laſt extremity, and that, as a man could die only once, it was of little conſequence when the period of his exiſtence might terminate." He, however, was ſtrongly impreſſed with an idea that Seringapatam could not be taken, which idea was ſupported by his courtiers, who, if ſenſible of the danger, were afraid to tell him the truth, and were daily ſaying to him, "that the Engliſh would be obliged to raiſe the ſiege for want of proviſions, and that their ſhot had produced little effect on the walls."

Early on the morning of the 4th of May, Tippoo repaired to the weſtern rampart, and, having carefully inſpected the breach, perceived that his ſituation was now become very critical. He, however, did not betray any ſymptoms of fear, but gave his orders to Mir Ghofar, who commanded the troops in the vicinity of the breach, with great coolneſs and preciſion.

On the ſultan's return to his apartment, an incident occurred which tended much to depreſs his ſpirits, and diminiſh the courage of his attendants. A proceſſion of Brahmin aſtrologers * now waited on him, and announced, that ſome dreadful misfortune would befal him on *that day*, unleſs averted by the prayers of the righteous, and pious offerings.

Whether the ſultan's mind was now depreſſed by fear, or tainted by ſuperſtition, he repaired to his palace, and iſſued orders for *all the ceremonies* preſcribed by the Brahmins to be duly performed, and, having given them ſeveral preſents, requeſted their prayers for the proſperity of his government †.

About noon, the ſultan again quitted his palace, without viſiting his family. He was dreſſed in a light coloured jacket, with trowſers of fine chintz, a ſaſh of red ſilk, and a rich turban. He wore two embroidered belts, in one of which was his ſword, and from the other was ſuſpended a cartouche box. He had alſo tied on his right arm a taliſman, compoſed of prayers and verſes of the Koran, encloſed in a ſilver caſe. On his arrival at the Cullaly Didy, the ſultan received intelligence, both from his ſpies and the officers on duty, that, from the preparations making in camp, and the number of men ſeen in the trenches, it was evident that the Engliſh would make an attack, either in the courſe of the day, or at night. He replied, that it was improbable they would make an attack during the day, and that in the evening he ſhould take ſuch precautions as would baffle every attempt of his enemies. A ſhort time after this converſation, information was brought to the ſul-

* Hyder Aly was very ſuperſtitious, and never commenced any undertaking without conſulting the Brahmins, whom he liberally paid. This is the firſt time we have heard of Tippoo conſulting them.

† Several of theſe ceremonies were reprehenſible in an orthodox Muſſulman.

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tan, that Syed Ghofar, who commanded at the breach, had been killed by a cannon ſhot. He was a good deal agitated at this intelligence, and exclaimed, "Syed Ghofar was a brave man, and feared not death: he has obtained the crown of martyrdom.—Let Mohammed Caſim take charge of the breach!"

It being the hour of dinner, the ſultan's repaſt was ſerved up, but, before he had time to finiſh it, he was diſturbed by the noiſe of the attack. He inſtantly waſhed his hands, buckled on his ſword, and ordered his fuſils to be loaded. He then haſtened along the northern rampart towards the breach, followed by a number of ſervants, carrying various arms, and attended by ſeveral chiefs with a ſelect guard. When the ſultan had arrived within two hundred yards of the breach, he was met by the fugitives, and perceived that the head of the Engliſh column had forced the breach, and mounted the ramparts. He endeavoured to ſtop his flying troops, and having taken poſt behind one of the traverſes, encouraged his men, both by his voice and example, to make a determined ſtand. He repeatedly fired on the aſſailants; and his ſervants declare that ſeveral of the Europeans fell by his hand. Notwithſtanding theſe exertions, when the front of the Engliſh column approached the place where he ſtood, moſt of his attendants having deſerted him, the ſultan was obliged to retreat. While any of his troops remained with him, he continued to diſpute the ground; till having arrived at a bridge leading to the inner fort, he mounted his horſe, and endeavoured to enter the town; but on his arrival at the gate, the paſſage was ſo much crowded with fugitives, that he could not make his way through them. Whilſt in this ſituation, a party of his purſuers fired into the gateway, and wounded the ſultan in the left breaſt. He, however, attempted to puſh on, but was ſtopped by the fire of a party of Europeans from within ſide the gate. From them he received a ſecond wound on the right ſide: his horſe at the ſame time ſunk under him, being ſeverely wounded, and his turban fell to the ground. The falling ſultan was immediately raiſed by ſome of his faithful adherents, and placed upon his palanquin, under the arch, in one of the receſſes of the gateway. It was at this time propoſed to the ſultan, by one of his ſervants, that he ſhould make himſelf known to the Engliſh, from whoſe general character there could be no doubt he would meet with every attention compatible with his ſituation; but this he diſdainfully refuſed. After a ſhort interval, ſome European ſoldiers entered the gateway; and one of them attempting to take off the ſultan's ſword belt, the wounded prince, who ſtill held his ſword in his right hand, made a cut at the ſoldier, and wounded him about the knee; when the latter inſtantaneouſly fired his muſket, and ſhot him through the temple, which cauſed immediate death.—Thus fell the haughty and ambitious ſultan, preſerving to the laſt moment of his exiſtence that animoſity againſt the Britiſh nation, to which, under Divine Providence, may be aſcribed his ruin, and the ſubverſion of his empire.

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The Engliſh having gotten complete poſſeſſion of the fort, and having obtained information reſpecting the fate of the ſultan, the commanding officer (General Baird) came in the evening to the gateway, attended by the keladar and ſeveral of Tippoo's ſervants, to ſearch for the body. After much labour it was found, and brought from among a heap of ſlain: the countenance was no way diſtorted, but had an expreſſion of ſtern compoſure. The turban, ſaſh, ſword, and belt, were gone; but the body was perfectly recognized by the attendants, and, being again placed on the palanquin, was conveyed to the court of the palace, where it remained under a guard during the night." On the evening of the fifth, his remains were interred by the ſide of thoſe of his father, in the mauſoleum of the Lol Baug; and no expence or pains were ſpared, as far as time and circumſtances would allow, to give to the ceremony the dignity and ſplendour which ſeemed to be demanded for the funeral of one who had lived and died in the rank of a ſovereign.

The library of Tippoo Sultan was tolerably well furniſhed. It contained 1090 books of various kinds. The firſt department conſiſted of 118 books, under the three heads of General, Indian, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſome of which poſſeſſed conſiderable merit, both in point of compoſition and facts. In the Tarikh Ferrokhſere, or hiſtory of the emperor Ferrokhſere, we find one of the many inſtances in which a prophecy has produced its own accompliſhment. "It had been told to Ferrokhſere, by a derveiſh, that he ſhould become emperor of Hindoſtan; encouraged by this prediction, as ſoon as he received the intelligence of his father's and grandfather's death, he marched from Bengal, where he then reſided as deputy viceroy, and, being aſſiſted by the two Syeds, governors of Behar and Allahabad, he, with very little trouble, defeated his uncle, Jehandar Shah, and took poſſeſſion of the throne." Jehandar himſelf had aſcended the throne under circumſtances which, perhaps, have no parallel in hiſtory. At the period of his father's death, he and his three brothers commanded diviſions of the army, then in camp, and they immediately fought till only Jehandar remained alive. The hatred of Polynices and Eteocles was not more inveterate than theirs. From the hiſtory of Khan Jehan Lody and the Afghans we learn the curious fact, that between the Afghans and the clans of the highlands of Scotland, a few centuries ago, there was a great coincidence of manners and cuſtoms.

The treatiſes on Sufyiſm are no leſs than 115 in number. "The myſtical theology of the orientals," ſays Mr. Stewart, "which by them is conſidered as a peculiar ſcience, is difficult to be reconciled to European ideas. Sir William Jones, in his *Diſquiſition on the* myſtical Poetry of the Perſians, has been more ſucceſsful in explaining it than any author I have peruſed. But the Song of Solomon bears more analogy to their doctrines than any other compoſition in the Engliſh language. The celebrated Jelaladdeen Roumy, author of the *Miſ-*

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nevy, ſays, 'they profeſs eager deſire, but with no carnal affection; and circulate the cup, but no material goblet, ſince all things are ſpiritual in their ſect, all is myſtery within myſtery.'" And Hafiz adds: "He is all in all; my companion, my muſician, and my cup-bearer. The uſe of material terms is a mere pretext. By the moſque and the tavern I mean only union with him; God is witneſs that I have no other meaning. Give me, therefore, that cup, which, by purifying me from ſin, liberates me from all terreſtrial deſires. In ſhort, although many of the Sufies have written in praiſe of Mohammed, and ſeveral of them have publiſhed commentaries on the Koran, they are not eſteemed orthodox Muſſulmen; their ideas are too ſpiritual to be reliſhed by candidates for the Mohammedan paradiſe. They were therefore obliged to conceal their ſentiments in myſterious expreſſions. They have alſo ordained a ſtrict diſcipline, with a number of irkſome and probationary ceremonies, to be performed by the ſtudent previous to his admiſſion into the arcana of Sufyiſm."

The volumes on ethics are 24 in number, among which is an attempt to reconcile the polytheiſm of the Hindu religion with the Unitarian doctrines of the Mahommedans; an attempt which rather proves the boldneſs than the good ſenſe of the author.

Of poetry there are 190 volumes, compriſing the works of all the moſt eſteemed of the oriental poets. The Shah Nameh, ſo highly praiſed by Sir William Jones, ſtands at the head of them. In the Kiſſeh Mahmud va Ayaz there is a ſtory which has been verſified by the author of the Chace. It relates to Sultan Mahmud, of Ghizneh, and his ſlave Ayaz. "The latter, being a great favourite of his maſter, was envied by the courtiers; they, therefore, informed the Sultan that they frequently obſerved Ayaz go privately into the jewel office, whence they preſumed he had purloined many valuable effects. Although the Sultan did not give much credit to the accuſation, he reſolved to watch him; and the next time it was reported the ſlave had entered the treaſury, he followed by a private door, and, unobſerved, ſaw Ayaz draw from a large cheſt a ſuit of dirty old garments, with which having clothed himſelf, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground, and returned thanks to the Almighty for all the benefits conferred on him. The Sultan being aſtoniſhed, went to him, and demanded an explanation of his conduct. He replied, 'Moſt gracious Sire, when I firſt became your majeſty's ſervant, this was my dreſs; and, till that period, humble had been my lot. Now that, by the grace of God and your majeſty's favour, I am elevated above all the nobles of the land, and am entruſted with the treaſures of the world *, I am fearful that my heart ſhould be puffed up with vanity; I therefore daily practice this humiliation, to remind me of my former inſigni-

* For an account of the treaſures of Mahmud, vide Dow's Hindoſtan, Vol. I. or the fifth volume of Gibbon's Hiſtory, page 650.

ficance.'

ficance.' The Sultan, being much pleaſed, added to his rank, and ſeverely reprimanded his ſlanderers."

The following anecdote is not unworthy of preſervation for the ready wit which it records.—"Hamam, the celebrated poet of Tabriz, or Taurus, who died A.D. 1313, was a contemporary and rival wit of Sady. Meeting one day in a bath, Hamam, obſerving Sady to be very bald, preſented to him a baſon with the bottom upwards, and aſked him, 'Why do the heads of the people of Shiraz reſemble this?' Sady, having turned the baſon, replied, 'firſt tell me, why do the heads of the people of Tabriz reſemble this?'"

The works of Hafiz, of courſe, occupied an honourable place in this collection. "Had wealth or ſenſual enjoyments," ſays Mr. Stewart, "been the wiſh of Hafiz, they might have been amply gratified, as moſt liberal offers, both from the princes of Perſia and India, were held out to him; but he preferred a life of poverty and retirement. He was eminent for his piety, and paſſed much of his time in ſolitude, devoting himſelf to the ſervice of God, and reflecting upon the divine nature. By the general conſent of his countrymen, he is claſſed among their inſpired and holy men; and his works, held as only inferior to the Koran, are frequently conſulted by diviners. The uſurper Nadir Shah never undertook any arduous enterpriſe unleſs he found a happy omen in theſe myſterious poems."

There are 14 collections of Fables, and 53 of Letters, among the latter of which are many of Tippoo's epiſtles and inſtructions on various occaſions. There is nothing more remarkable in his compoſitions than the contemptuous manner in which he mentions the ſovereigns of England and France, to whom he does not condeſcend to give any title higher than that of raja.

The head of arts and ſciences compriſes 19 volumes; that of arithmetic and mathematics ſeven; and that of aſtronomy 20. Claſſed among the arts and ſciences are treatiſes on the interpretation of dreams, on the art of divining future events by figures drawn on the ſand, giving inſtructions for the purchaſing of horſes, and deſcribing the lucky and unlucky marks upon thoſe animals. It is ſaid that Tippoo was an encourager of the ſciences, and that 45 books, on different branches of them, were either compiled or tranſlated from different languages, under his immediate inſpection or auſpices.

Sixty-two works treat on phyſic. In this department are tranſlations of the Complete London Diſpenſary, of an Engliſh treatiſe on medical and electrical experiments, and of Dr. Cockburne on the twiſt of the inteſtines. As a contraſt to theſe may be named a volume containing eſſays on the virtues of medicine, amulets, and charms for averting or removing diſeaſe.

Philoſophy contains 54 articles. An enumeration of the contents of one of them will give ſome idea of oriental philoſophy. This volume includes "a definition of all the ſciences ſtudied or acknowledged by the Mahommedans; viz.

viz. Theology, Metaphyſics, Natural Philoſophy, Aſtronomy and Aſtrology, Mathematics and Arithmetic, Phyſic, Rhetoric, Logic, Philology, Grammar, Hiſtory, Geometry and Geography, Poetry, Muſic, Philanthropy, Law, Hadis, (traditions of Mohammed,) Metaphor, Genealogy, Chemiſtry and Simia, (the latter is the art of tranſmuting metals into gold,) Necromancy and Taliſmans, many of which are ſubdivided into various branches." Under this head is a work, called the Treaſury of Alexander, or the Science of Taliſmans diſplayed; the preface of which aſſerts, that it was diſcovered by the Khalif Motaſembillah, about A.D. 835, at Amuriah, in Turkey; that it was concealed in a Greek or Chriſtian temple, and depoſited in a gold cheſt; that it was written in the Greek language, and contained evidence of its having been buried there by Antiochus. It is dedicated to Alexander the Great, and attributed to Ariſtotle. To eſtabliſh its authenticity would, perhaps, be a taſk of no trifling difficulty.

The two departments of Philology and Lexicography are tolerably ample; the former conſiſting of 45, and the latter of 29 volumes. One of theſe, in Arabic, bears the truly oriental title of the Sea of Jewels, and is ſaid to be an Encyclopædia of the Arts and Sciences, but is, in fact, chiefly confined to Chemiſtry, Botany, and Natural Philoſophy.

The number of Theological works is 46; of which it is only neceſſary to ſay, that they appear to contain leſs nonſenſe, and more common ſenſe, than could naturally be expected. Juriſprudence is a rich article, as it conſiſts of 95 volumes. One of them contains a copious digeſt of the Mohammmedan law, according to the doctrine of Imam Abu Hanifah Nuuman Ben Sadit, one of the four juriſconſults of Mecca, and founder of the firſt orthodox ſect, who died in 767. The expoſition was compoſed by Neſſafy, who died in 1310. The ſubjects which it diſcuſſes are "Purification, Prayer, Alms, Faſting, Pilgrimage, (theſe five chapters conſtitute the eccleſiaſtical, or ſpiritual law; on which account they have been omitted by the Engliſh tranſlator of the Hedeya, as being topics not likely to be inveſtigated in our courts of juſtice) Marriage, Divorce, Manumiſſion, Oaths, Robbery, War, (or plundering excurſions) Troves and Foundlings, Apprehenſion of Slaves, Copartnerſhip, Appropriation, Sale and Purchaſe, Uſury, Bail, Tranſfer, the Duties of a Judge, Reference, Arbitration, Evidence, Agency, Acknowledgement, Compoſition, Trading on unequal Shares, Depoſits, Gifts, Renting, Manumiſſion with a gift, (to the ſlave) Slavery on Condition, Foſterage, Compulſion, Inhibition, Licenſe, Uſurpation, Sale by Compulſion, Hire or Pay, Diviſion of Property, Renting of Gardens, Huſbandry, Sacrificing Things forbidden, Liquors, Hunting, Pledging, Capital Crimes, Price of Blood, Fines, Hermaphrodites, Bills, and Succeſſion to Property." At the head of this claſs of books is the Hedaya, the Lawyer's Guide, which was tranſlated by Charles Hamilton, Eſq. under the auſpices of Warren Haſtings.

There

There are 44 Hadis or Traditions, 44 copies of the Koran, 41 Commentaries on the Koran, and 35 ſets of Prayers. In a volume of the Traditions, written by an author of the ſect of the Shiahs, ſome Sunny annotator has written the following note, which ſtrongly marks the deadly animoſity entertained againſt each other by the followers of the two ſects: this charitable and pithy note is, "May the curſe of God light on the author and on the tranſcriber of this work." Uncle Toby would, perhaps, have thought that the curſing indulged in by our armies in Flanders was nothing compared to this. Some of the Korans are remarkably valuable. One of them, an octavo, in the Niſhk character, very beautifully written, and highly ornamented, is ſaid to have coſt the nabob of Sanur, from whom it was plundered by Tippoo, the enormous ſum of 3,000 pagodas, equal to 1,200*l*. "Any omiſſion or wrong pronunciation of a word, while reading the Koran, is conſidered an offence; and ſo much pains and ſtudy are required to attain perfection that it is conſidered as one of the ſciences."

The remainder of the library conſiſts of 22 miſcellaneous volumes; 27 in the Hindy and Dekhany languages; and two in the Turkiſh language. The Hindy and Dekhany books are chiefly poems and romances. One of the moſt intereſting of them is *The Garden of Martyrs*, containing, in Dekhany verſe, "ſeveral very affecting elegies on the death of Huſſein, and the perſons of his family who were murdered at the battle of Kerbela. Theſe elegies are chanted in the Imambarehs, (ſuperb buildings erected for the purpoſe) every night during the celebration of the annual mourning for Huſſein, which is commemorated on the firſt ten days of the month Mohurrem, and ſeldom fail to draw tears from the eyes of the congregation. The effect is ſometimes much heightened by the introduction of the funeral proceſſion, with the martyr's war-horſe ſtuck with numerous arrows, the inſignia of his dignity, and other pageantry. Some years ſince, a perſon at Lucknow was perſuaded to repreſent the Caliph Yezzid (termed by the Shiahs, or followers of Aly, the Curſed Uſurper) during this ceremony. He was, in conſequence, ſuperbly dreſſed, and ſeated on a throne at the upper end of the room: but when the ſuppoſed priſoners, the children and females of Huſſein's family were brought before him, the infuriate mob, in the height of their deluſion, ſeized on him, and had nearly torn him to pieces. Chriſtians and Hindus may with ſafety behold this ſpectacle, but no prudent Sunny will enter the Imambareh. There is a great variety of theſe elegies in Arabic, Perſian, Hindy, and Dekhany. They are generally written in a ſimple but pathetic ſtyle."

The Appendix contains tranſlated ſpecimens of ſeveral of the hiſtorical works. From theſe we ſhall ſelect two, for the amuſement of the reader. The firſt is the famous legend of the Seven Sleepers, which, as Gibbon has remarked, is ſo widely diffuſed, and which Mahomet has introduced into the Koran. In theſe tranſlations it bears the title of "*An*

Account of the Aſhab Kahef," and is taken from a work by Beha Addeen, who was governor of Iſpahan, about the year 1271 of the Chriſtian era.

"There were ſix perſons of noble families belonging to Epheſus, during the reign of the Emperor Decius *, whoſe hearts the Almighty God was pleaſed to illuminate by the light of his unity, at a period when all the other inhabitants of that city worſhipped images. Their names were Yemlikha, Mukſhelmina, Moſheilina, Khernuſh, Debernuſh, and Shadnuſh. When the emperor was informed of their conduct, he gave orders, that whoever, on the following holy day, would not worſhip his idol, ſhould be cut to pieces. He alſo ſent for theſe young men, who, on their arrival in his preſence, refuſed to worſhip images. After much argument and perſuaſion, the emperor told them, he would give them that night to conſider of the buſineſs; but if they did not conform to his religion the next day, he would order them to be put to death. The young men retired, and, after paſſing ſome time in conſultation, fled that night from the city. During their flight they met a ſhepherd, named Dinmius, who, upon hearing all the circumſtances, acknowledged the unity of God, and, attended by his dog, named Cutmir, accompanied them to the cave of Rakim. Here the Almighty God was pleaſed to throw them, and alſo their dog, into a deep ſleep. The next day the emperor cauſed them to be ſearched for, but could never diſcover any trace of them.

For the ſpace of 309 years they continued to ſleep; during which period an angel, every year, on the 10th day of the month Mohurrem, turned them from one ſide to the other. Acccording to the hiſtorian Tabery, their going to the cave occurred after the aſcent of Jeſus Chriſt; but, according to other hiſtorians, it happened before the coming of Jeſus, although their re-appearance was not till after his aſcent.

Decius being dead, and, at length, a follower of the religion of Jeſus being created emperor, the companions of the cave awoke. It is not quite certain whether it was Moſheilina, or Mukſhelmina, that firſt called out to his friends. Then one of them ſaid to the other, "How long do you ſuppoſe we have ſlept?" Another replied, "The whole day, or great part of it." Some time after, Yemlika, having, with the conſent of his companions, diſguiſed himſelf, took ſome money of the reign of Decius, and went to the city to buy food. While on the road he perceived an alteration in the dreſs and manners of the inhabitants, and in the form of the buildings, which cauſed him much aſtoniſhment. Having arrived at the ſhop of a baker, he offered ſome of the coin of Decius in return for the bread. The baker, on ſeeing the money, ſuſpected that the ſtranger had found ſome of the hidden treaſure of Decius, and inſiſted upon carrying him to the palace. On their way, thither, Yemlikha ſaid, "The inſtant Decius caſts his eyes on me, I am a dead man." The people replied, "What, are

* Decius died A.D. 251.

you

you mad? It is an age ſince Decius was called to the tribunal of hell." On this, the aſtoniſhment of Yemlikha increaſed.

When he was brought before the emperor's throne, the monarch aſked who and whence he was. Then Yemlikha narrated to him all the circumſtances; on which the emperor, recollecting to have read their ſtory in the book of the Evangeliſts, was convinced that the companions of the cave were the identical young men, who had ſo ſuddenly diſappeared.

Then the emperor ſaid to Yemlikha, "309 years have elapſed ſince the reign of Decius. We are now worſhippers of the Almighty God, and believe in the religion of the Meſſiah (on whom be the grace of God!)."

As ſoon as this event was known, numbers of the devout and learned repaired to the cave of Rakim; but Yemlikha having gone before, and informed his companions of the length of time they had ſlept, they, after offering up thanks to God, prayed that they might return to that ſtate: which prayer was immediately complied with.

When the emperor was informed of this circumſtance, he ordered that a church ſhould be built at the door of the cave, and that the whole ſtory ſhould be engraven on a ſtone, and ſtrongly fixed in the wall of the church.

Other hiſtorians relate, that the emperor and his courtiers viſited theſe young men, and heard them converſe; after which the companions again fell aſleep. According to the declaration of the prophet, (Mohammed) Abu Bekr, Oſman, Morteza Aly, Selman, and Anuzer, ſaw the companions of the cave; and Aly, having preſented to them the compliments of Mohammed, invited them to embrace the religion of Iſlam. To this they conſented, and requeſted he would offer their reſpects to the prophet.

N. B. It is generally added, that the dog was converted into a man previous to his death, and that his ſoul was admitted into paradiſe.

Sady ſays, "The dog of the companions of the cave, by aſſociating with the righteous, became a man."

Thoſe who are acquainted with the original legend, will inſtantly perceive the alterations and interpolations which have been made in it by the Mahometan writers, whoſe ignorance of chronology is quite amuſing. Gibbon juſtly obſerves, that this legend would furniſh a pleaſing ſubject for a philoſophical romance. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that no one has hitherto been tempted to carry his ſuggeſtion into effect.

Our ſecond extract is from the Hiſtory of the Jews, by Moin Addeen, who reſided at the court of Khoraſſan, during the latter part of the fifteenth century. It deſcribes the deliverance of the children of Iſrael, by the ſubmerſion of Pharaoh and the Egyptian hoſt in the Red Sea. The writer has curiouſly amplified and, as he ſuppoſed, adorned, the ſimple and ſtriking narrative of Holy Writ.

"It is related, that on the morning of the 9th of Mohurrem, when the vanguard of the army of the ſun appeared in the hori-

zon, and the pavilion of light, with its golden ropes, was displayed in the plains of the universe, the Egyptians, being risen from their sleep, and not finding any of the children of Israel, were convinced of their treachery. The loss of their jewels and other wealth (which they had lent to the Israelites,) nearly made them run distracted. They, in consequence, repaired to the palace of Pharaoh, where they vented their complaints in loud lamentations.

"Pharaoh gave orders for his army to be immediately assembled, and wished to pursue instantaneously the Israelites; but on account of the virgins * and other ladies who had died in each house during that night, in consequence of the plague, he was obliged to postpone his intention. It is related in the *Arais*, that 70,000 Egyptian virgins died during that night.

"On the morning of the 10th of Mohurrem, which may be considered as the inauspicious evening † of the enemies (of the Israelites), Pharaoh set out with a numerous army, in pursuit of the fugitives. He appointed Haman to the command of the advanced division, and he himself directed the rear division. They thus proceeded towards the sea, following the footsteps of the Israelites. It is said that his army amounted to 1,700,000 men, all in armour.

"When six hours of the day had elapsed, and the two armies drew nigh to each other, the Israelites, on beholding the Egyptians, cried out to Moses, 'O prophet of God! we shall now surely be overwhelmed with destruction: Whether are we to chuse, that which thou hast placed before us, or that which thou hast brought after us? Behind us are the flaming swords, and before us a deep sea ‡!—

'HEMISTICH.

'Observe, and have mercy upon us; for we are ruined!'

"Moses (on whom be the grace of God) replied, Fear not at all; for God watches, and will protect us. The Creator of all things has promised us assistance and victory; and the promises of God are certain. Be not cast down, for happiness will soon appear. 'God gives the kingdom to whomsoever of his servants he pleases, and finally rewards the righteous.'"

When Moses § arrived on the sea-shore, he saw that the waves were much agitated by the force of the wind; and being asked by Joshua, the son of Nun, what were his orders, he replied, "The orders are that we enter this sea." Joshua immediately rode into the water, which however did not rise above the hoofs of his horse; and, as the others were about to enter, Moses prayed fervently to heaven; when he was answered, "Strike the sea with thy rod!"

* Instead of the first-born. *Vide* Exodus, chap. xi.

† The Mahommedans commence their day from sun-set; for which they quote Moses' words, "The evening and the morning were the first day:" consequently, the inauspicious evening preceded the day of destruction.

‡ *Vide* Exodus, chap. xiv.

§ Whenever Moses' name is mentioned, it is accompanied by, "On whom be the grace of God."

At

At that time the ſea was exceedingly deep, and full four paraſangs (leagues) in breadth. Then Moſes was directed, by inſpiration, to call upon the ſea in the name of the Lord, and that it would be obedient to him. And Moſes ſtruck the ſea a ſecond time with his rod, and ſaid, "O ocean! by permiſſion of God, I command thee to retire!" and immediately the ſea was divided, and the water was on each ſide of them as a great mountain.

It is related in the traditions, that the prophet Mohammed ſaid (to his followers) "I will declare unto you the prayer that the *converſer with God* (Moſes) uſed when paſſing through the ſea, by virtue of which prayer the ſea was divided, and he and all his people paſſed through with ſafety. It was this: 'Praiſe be to thee, O God! in thee do we truſt, and from thee do we implore aſſiſtance. Thou art our protector; neither is there any power or virtue but in God, the great and the glorious.'" It was alſo by virtue of this prayer that the prophet Mohammed obtained the victory over his enemies in the battle of Beder *.

When Moſes had ſaid this prayer, he ſtruck the ſea with his rod, and immediately twelve ſtreets † were formed, and the fountains of water roſe perpendicularly in the air, and ſtood like unto twelve arches. After the zephyrs of mercy had blown, and the ſun of benevolence had ſhone for ſome time, the bed of the ſea became ſo dry, that the duſt roſe from it.

Each of the twelve tribes having entered a ſeparate ſtreet, became anxious to ſee each other: and although each was aſſured of the ſafety of the other tribes, their anxiety could not be ſuppreſſed, till Moſes prayed unto God to aſſiſt him in convincing them. Immediately he was directed to ſtretch forth his rod. When he had ſtretched forth the rod, the mountains of water, which, by the command of the great God, ſtood pendulous, again became divided; ſo that each diviſion ſaw and heard the others, while croſſing over.

Moſes remained behind, till the children of Iſrael arrived at the deepeſt part of the bed of the ſea. He then by the direction of the angels Gabriel and Michael, (on both of whom be the grace of God!) followed them. After a tranſit of four aſtronomical hours, the Iſraelites emerged from the terrific gulph, and arrived ſafely and ſecurely on a friendly ſhore.

When Pharaoh arrived on the ſhore, and beheld the ſtate of the ſea, he trembled with exceſs of fear, and was overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment at the power of the Omnipotent and Omniſcient, who had worked ſuch miracles by the hand of Moſes. Immerſed in the ſea of reflection, and heſitating whether he ſhould purſue the fugitives, he at one time reſolved to return to Egypt, and the next moment determined to follow Moſes. He at length called to his conſultation

* *Vide* Sale's Tranſlation of the Koran, chap. iii.

† Ibid. chap. xx. note

ſultation the worthleſs Haman. The curſed wretch ſtrongly adviſed him to purſue; and ſaid, "For 400 years * you have governed mankind, and have been exalted to ſupreme power and univerſal dominion. It will be an eternal diſgrace, if, after Moſes and the children of Iſrael have by their enchantments croſſed over ſafely and ſecurely, you ſhould turn back, and remain covered with ſhame and diſhonour. Believe me, it is from the dread of you alone that the waters ſtand thus; and the fear of your power makes the ſea recede. Exert yourſelf, and let us paſs over quickly, and take our revenge on theſe Iſraelites."

Pharaoh, being duped by the deceitful diſcourſe of that proud and wicked wretch, and deceived by the fooliſh flattery of the abandoned ſinner, quitted the path of rectitude, and raſhly ſpurred his horſe into the ſea. It is related, that as the laſt of the Iſraelites quitted the ſea, the advanced guard of Pharaoh entered it; and Moſes was anxious that the ſea ſhould then return to its priſtine ſtate, and thereby prevent the Egyptians from croſſing: but it was revealed to him, (ſuch was the Divine decree), that the whole of theſe diſobedient, rebellious, and proud infidels ſhould be there deſtroyed. When Pharaoh attempted to urge his horſe into the ſea, the animal was frightened, and ran back; on which the angel Gabriel, mounted on his mule (or mare), and wearing a large black turban, came up, and daſhed into the ſea. The horſe of Pharaoh, ſmelling the mare, entered the ſea after her; and the whole of the army followed their prince. If any of them lagged behind, the angel Michael, who rode in the rear, flogged them on, and ſuffered not one of them to retreat.

When the front rank of the Egyptians had nearly reached the ſhore, the tide again entered the ſea, and, by the orders of the great and glorious God, the different bodies of water united, and the whole of the obſtinate and rebellious (Egyptians) were there annihilated. "And the waters of the ſea, which overwhelmed them, overwhelmed them: and Pharoah cauſed his people to err, neither did he direct them aright."

Scattered throughout the other tranſlations are a few circumſtances not unworthy of notice. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſay, that the ſtyle of the originals is inflated and gaudy. Hiſtorians, for inſtance, are deſcribed as "the melodious and harmonious nightingales of the garden of hiſtory:" and the ſpoiling of a ſpring of water, which ſupplied a beſieged town, is thus bombaſtically related—"When the white ſtandards of day were furled, and Nox had ſpread her muſky-coloured umbrella over the firmament, and the fountain of the ſun had become turbid and diſcoloured, then a party, in obedience to the orders of his majeſty, went and filled the fountain with carrion, and every other ſpecies of defilement." The

* Pharaoh was the common title of the Kings of Egypt: this ſpeech muſt, therefore be underſtood as applied to the dynaſty. *Vide* note to Tranſlation of the Koran, chap. vii.

cloſe

cloſe of this ſentence tempts the reader to exclaim, "O moſt lame and impotent concluſion!"

The fact, which is narrated by Gibbon, of the building of a city, in imitation of Antioch, by Choſroes or Nuſhirvan, is thus told by Mohammed Mir Khavund Shah. "He then took Antioch; and being much pleaſed with the appearance of that city, he ordered his engineers to make an exact plan of it, and to conſtruct a ſimilar city in the neighbourhood of Madain *. This was effected, and the place called Rumieh. The inhabitants of Antioch were then removed thither: and the plan was ſo well executed, that, with the greateſt eaſe, each perſon, on his entering the town, could diſcover his own dwelling. It is reported, that the only difference between the two cities was the want of a tree in Rumieh, which uſed to ſhade the ſeat at the door of a waſherman in Antioch."

Among the boundleſs plunder made by the conquerors, at the capture of Madain, was "a carpet 300 cubits long, and 60 cubits wide. This was called, *the winter carpet*, becauſe the kings of Perſia uſed to have it ſpread to ſit upon in that ſeaſon, when neither flowers nor any other verdure was to be ſeen; and its borders being wrought with emeralds, it appeared like a field of variegated crops, or of green corn, interſperſed with numerous flowers and bloſſoms, compoſed of jewels and other precious ſtones."

In the account of the ſiege and capture of Surat, there is an anecdote which places oriental vanity and adulation in a ſtrong and amuſing light. "One of the events which occurred at this period," ſays the hiſtorian, "was the arrival of a party of Chriſtians from the port of Goa * * *. They pretended to have come on an embaſſy to the emperor; and being in conſequence admitted to the royal preſence, they preſented a number of curioſities of their own country. His majeſty, having conferred marks of his favour on each of them, aſked them a number of queſtions, reſpecting Portugal, and the affairs of Europe. His reaſon for making theſe enquiries was not to obtain any new information; for the royal mind, being the repoſitory of all knowledge, was well acquainted with every circumſtance they could communicate: but the energetic and wonderful mind of his majeſty wiſhed, by aſking theſe queſtions, to render the *ſavages* familiar."

This volume is creditable to the talents and induſtry of Mr. Stewart. It muſt be highly intereſting to thoſe perſons who have reſided in, or are connected with the Eaſt, and it is not without attraction for the general reader.

* Madain was the Cteſiphon of the Greeks.

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